

# THE INDICATOR

History :: Economics :: Philosophy :: Current Events

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FIVE CENTS

## Brothers, Save Russia!

By Paul Birukoff.

Friend and Biographer of Tolstoy.

"There is no limit to the despair of men who, desirous of staving off disaster and of seeking its cause to find a remedy, are faced with the fact that it has no rational cause, that the tortures it produces are insensate. With such despair am I filled when I see that the sufferings to which the bodies and souls of the Russian people are subjected benefit no one.

"Russia has had a revolution. As the outcome of it, the Soviet Government was born and has lasted two years. The Western Powers look upon it as an execrable Government. Let us—they say—exterminate the whole Russian people which tolerates such a Government.' By what process of justice, reasoning or logic? I shall be told that the propaganda of this Government threatens to poison European and American thought: that the poison must be stayed. But has the blockade stayed it? No, the ideas which form the basis of the social organization of the existing Russia have long since o'erleapt the blockade, and disseminate themselves freely throughout the world.

### Indictment of the Allies.

"But you, Allied Governments, are committing a crime even more terrible than this. You hound on other peoples against the Russian people. You furnish them with munitions. You excite Russians to fratricidal strife. Some Russians you furnish with weapons for this purpose; other Russians you deprive of everything. You ingenerate implacable hatreds. Why? Can you picture to yourselves the abysses of suffering of unfortunates compelled by your will and against their own to fight one another, when all they ask is to be left in peace?

"If Russia is not yet wholly bathed in blood, it is because of the attitude of the Russian people on either side, who frequently surrender without fighting and open fraternal arms to their brothers. Why do you seek the extermination of the Russian people? You detest the Russian Government—well and good. But why are you massacring the innocent? Are the men who govern Russia such monsters, then, that you must exterminate millions of innocents, to strike them down? They have their faults. But what is there about them which can provoke such hatreds? If they have been cruel, are you not more cruel?

There is famine and chaos in Russia, you say. But it is you who are producing these very things; not the Soviet Government. There are terrible things in the life of Russia today. But there is light, too.

### Russia's Vivid New Life.

"Last winter I was there I saw and felt beating the pulse of a new

and strong spirit of regenerated life. I saw many men, and especially many young men, breathing with full lungs a new order, the springtime of humanity. I saw new and fertile enterprises of public instruction. I saw men in power heroically defending before the world the new, and to them sacred, rights of the workers, of the common people. I saw germs of a new spiritual conviction stirring in the heart of the people of Russia. I saw pulsating through every stratum of Russian life an intimate resistance to war itself—against whomsoever waged.

"Why do you seek to exterminate the Russian people? I fear it is not because they are cruel, as you say, but for some other reason.

### Tanks Instead of Peace.

You see that in Russia, a privileged class has lost its privileges. You fear that you may lose yours, and, inspired by this nameless dread, you sacrifice millions of innocent lives to ensure your imaginary salvation. You are furious over the peace of Brest-Litovsk. But in Russian eyes this was an act of moral heroism unparalleled in history—and they invited you to make peace with them. You replied with the silence of contempt. Since then they incessantly demand peace of you. You reply with tanks. But if the ideas of these men are as pestilent as you say, you can only fight them effectively with the light of truth. . . . I no longer address myself to you, demoralized by power. For you the hour of repentance has not yet struck. You, too, are to be pitied. I turn from you.

### In Tolstoy's Name.

"To you, workers of all countries, and of all nations, of all professions, and of all ages, I appeal. To you specially, O men of Britain, strong in your independence, I say hearken unto my appeal for help, for pity, and compassion. It is as a close friend of the great master, Leo Tolstoy, whose whole life was a struggle against the evil in the world, that I venture to address you.

"In the name of my great dead master, I say: 'Brothers, workers, save Russia!'"—"Daily Herald," London, England.

### A NEW EDUCATIONAL SERIAL

The next issue will contain the first of a series of extracts from William Bolsche's little work, "The Evolution of Man." Besides the educational value of a reading of the subject of Bolsche's work, the Editorial Board considered that a knowledge of the evolutionary process in nature would also assist students to more easily understand the evolutionary process of social development and so make them more efficient students of history and economics.

### RED FLAG BANNED

CHICAGO, Nov. 5.—Plans of the Radicals in Hammond, East Chicago, Indiana Harbor and Gary to hold a monster celebration in East Chicago, Nov. 7, 8 and 9, in honor of the second anniversary of the birth of Bolshevism in Russia have gone awry. Federal and Local authorities decided to permit no meetings or parades. Display of the Red Flag was also barred.

### SCHEME TO CREATE A "LABOR CABINET"

LONDON, Oct. 28.—(Reuter's).—The scheme for creating a central labor authority or a "labor cabinet" to co-ordinate trade union activity and deal with any emergency that may arise in industrial disputes is making progress. The present plan is to establish a special department under the control of the parliamentary committee of the trade union congress. This plan will soon be discussed by labor leaders. Harry Gosling, who was one of the leaders of the mediation committee in the recent railwaymen's strike, states that the proposed body will act in an advisory and consultative capacity.

### DEPOSED DESPOT WAS PATRON OF EDUCATION

Much has been said about the coarseness and brutality of Bela Kun, the deposed despot of Austria-Hungary, but the Manchester Guardian gives another view of him. It points out that his chief efforts were used to promote education among his people, and that during his regime he increased the rates, or State pay, of school mistresses until they received one-third more than the cabinet ministers did, including Bela Kun himself.

As a Jew, he was deeply interested in education—in that education that did not consist merely in the accumulation of facts. He encouraged the institution of fairy story telling in the Budapest school curriculum, and extended their use to the children's hospitals, orphanages, colonies and asylums, institutes and convalescent homes. Excursions were made into the woods with the pupils, with fairy stories as part of the entertainment. Kun had planned greatly extending this work.

### WINNIPEG TRIAL TAKES PLACE NEXT WEEK

WINNIPEG, Nov. 5.—A. J. Andrews, K.C., in charge of the prosecution of sedition and conspiracy cases, arising from the general strike said he did not expect the trial of the Labor leaders to come before the court before next week. The first cases to go before the Grand Jury probably will be those of minor importance.

### M.P. THINKS LENINE WOULD MAKE PEACE

British M.P. Tells House of Commons That He Talked With Bolshevnik Leaders On Theme.

LONDON, Nov. 5.—Lieut-Colonel Lestrangle Malone, Liberal member of parliament, who recently returned from Russia, said in the House of Commons today that he had conversed with the leaders of the Soviet Government with regard to peace and believed it possible to arrange a peace on terms substantially the same as those which William C. Bullitt, stated some time ago, Nikolai Lenine, the Bolsheviki premier had made to Mr. Bullitt.

Mr. Bullitt, testifying before the Senate foreign relations committee in Washington, said the peace proposal of Lenine embraced an armistice for two weeks subject to extension; raising of the economic blockade; immediate withdrawal of allied troops; no further military aid for anti-Soviet Governments, and recognition of responsibility for Russia's foreign debt.

### On Property

By Lewis H. Morgan.

Since the advance of civilization, the outgrowth of property has been so immense, its forms so diversified, its uses so expanding and its management so intelligent in the interests of its owners that it has become on the part of the people, an unmanageable power.

The human mind stands bewildered in the presence of its own creation. The time will come, nevertheless, when human intelligence will rise to the mastery over property, and define the relations of the State to the property it protects, as well as the obligations and the limits of the rights of its owners.

The interests of society are paramount to individual interest, 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 in the past. The time which has past away since civilization began is but a fragment of the past duration 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. Democracy in government, brotherhood in society, equality in rights and privileges, and universal education, foreshadowing the next higher plane of society, to which experience, intelligence and knowledge are steadily tending. It will be a revival, in a higher form, of the liberty, equality and fraternity of the ancient gentes.

# Lewis Henry Morgan, Author of "Ancient Society"

## An Account and Appreciation of His Life Work.

(From "Socialist Standard, London.")

THE year 1818, which witnessed the birth of Karl Marx, also saw the birth, on Nov. 21, of Lewis Henry Morgan, a man whose investigations into the nature of primitive human society were as epoch-making as were those of Marx into the structure of modern capitalism. Born at Aurora, Cayuga County, in the State of New York, and of "middle-class" parents, Morgan, after the customary school education, graduated, at the age of 22, at Union College, N. Y. Afterwards he underwent a four years course in law, and in 1844 was admitted to the Bar. In partnership with his old schoolmate, afterwards Judge G. F. Danforth, Morgan practised successfully as a lawyer in Rochester, where he made his home.

### Studies of the Indians.

While at college, young Morgan had become deeply interested in the Red Indians of the Iroquois tribes, the remnants of a once powerful and widespread people, in the State of New York. After his graduation he joined with a number of young enthusiasts in Aurora who, like himself, were fond of Indian lore, forming a club or society which was called the Grand Order of the Iroquois. The "Order," which was of the nature of a secret society, also appears to have been known as the "Gordian Knot."

The idea of its founders was to extend the organization over the tribal territory which the Iroquois in times past had occupied. Branches were to be established wherever a settlement of the Iroquois was known to have existed, and "council-fires" held at night for the discussion of matters relating to the Indians.

In order to study more intimately their life and institutions, Morgan actually went into an Iroquois settlement, and there lived as one of themselves for periods which eventually totalled several years. So well did he gain the confidence and affection of the Indians that in 1847, he was permitted to formally enter, by adoption, into the Hawk gens, of the Seneca tribe. They recognized in him a fraternal link between the white men and the red, and gave him the name Ta-ya-da-wah-kugh, meaning "one lying across."

The first results of his investigations, Morgan embodied in a series of papers which were read to the "Grand Order," and also to the New York Historical Society, of which he was a member. Subsequently, they were published as "Letters on the Iroquois," under the pen name of "Shenandoah" in the "American Review" during 1847, and later appeared in other journals.

Among Morgan's closest associates was a pure-blooded Seneca Indian called Ha-sa-no-an-da, who had adopted the English name of Eli S. Parker. He was well educated and a civil engineer by profession. Hasanoanda possessed an exceedingly full knowledge of Iroquois customs and institutions and was himself a Sachem or peace-chief of the Senecas, his

name signifying "Keeper of the Western door of the Long House" (see below.)

With Parkers' assistance, Morgan was able to carry his researches into the past history of the Iroquois and to complete his first great work on primitive society, "The League of the Iroquois," which he published in 1851. This book which Morgan, out of recognition for his services, inscribed to Eli S. Parker, was written, as the author says in the preface, "to encourage a kinder feeling towards the Indian founded upon a truer knowledge of his civil and domestic institutions, and of his capabilities for future elevation," surely, in view of the brutal treatment meted out to the Redman by the Paleface who had robbed him, a noble ideal.

The first scientific account of an Indian people ever written, this book contains a detailed description based on personal observation of the society, religion, ceremonial, games, art, craftsmanship, and language of the Iroquois. A new edition appeared in 1904.

The league of tribes was the highest type of social organization achieved by the American Indians. That of the Iroquois was formed in the fifteenth century and consisted of five, and later of six, tribes, the Mohawks, Cayugas, Senecas, Onondagas, and the Tucaroras. The term "Iroquois" is believed to be of French origin. They called themselves Hode-no-sau-nee, the "People of the Long House," the latter allusion being to the Indian communal house which was chosen as the symbol of the League. At the time when Morgan wrote, however, the League was but a shadow of its former self, having lost, with the coming of the Whites, the position which had made it a social and military power of no mean importance.

In 1855, Morgan was concerned in an engineering scheme to build a railway through the wilderness of North Michigan, and in conjunction therewith performed some practical exploration which was much needed in this, at that time, little known region. When thus engaged he made some original investigations into the social habits and constructive ability of the beaver, an animal which was exceedingly abundant in this area. His results were embodied in "The American Beaver and His Works," published in 1867. One of the most perfect of zoological monographs, this work drew praise from Darwin, although he considered that Morgan had underestimated the power of instinct and thus rated too highly the reasoning powers of the beaver.

In 1856, Morgan made the acquaintance of Prof. Henry, of the Smithsonian Institute, and of Agassiz, the famous American naturalist, both of whom encouraged him to continue his unique Indian studies.

### Studies in Kinship and Sex Relations.

While on a visit in 1858 to Marquette on Lake Superior, one of the termini of the proposed railway, Morgan visited a camp of the Ojibwa tribe and there discovered the same peculiar system of recognizing family relationships which he had found

among the Iroquois. According to this system a man referred to the children of his brothers as his own "sons" and "daughters," and all these "cousins" as they would be termed by us, called one another "brother" or "sister." Likewise with the children of several sisters.

The discovery that this system existed among the Ojibwa appears to have been somewhat of a revelation to Morgan, and he now pursued his ethnological researches with redoubled vigor, visiting in the next three or four years different tribes in the extreme West and as far North as Canada. He found, as he had begun to expect, that the same system of kinship was characteristic of practically all the tribes in North America.

After this Morgan, with the assistance of the United States Government, carried his investigations into other lands. Carefully prepared lists of questions were forwarded to officials, explorers and missionaries in different parts of the world. Most of these lists were returned with the desired information, and by this means Morgan was successful in acquiring a vast amount of data bearing on the sex relations and kinship of numerous peoples the world over.

It was a stupendous task to sort out and classify this mass of evidence, but Morgan performed it with great ability and remarkable results. These were set forth in a preliminary essay published in the "Proceedings of the American Academy of Sciences" in 1868.

The complete and tabulated results of these investigations appeared in the "Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family," published in 1871 as Vol. XVII of the "Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge" by the "Institute." This work, containing as it does the kinship systems of one hundred and thirty-nine distinct peoples comprising about four-fifths of the human race, is one of the landmarks of ethnology and denoted the entry of exact scientific method into the study of primitive society.

Frederick Engels in his "Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State," thus summarizes Morgan's conclusions:

(1) The kinship system of the American Indians is also in vogue in Asia, and in a somewhat modified form among numerous tribes of Africa and Australia.

(2) This system finds a complete explanation in a certain form of communal marriage now in process of decline in Hawaii and some Australian islands.

(3) By the side of this marital form, there is in practice on the same islands a system of kinship only explicable by a still more primeval and now extinct form of communal marriage.

Morgan was led by his researches to the belief that unrestricted sexual intercourse had been the habit of primeval mankind. Progressive restriction upon intercourse between near blood relatives then resulted in two successive forms of group or com-

munal marriages in which a group of men were common husbands to a similar group of women. This custom, by rendering actual fatherhood uncertain, necessarily resulted in the tracing of descent through females only, a fact which had already been inferred by Bachofen in his "Mother Right" (1861) from a study of classical mythology.

Further restriction led to a loose "pairing family"—the intercourse and co-habitation of one man with one woman—and then, as Morgan subsequently showed, the rise of private property formed the basis of the historical form of monogamy, with its permanent union and male inheritance.

In treating anomalous kinship-systems as the vestiges of extinct marital and family institutions, and in coming forth as the ethnological champion of the theory of original promiscuity and of group marriage, Morgan encountered the opposition of the "established school" of anthropologists led by McLennan. Just as Owen, Virchow, and other reactionary scientists endeavored to save the "respectability" of mankind by denying, in opposition to the Darwinians, our animal ancestry, so Westmerek, Andrew Lang and others fitted bourgeois morality upon the primitive savage by declaring, against Morgan and even Lubbock, that human sex-intercourse had never been promiscuous and that monogamy was its "natural" and original form.

Morgan's views on this matter have, in the main, been amply vindicated by the more recent painstaking researches of Spencer and Gillen into the communal marriage systems of the Australian aborigines.

### The Roots of Cultural Progress.

After the publication of his "Systems of Consanguinity" Morgan pursued the investigation of several series of facts which had attracted his attention whilst accumulating the materials for that important work.

The only literary fruits of his work during the following five or six years were a number of essays on the ancient culture of Central America—a line of enquiry which greatly interested him. Between 1869 and 1876 there appeared in the form of magazine articles "The Seven Cities of Chibola," "Montezuma's Dinner," and "The Houses of the Mound Builders."

Morgan was something of a classical scholar, and it gradually became apparent to him that there was a more intimate affinity between the social institutions of early Greece and Rome and those of existing barbarian peoples than was usually supposed.

He also became aware of the great changes wrought in social and cultural institutions by progressive improvements in man's means of living.

Thus by a variety of channels he arrived at the conception of the essential unity in the course and method of evolution throughout the entire human race. The great antiquity and animal origin of mankind had already been established, but little knowledge had as yet been gained as

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LEWIS HENRY MORGAN, AUTHOR  
OF "ANCIENT SOCIETY"

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to the social conditions of existence among primitive men.

Morgan was among the first to scientifically penetrate into the social status of man in the stages preceding the patriarchal system which, in conformity with Hebrew tradition, most earlier writers, even the learned Sir Henry Maine ("Ancient Law," Chap. 5.) had considered to be the dawn of society.

In 1877, Morgan gave to the world the result of forty years study in his chief literary work, "Ancient Society, or Researches in the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery through Barbarism to Civilization." The book is divided into four parts. In the first Morgan shows that the basis of all human progress lies in the discovery or invention of artificial aids to existence in the form of implements and technical processes, and that these processes lead to new methods of living, generating new needs and producing a gradual increase in man's knowledge of and control over natural forces.

The author divides the evolution of mankind into seven stages, each marked off by outstanding discoveries. Thus the lowest or first stage in the period of savagery commences with man, hardly differentiated from the rest of the anthropoid stock, existing as a tropical tree-dweller and consuming raw roots, fruits, and small animals. During this period the first simple form of language was developed and rude tools of stone, shell, bone and similar materials began to be used.

Then came the making of fires, which made cooking possible and raised man to the second stage of Savagery. Fishing was now adopted and by encouraging migrations along river banks and coasts assisted in the dispersal of the race over the continents. The invention of the bow and arrow ushers in the third stage, in which the savage was equipped for the hunting of large game.

With the art of making pottery the period of Barbarism begins. In its first stage crude picture-writing and probably weaving were evolved. Primitive agriculture commenced towards the close of this period. Then with the domestication of cattle, sheep, and other hoofed animals in the Eastern Hemisphere and the improvement of agriculture in Central and South America, the middle stage of Barbarism would be reached. This period, in its use of the softer metals, corresponds with the Bronze Age of the archaeologists.

The upper status of Barbarism was reached only in the Eastern Hemisphere when iron smelting was achieved. This great discovery, which placed in man's hands the means of procuring tools of great hardness and durability, gave an unprecedented impetus to agriculture and other forms of production. The invention of alphabetic writing closed the epoch of Barbarism and ushered in the era of written history—of Civilization.

Morgan's orderly classification of the cultural history of mankind was a marked advance upon all previous attempts. It is still, over fifty years after its formulation, recognized as the most adequate and useful of the

# 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.

## IV.

IN the last article I pointed out how the Socialist Movement of this country and of America could be shown to have grown up as a consequence of certain material factors in the development of the capitalist system. The periods of its growth were three. The first was that of the "eighties," the second lasted from 1903 to 1909-10, and the third synchronized with the war. On all three occasions, and in both countries, its expansion was the result of the discontent of those who most severely felt the pressure of dilution, and who did not at the same time feel any confidence in imperialism or improvement within the existing economic and political order. The Socialist Movement is essentially middle class in its leadership and outlook, because—oh, irony of ironies!—the idealists who so largely compose it are impelled by the hard material facts of their social environment. The working class, as a class, seems to be benefiting very greatly from the activities of syndicated capitalism and of imperialism. It is being kept continuously employed and fed with its own tail, as well as with the surplus and a considerable part of the capital, or accumulated past surpluses, of the middle class. This, of course, is most distressing to the members of the middle class, and some of them are virtuously and indignantly convinced that it is a most immoral procedure thus to relieve them of stolen property. Perhaps it is, but it is not the kind of felony that should cause Socialists to cry "Stop thief!"

The working class—the proletariat—has been created by means of a continuous process of wearing away the past property of its present members. It is the product of developing and developed Capitalism—as

many schemes which have been evolved (see article "Civilization," Encyclopedia Britannica, 11th edition.)

To Socialists, Morgan's classification is especially of interest inasmuch as it is based upon the principle that "the great epochs of human progress have been identified, more or less directly, with the enlargement of the sources of subsistence" ("Ancient Society," p 19,) a thesis fundamentally identical with the Materialist Conception of History of Marx and Engels. R. W. HOUSLEY.

well, of course, as of "Primitive Accumulation." Whenever the wearing process takes place on a considerable scale "unrest" becomes visible. Sometimes it is seen as Radicalism, as Chartism, as "Rebecca," even as Fabianism. It is the workers and others, who are dispossessed and degraded from their former rights and customs, whose blind eyes are opened to behold visions and who dream dreams. They nurse their old wrongs. They are slow to develop new sympathies. So, the Irish may make good rebels against the oppressors of Ireland, but they have seldom been a source of strength to the Labor Movement into which they have been injected. Many agricultural workers indeed have done so much better—or so it seemed to them—in industry than on the land that they have been bulwarks of reaction from the first. It was the diluting elements in industry whose demand for cheap corn ruined Chartism almost from the first. A great blow to the status of some section of the workers may produce a state of unrest such as the late D. A. Thomas engendered in the Rhondda. But a speedy recovery of wages owing to expanding trade has blotted out all apparent—though not all actual—memory of the crisis, as was bound to be the case where the workers had had a long continued experience of a poor standard of life and freedom. As often as the capitalist system can absorb the elements which it unsettles and degrades and can give to these an apparent freedom and status equal to that which they have immediately lost, it will not be threatened by the ever-increasing army of the working class. Hitherto it has been in a position to do this—if not at once, then before any great length of time has elapsed.

For three-quarters of a century, British Capitalism has required to find an ever-widening outlet for its surplus of products, and it has only been able to keep its workers in remunerative employment when it could unload advantageously on the world market what these workers could not buy back for themselves. This it accomplished successfully until about a generation ago, when the products of short or long date British loans began to come home in too great abundance. This disturbance could be represented as the work of the wicked foreigner. The mystery was hidden, or deliberately concealed, from the workers' wondering gaze. The State, amazing metamorphosis of the corporate propertied class, came forward and "made" work—building battleships. It could not tax the workers—unless it dressed them better so as the better to "pluck" them—so it had to "skin" the rest of the middle class. So—to mix the metaphors—the bourgeois dogs have been eating dog for the last generation.

Apart from the killing and maiming process, the war has been, like the years preceding it, a most favorable time for the working class. If one industry shut down another was ready to absorb the workers in ever-increasing hordes. Capitalism, has discovered the magic wand enabling it to sell commodities faster than they were produced, and to keep on doing it. The means of payment have been ideal, for everything has been abundant—except necessities and lux-

uries—including "the rare and refreshing fruit." Capitalism has had to borrow in order to lend to the workers—who could not eat shells. But the workers fondly imagine that they have been paid for services rendered. The situation is going to be delightful when these loans come to be honored.

But let us turn from this interesting prospect of the future, before we go too far, to examine another factor which is all too often overlooked and which has had much to do with causing the workers to remain content with this, the best of all (capitalist) worlds.

During the stormy years of social and political upheaval that followed the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832, the workers found that they had been used and then abandoned by their allies. The governing class and the would-be governing class of this country—i.e., those who controlled the State, and those who, as yet, only controlled Parliament—also discovered that it was a great mistake to trust to the truncheon to keep the people quiet. Like Peel, when he reformed the Penal Code, they had learned the lesson of Liberalism, and they resolved to be kind only to be cruel. From several standpoints they began to chant "Education," taking care that the people did not hear too often the remainder of the sentence: "is the best form of police." For thirty years the two parties in "society," the one in and the other entering the State, quarrelled over the kind of education to be given to the workers. After the Second Reform Bill the matter became urgent, and 1870 saw the advance of the capitalist Liberals, bearing the workers the grateful gift of the three Rs. When the workers became Socialistically inclined, they were rewarded with a system made both compulsory and free. When their C3 physique showed them unfit for defending an AI Empire, the idealists were allowed to feed and medically inspect the children who would be wage workers.

Only those who have been through or have carefully studied the "dope" factory of the elementary education system can realize that a 6d. share in it is worth even more than £14 10s. to the capitalist class.

The workers of Britain have been educated, unlike the hapless workers of Russia, to think with the thoughts of their masters. They have been taught enough to "write to John Bull about it" and to read Beaverbrook's Daily Express, and to work out the arithmetical calculations of the racing newspapers.

Their literature, their music, their geography, their history, their religious instruction, as taught in the schools, are soaked in capitalist ideology. Out of school new agencies await to educate them. Grown to manhood they meet the "impartial" educationists of Owen's College, Firth College, Armstrong College, Lady Margaret's College, etc., coming to guide them in the ways where they will learn to be "good citizens" of the State, which is fast becoming as much an engine of social, moral, and intellectual despotism as the Holy Catholic Church was at the close of the Feudal Age.

(To Be Continued.)

## The Indicator

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### Democracy!

ONE of the Harmsworth family of newspaper magnates, the head of which is Lord Northcliffe, is a British Cabinet Minister. A press despatch reports him as announcing for the British Government, "that the blockade would not be lifted from Soviet Russia until a Democracy was established in that country." Strewth: the governing classes have lost all sense of humor. A Harmsworth talking about Democracy is as a lion emitting from his leonine throat the plaintive bleating of a lamb. More than any other group interests in the newspaper world have the Harmsworth interests been instrumental in enslaving the press of Great Britain. For years they have been following the course of buying out or killing by competition one journal after another until they now dominate the newspaper and periodical world in that country, owning from the London "Times," clear down through all classes of publications to halfpenny comic papers. Of daily newspapers alone it is said they own over forty. Besides this gigantic Harmsworth machine there are two or three more press syndicates leaving about as many independent journals as can be counted on one hand. When Northcliffe roars, his countless editors and writers roar in unison. Prime ministers and cabinet ministers dance to the tune they call. Bullitt reports that on his submitting the report of his mission to Russia to Lloyd George, that the latter during the discussion of it, pointing to a Harmsworth journal, said, "How can we act sensibly towards Russia when the press is talking about Russia like this." And still the unctuous hypocrites can get up in the National assembly and blether about Democracy; and all the bankers, profiteers, Col's., Capt's., and Major-Gen's., cheer them on.

### The Indicator

In the last issue of "The Indicator" we notified our readers that, owing to an increase in the price charged by the printer, it was necessary that the circulation of the paper be increased in order to overcome this handicap. We appealed for an increase of 1000 within a month. There is little need to point out that everything is more costly today than ever except the price of "The Indicator." That is cheaper than ever at five cents, because it contains more reading matter than any of its immediate predecessors issued by the Party. As to the quality of the matter from an educational standpoint, it is open to criticism of course, but is the best we can do at present. If we can raise the circulation, then better ability can be put on the job. We want our readers to look on this matter as their business. It seems to us there

is a lifting of the cloud that has rested on working class education this last five years, and that we are due for a great expansion in activity along those lines. In Canada, we have a field that needs cultivating badly. Knowledge and understanding of social problems must be sown among our fellow workers if we are to reap the harvest of a better world. And, if we will not do it, who will? Extend your propaganda, comrades! Let that be your prime object. Incidentally to the extent of your success, the existence of "The Indicator" will be assured and its influence for good increased. Get an extra copy and introduce it to your friends. Send for small bundles, carry the Socialist message into every nook and corner of the Dominion. Educate! Educate! Educate!

### NEED FOR A LABOR COLLEGE

[Just before going to press, we received the following letter from Winnipeg. The contents of this letter add weight to the advice offered to us in John Maclean's letter, in another column, in that it shows, that there is a growing opinion in this country, that it is time the matter of establishing Labor Colleges here, as in the Old Country, should be brought up for discussion at least. It is up to Comrades in the labor movement to move in this matter and start the ball a-rolling.—Edit.]

Winnipeg.

Dear Comrade:

The Educational Committee of the O. B. U. Central Labor Council have under consideration the establishing of a Labor College, however, there are several economic classes going on at the present time and the "Fire-eating" Pritchard informed me, that a correspondence course was being arranged by your committee in Economics, therefore, I am writing for full information and a sample of the course, because, knowing the calibre of the movement at the Coast, I think that it could be used in the Economic Classes here, and in the Labor College when started

Further, any information respecting Labor Colleges would be welcome. I have already written to John Maclean, Glasgow, but have not yet received any reply. I am doing my best to start a campaign of education in Winnipeg, because I realize that the progress of the movement depends upon how much knowledge can be disseminated among that rank and file, and any "assistance" would be thankfully received in this respect.

A. J. B.

For the Educational Committee.

### 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. Pettitt'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.

Propaganda Meeting, at Empress Theatre, corner Gore Avenue and Hastings street, Sunday, 8 p.m. Doors open at 7:30 p.m.

## Concerning Prices

### Relations of Supply and Demand Affecting Commodities and Money-Currency

HAVING occasion, recently, to look up Hyndman's "Economics of Socialism," I happened to notice a quotation from an old-time economist, one Lord Lauderdale, to the following effect:—

"With respect to the variations in value, of which everything valuable is susceptible, if we could suppose for a moment that any substance possessed intrinsic and fixed value so as to render an assumed quantity of it constantly, under all circumstances, of equal value, then the degree of all things, ascertained by such a fixed standard, would vary according to the proportion betwixt the quantity of them and the demand, and every commodity would of course be subject to a variation from four different circumstances.

"1. It would be subject to an increase of its value from a diminution of its quantity.

"2. To a diminution of its value from an augmentation of its quantity.

"3. It might suffer an augmentation in its value from the circumstance of an increased demand.

"4. Its value might be diminished by a failure of demand.

"As it will, however, clearly appear that no commodity can possess fixed and intrinsic value so as to qualify it for a measure of value of other commodities, mankind are induced to select as a practical measure of value that which appears to be least liable to any of these four sources of variation which are the sole causes of alteration of value.

"When in common language, therefore, we express the value of any

### THE PROLETARIAN UNIVERSITY OF DETROIT

The Proletarian University with headquarters in 174 Michigan avenue, Detroit, whose Official Organ is the "Proletarian," is issuing a series of outline courses in Socialist theory. These we understand are for advanced students who already have some knowledge of the basic principles of the Socialist Philosophy. Lesson sheets for each of thirteen sections are in course of preparation and no doubt will be procurable in due course.

The manager of the "Proletarian," A. J. MacGregor, has kindly forwarded to us a syllabus of the subjects for the course. This we regard so highly as indicating the scope of Socialist discussion, that we shall take the liberty of publishing it in a future issue of the "Indicator." Comrade MacGregor has also forwarded to us proof sheets of a paper on "Suggestions for the Conducting of Study Classes," which is to be published in the November "Proletarian." This also we shall take the liberty of reproducing. The "Proletarian" is published by the Proletarian Publishing Co., at the above address and is issued monthly in magazine form. Subscription rates are one dollar a year or ten cents a copy. Money Orders to be made payable to the above Company.

commodity, it may vary at one period from what it is at another, in consequence of eight different contingencies:—

"1. From the four circumstances above-stated, in relation to the commodity of which we mean to express the value.

"2. From the same four circumstances in relation to the commodity we have adopted as a measure of value."

For the present I propose to divide this statement into two parts, considering each separately, that is, firstly, the four circumstances concerning commodities and, secondly, the four circumstances concerning money. Taking the first four statements and substituting the word "price" for "value," and interpreting "quantity" as "supply," we have a very fair statement of the law of "supply and demand."

The second four statements relative to the money-commodity, form the basis of the "quantity theory of money," and show very clearly that this theory is simply the extension of the law of supply and demand, to cover the relations between commodities and money. Any increase in the quantity of money in circulation, it is alleged, manifests itself as an increased demand for goods and tends to raise prices. Any decrease in the quantity of money would have the opposite effect. On the other hand, any decrease or increase in the quantity of goods offered relatively to the quantity of money in circulation would have corresponding effects.

Now, it will, of course, be understood that there is here no question of the determination of value, but simply of one of the laws governing the variations in prices. Nevertheless, the law of supply and demand is one of great importance inasmuch as it is the medium by means of which so many economic factors make themselves effective. This is more than ever true at the present time when, owing to the disappearance of the money-commodity, all of the eight circumstances mentioned by Lauderdale are in full operation. The currencies of practically all civilized countries are no longer on a gold basis and the value of money, so to speak, is now a mere matter of quantity in circulation.

It will be well to note that the word demand is used in the sense of "effective" demand. It is not sufficient that people should desire goods; they must be able and willing to pay for them to constitute an effective demand.

The law of supply and demand has often been stated in this manner:— The prices of commodities will vary in a direct ratio to the demand and in an inverse ratio to the supply.

This is incorrect. Prices have a reciprocal effect on both the supply and the demand for any given commodity. No commodity can continue to be produced at a price below its price of production and, on the other hand, any increase of prices will immediately react on the demand. This, however, forms the starting point for another story concerning monopoly prices which will have to wait for another time. GEORDIE.

# A Letter From John Maclean

In reply to a letter requesting information on the method used for carrying on education among the working class:—

42 Auldhouse Road,  
Newlands, Glasgow.

J. Shepherd, Secy.,  
Local No. 1, Vancouver,  
Socialist Party of Canada.

Dear Comrade:

I enclose copy of the "Plea," the "War," etc., and the Prospectus of the Scottish Labor College.

When organizing a class, we usually circulate a leaflet urging the workers to study the cause of high prices, the "increased production" stunt, and similar economic phenomena arresting attention and then show that systematic study of these questions is necessary. Similarly with Industrial History and other subjects. We send them to the Trades' Councils to get the delegates to distribute them at branch meetings; we also circulate them inside works through shop stewards and trusted comrades; and we give them out at our public meetings. We also advertise in the Labor Press. It requires a vast and concentrated publicity campaign to get success.

At every meeting I address, and some are very large, I also urge the study of Economics and Industrial History. This, several of us have done for years, as well as teaching classes.

But to do real justice, call a conference of delegates from all labor bodies and try to set up a college with a permanent staff and a permanent secretary. This is the method now all over Britain, and Ireland as well. The conference elects a committee which works through local committees.

This year already we have got in over £800, and still big sums are being voted by various union and co-operative societies. The United Co-operative Bakery has granted us an annual sum of £50. The Co-operative Wholesale we are approaching tomorrow, and we'll likely get £100.

Don't be afraid. If you can give the initiative and the teachers, Marxism alone will dominate. I risked it, and have found justification for my risks.

Get Labor to supply the funds, then, and you supply the permanent teachers for classes and for the Canadian Labor College. Canada's vastness would necessitate at least three colleges, but let the progressive West set the ball a-rolling.

That's all the advice I think is necessary. No mystery at all. Just Lloyd George's "audacity." Canada's recent solidarity ought to bring success.

I'll be pleased to learn further developments re-classes; and of course also of the movement, political and industrial.

Yours fraternally,

JOHN MACLEAN.

## The Study of Economics and History.

From a Pamphlet, "A Plea for a Labor College for Scotland," by John Maclean.)

Many people are horrified to hear it said that the working class standpoint in Economics is bound to be different from that of the capitalists. These tender beings dream of a certain "impartial" social science bringing about the reconciliation of the hostile classes, as if it were possible to avoid taking sides on economic questions in a society in which the interests of the workers are sharply opposed to those of the employers, the needs of the tenants conflict with those of the houseowners, and so on. True! the professors of political economy in the universities claim to be impartial men of science. But nobody believes them: their attitude is recognized as a necessary, professional pose. Their teaching has become a mere system of apologetics, by means of which they reveal the moral reasons that justify the plundering of the working class. In this respect it

## A SOCIALIST TEACHER



John Maclean

is as different as night from day, when compared with the work of the economists of the Classic School from Smith to Ricardo. These truly great men earnestly sought for the hidden forces operating the mechanism of society; they tried to discover the tendencies that introduced a semblance of regularity into the chaotic anarchy of manufacture and commerce. They classified economic facts, and, in doing so, discovered and defined some of the principal categories of political economy. The classical economists, in seeking to grasp the influence of economic laws, were actuated by a desire to bring about an increase of national wealth.

They could afford to be quite frank, for in those days there was no need for hypocrisy, because the working class, as we know it, was hardly in existence, and where it had appeared was devoid of consciousness. And so the economists in their researches into the nature of value had no class prejudices to obscure their vision, any more than has the chemist of today when he carries out an experiment. They proclaimed Labor to be the source of value. But very soon the working class had developed and even had secured literary champions—such as Thomson, Hodgskin, etc.—

either from its own ranks or from the other classes, and they asked the question: If Labor produces all value, why does the laborer not receive the full value of his product? Thus they made a moral application of Ricardian Economics, and severely criticized the competitive system. Then came Marx, who set aside moral considerations as out of place in such a study, and, in a strictly scientific manner, dealt with the economic facts: the same man, who, starting from the Ricardian theory of value, which he criticized and put upon a scientific basis, burst through the economic concepts of the time and discovered a new category, which he called surplus value, by means of which he explained the origin and formation of profit, interest and rent.

It was then that the demoralization of economic science set in. When the working class was to some extent awakened and had even produced its theoretical writers, safety demanded that political economy should cease handling the real facts of Capitalism, and should deal only in the vaguest generalities and sophisms. Now we can read in the writings of such shining lights as Lord Cromer of "that unfortunate statement of Ricardo's that labor is the source of value."

In the sphere of economics, the Capitalists make no progress commensurate with that which occurs in other departments of science. In physics and chemistry, and in the application of these to industry, the progress made in a century has been little short of the marvellous. But in the social sciences there is no such advance to record, because the progress of these sciences and their progressive application to society means the destruction of Capitalism, private ownership of the means of life. And so orthodox economics is barren of fruits, has no real connection with developing economic phenomena, and is incapable of explaining them. The economists of today write books, abounding with mathematical subtleties, such as have no guidance to give us so far as the control of social productive forces is concerned.

Just as economics must be studied from the working-class point of view, so must history. A Labor College must, of course, provide for the teaching of Industrial History, just as has been done in the various Sunday and Evening Classes held hitherto. But useful as such a study may be, it is not sufficient. If we confined ourselves to Industrial History our students would get merely one-sided views of the events of the past. However much we may be inclined to admire the work of the economic historians—such as Rogers, Ashley, Cunningham, De Gibbins, etc.—we can not afford to forget that what we get from them is but partial history after all. They teach the history of the development of technique from primitive tools of rough stone to the latest electrically-driven machines, and of economic association from the manor to the modern factory, and the information they furnish is essential, but it only concerns some of the facts of life. And is there, some might be inclined to ask, over and above Industrial History, a

political history, say, or a history of morality? No! we would reply; there is but one history, however many aspects it may assume in our brains, and therefore no partial or abstract view can be satisfactory. The most effective method of historical explanation is undoubtedly the materialist method of Marx, whereby we rise from an understanding of the mode of production prevailing at a certain epoch, to a knowledge of the reasons for the origin and decay of classes and their antagonism to one another. The State and its functions are explained, and political struggles are seen to be at bottom class struggles. The law is found to be the expression of the interests of the dominant class in the State. Changes in the morality and in the ideas held by men are found to be due to an altered economic environment. Transformation of the methods of wealth production is seen to be the necessary outcome of the biologic will to live. By means of this method, then, we can understand history, and adequately explain it. History ceases to be a happy hunting-ground for either simple narrators or purveyors of romance. It comes within the sphere of the law determined, and no longer is looked upon as the realm of chance or accident. The writing of history today, so far as it is really scientific, is the work either of Marxist scholars—such as Kautsky, Labriola, Lafargue, Plechanoff, etc.—or that of bourgeois writers, more or less under Marxian influence, such as John A. Hobson, Usher, etc.

But the Marxian method is more than a better way of writing the history of the past, it is also a compass whereby we can better guide the working class in the struggles of the present. Man makes his own history, but not always consciously. The results, for instance, of the French Revolution were entirely different from what was expected by those who carried through the Revolution. But the materialist method, the gift to us of modern society and its science, enables us to consciously make history.

## Labor Defence Fund

Do your best for the Defence Fund. The expenses are high and it is estimated will run to some \$500 a day during the trial in Winnipeg. Those awaiting trial and their families have to be supported out of the funds. There are a number of Russians and other foreigners, charged with political offences, throughout the country, notably in Vancouver and Port Arthur, and their defence is being furnished also. J. Law, secretary of the Central Defence Committee at Winnipeg has sent a call for funds to be sent in to the central office. A. S. Wells, secretary of the B. C. Agency, has sent in \$1700 in answer to this request. This leaves the B. C. funds almost at zero, and money is needed for the cases in Vancouver, as well as in Winnipeg. Do not stint the defence.

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 Farmer Question

Opinions Expressed Under This Heading Not Necessarily Endorsed.

[We regret that lack of space compelled us to delete considerable portions of Comrade Paton's article. It is hoped that the deletions have not impaired the writer's argument.—Edit.]

**T**HERE is nothing static in the Universe, everything is in process of change. The economic forces are dynamic in human progress and like the laws of nature must be obeyed. To the human race, food is indispensable, and clothing and shelter are necessary against climatic conditions. And whatever method society has used at different periods, in the production and distribution of those chief essentials to human life, that method has moulded the institutions of any particular period.

Now the institutions adapted to Capitalism on a free competitive basis flourished all through that stage of development, but the inventive genius of man improved his machinery and developed the productive processes. As a consequence, equality in buying and selling on a free competitive basis has undergone modifications since the early days of Capitalism. The great combines have destroyed competition, and brought human society again to the point that the State is at war with the conditions it has been the responsible agent in establishing.

In Canada and the United States, much quibbling is indulged in as to the farmer's relation to Capital, and Labor. Some blind units contend that because peasant farmers have Capital tied up in their business, and because they hire a certain amount of labor at intervals, that their interest lies with Capital and that therefore they should defend Capitalism.

The Canadian school of large exploiting Capitalists graduated in the same college of pirates as those of the United States, and have come out with flying colors. Land grabs, railway charter steals, seizing of timber limits and mineral rights have been some of the means by which the modern "gentlemen of adventure" have exploited the Canadian working class.

The acquired property holdings gave the owners great power and the shrewd early Canadian manipulators, observing the rapid accumulation of wealth in the hands of American pirates, derived from the efforts of land-settlers and wage-workers alike, soon settled down to business. Corporation after corporation was formed; bank capital, transportation capital, wholesale merchant's capital and cold storage capital, used up in the circulation of farm products and other commodities have grown in size and power by leaps and bounds.

It is true no doubt, that a farmer has a certain amount of capital tied up in his business, but it is forgotten that the larger capitals used in the circulation of commodities gobble up the lion's share of the value of those commodities produced by the use of small capitals on the average farms.

The Canadian Reconstruction Association has circulated a pamphlet among United States and Canadian

farmers warning them that if Bolshevism assumes control that improvements, machinery and live stock in all, valued at \$40,991,449,090, would be confiscated with the land, (census 1910.) It also states that there are 6,361,502 farms, and that 62.1 per cent. are owned in fee by the farmers. In other words, about one-half of the farmers of the United States are renters, or, to be more appropriate, land serfs.

The United States Department of Agriculture is sponsor for the statement that there are 6,000,000 farmers in the United States of whom more than half have incomes less than \$640 a year. This \$640 per annum is not per capita, but per family. Again the same department says, that the value of farm products figured out at \$8,828,000,000. The six million farmers that receive an income of \$640 per year, got \$3,840,000,000 as their share of the value of their product. The difference of the value of the total product \$5,988,000,000, must have gone to the larger capitals used in the process of circulation.

We will now return to the figures of the reconstruction association of Canada. Total value of the United States farmers investment \$40,991,449,090. Divide this among 6,361,502 farmers as given by the C. R. A. pamphlet, and we have an average investment within a fraction of \$6443 per farmer. The yearly average income of \$640 as given by the department of agriculture works out at 9.933 per cent. on the farmer's investment of \$6443. What about the farmer and his family? I presume they would use up their energy for about sixteen hours per day. John T. Ryan, professor of Ethics and Economics in the Catholic Seminary, at St. Paul, Minnesota, states that 60 per cent. of the adult male wage-earners obtain less than \$600 per year. He says the workers are on a physical level below that of a well-kept horse or cow. If Bolshevism or some other ism don't confiscate the farms and give them to the farmers, and the full value of the wealth they create in place of four out of every nine, both the farmers and the wage-earners will be many degrees below the stage stated by Professor Ryan.

Information is not to hand as to the total value of Canadian farm products, but we are quite safe in assuming that the Canadian farmers fare no better, even if no worse, than those across the line.

When speaking in the Alberta Legislature on March 3, 1917, in opposition to the farmer's loan act, Michener stated, that 75 or 80 million dollars had been loaned on mortgage to the farmers of Alberta alone. The "Grain Growers' Guide" has an article dealing with mortgages. It states that mortgage borrowings, Urban and Agricultural, amount probably to \$300,000,000, or, more than \$200 per head for every man, woman and child in the three prairie provinces. During the year 1914, the Canadian Government held liens to the extent of \$13,000,000 against the farmers for seed grain and it is reported last fall only \$1,500,000 had been liquidated.

This repayment during the years of war prices don't sound like pro-

gression nor encouraging for returned soldiers settling on the land. The transfer of farms with increased indebtedness for implements and stock, means a return to the dark ages when serfdom was on its pinnacle. The hands controlling the great aggregations of capital are closing tighter and tighter on the throats of the Canadian workers, and the farmers are not exempt. The merger of the Meat Trust with \$46,000,000 of capital will sink its claws deeper into the pockets of the farmers and still further reduce that income of \$640 per year.

Ever since Capitalism set foot upon American soil, the favored few have gobbled up everything worth gobbling, seizing at the same time every institution necessary for their protection and aggrandisement. The issuers of the pamphlet warning the farmers of confiscation are not deeply interested in the farmers welfare, but are more concerned about their own skin. The confiscation of the farms would mean a loss of \$5,988,000,000 to the big interests, and a gain to those that work the farms of that amount.

Workers of the world unite, farmers included. You have nothing to lose but your chains.

GEO. PATON.

## INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIALIST SOCIETY

70 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Dear Comrades:

**T**HE Intercollegiate Socialist Society is starting the year's work among the college students and alumni members with brighter prospects than ever before.

With the world-wide growth of the Socialist movement has come an increasing realization among intelligent men and women that without a thorough knowledge of its history and aims they can not cope with the problems of the present day, and they are turning to the I. S. S. as one of the sources of reliable information.

The Society was formed in 1905, for the purpose of "promoting an intelligent interest in Socialism among collegians and educated men and women generally." During the war, with the introduction of the S. A. T. C. into many of the colleges, and the virtual suspension of all except military activities, students at times found it difficult to continue with the work of the Society. With the coming of peace, however, many old chapters are reorganizing, and new ones being formed. Since the opening of the college year, California, Columbia, C. C. N. Y., Yale, Wisconsin, Adelphi, Radcliffe, New York University, and other colleges have reported good prospects for the coming season.

One of the most important activities of the Society during the winter will be the sending of well known speakers to different parts of the country. Members of the New York Alumni Chapter, one of the most active groups, have already started their regular Saturday afternoon "Camaraderies." They have secured William Z. Foster of the Steel Work-

ers' Organization, and W. N. Ewer, foreign editor of the London Daily Herald, as early speakers on their programme.

Another undertaking, which the growth of the Society has made necessary is the publication of a monthly magazine, "The Socialist Review." Originally the organization issued a small bulletin which developed into "The Intercollegiate Socialist," a quarterly. But with the growing importance of Socialism in world affairs, it became impossible to present its latest developments adequately without a monthly. "The Socialist Review" will therefore meet the inevitable need of the Society for a publication to provide not only its members, but the general public, with the best thought and most significant facts available regarding the Socialist and Labor movement.

Harry W. Laidler, is editor-in-chief of the new magazine, and W. Harris Crook, former editor of "Forward," a Boston paper which has merged into the Review, is acting as managing editor. Among the articles to be published in the first number which will appear early in November are "Socialism and Invention," by Chas. P. Steinmetz, a leading inventor and engineer of the country; "Freedom in the Workshop," by Felix Grendon, author; and "The Failure of Liberalism," by S. E. Other contributors are Edwin Markham, Jessie Wallace Hughan, Prof. Vida D. Scudder of Wellesley, Francis Ahern of Australia, and John Maclean of England.

The officers of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society are as follows: Florence Kelley, president; Evans Clark, first vice-president; H. W. L. Dana, second vice-president; Albert De Silver, treasurer; Harry W. Laidler, secretary; Jessica Smith, executive secretary. Other members of the executive committee are Emily G. Balch, Louis B. Boudin, Robert W. Dunn, Arthur Gleason, Louise Adams Grout, Jessie W. Hughan, Horace M. Kallen, Nicholas Kelley, Freda Kirchwey, William P. Ladd, Winthrop D. Lane, Darwin J. Meserole, George Nasmyth, Mary R. Sanford, Vida D. Scudder, Helen Phelps Stokes, Caro Lloyd Stobell, Alexander Trachtenberg, Norman Thomas and Charles Zueblin.

Membership in the Society is open to anyone, irrespective of his belief, who is genuinely interested in the study of Socialism. Further information may be secured by addressing the I. S. S., at 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

At a meeting, Bob Smillie told two stories of his wife. He had, he said, often stood for Parliament, but his class had invariably refused his services, and he remembered once slinking back to Larkhall one night after a licking. He knocked at the door. His wife came. "'Am oot," he said. "Oh, are ye!" she replied, "well, come in here. I'll tak' ye in." And when he got a wire—a Government wire—asking him or ordering him to come to London, she asked "What is it for?" "Well," he replied, "it's either the jail or a Government job!" "Indeed," said she. "If it's the jile, it's a' right; but if ye go and tak' a Government job we'll hae tae flit frae Larkhall in shame!"—From the Glasgow, "Forward."

## Tribal Religion

IT has been said that the progress of religious ideas follows three stages. In the first, Man worships some object external to himself, a stone or an animal. This stage is only characteristic of very low forms of savage societies. In the second stage of social development, in which the domestication of cattle is practiced, and in which a considerable development in the tools and other means of livelihood has taken place, his religion takes on a new form. In the second, he worships a human being like himself, usually one of his ancestors. In the third, he has risen to the idea of a God who is both divine and human, unlike and distinct from himself, and yet like to and connected with himself.

In his "Short History of Politics," in the chapter on Tribal Organization," Professor Jenks says: "Tribal Religion is a striking testimony that the second stage of religious thought is that in which Man worships as his god's beings, who are, or have been, men like himself, who are, in fact, his deceased ancestors. Ancestor worship, which, even at the present day, is the religion of multitudes of the human race, especially in the East. (Asia) seems to rise from two sources, the one is a profound belief in the existence of the spirit-world, in which the dead live and move as in life; and which may, therefore, be fairly claimed as a crude form of belief in the immortality of the soul. The second is the profound deference to parental authority rendered during life to the head of the patriarchal household, and which, after his death, takes the form of ceremonial worship. In its more cruel shape, this worship is celebrated with sacrifices, either by way of vengeance upon the men who have caused, or are supposed to have caused the death of the ancestor, or by way of providing him with comforts in the spirit-land. In its more refined form, it is a continuance of domestic worship, as exhibited, for example, in the picturesque ceremonial of the offerings of cake and water, the sacrificial meal and the commemoration hymns of the Code of Manu and other Hindu rituals. The centre of ancestor worship is the family hearth, with its sacred fire and solemn festivities; and its continued practice is thus calculated to keep alive, in the most vivid way, that spirit of kinship which is the very essence of patriarchal society. It may, perhaps, be doubted whether ancestor worship plays quite such an important part in the daily life of the Hindu as the Sacred Books would lead us to believe; but it is undoubted that its existence accounts for much that is otherwise obscure, not only in Oriental Society, but in the history of early Greeks and Romans." "It will be well to state by way of contrast, two or three of the leading features in which the Ancestor Worship of Patriarchal Society differs from religion as understood by the modern world.

(1) "It is not Proselytizing. The great religions of the modern world—Christianity, Mahommedanism, even Buddhism—profess to be of universal application, and their missionaries seek to make converts in all lands. To an ancestor worshipper, such a course would appear, not merely

ridiculous, but positively treacherous. His gods are for him and his kindred alone; he looks to them for favor and protection, as one of their devout descendants. How could strangers possibly have any share in their worship? As a consequence, the patriarchal man, who wandered from his kindred, found himself not only among strange people, but among strange gods. To him, expulsion from the tribe meant the break up of religious as well as social ties.

(2) "It is not theological. That is to say, it does not profess to account for the origin and constitution of the universe. No doubt the patriarchal man had certain crude ways of explaining the existence of the world and its contents. But these were not part of his religion. It was not until the later speculative spirit, introduced into Europe by the Greeks, attempted to link intellectual belief with religious duty, that the modern kind of religion began. Even then we learn from more than one passage in the New Testament (e.g., Acts XV, 19,) concerning 'meats offered to idols,' some of the early Christian converts evidently considered it quite possible to combine an intellectual acceptance of Christianity with a continuance of their ancestral rites. Ancestor worship, in fact, was a purely practical religion, imposing a code of duties on its followers, but making no demands upon their belief.

(3) "It is Secret. The view that their ancestors belonged to them alone, naturally made the tribesmen very jealous of strangers acquiring any knowledge of their forms of worship. Consequently, the most rigid care was taken by each tribe, and, after the tribe split up into sections, by each section, to prevent a knowledge of these ceremonies leaking out. . . . In each household, the particulars of its sacred rites were passed on from father to son in the greatest secrecy. The secrets of the tribe were the custody of the elders or wise men, who, in somewhat more advanced times, formed themselves into hereditary bodies, or colleges, for their preservation and practice. The very existence of the tribe was believed to depend upon the safeguarding of these mysteries; and, if a disaster happened, one of the readiest suggestions to account for the mishap was, that the ancestors were offended, because 'strange fire' had been offered on their altar."

**"It's a Trade War," Say Debs and Wilson: But Only One Is In Jail.**

Eugene Victor Debs said the war was caused by trade rivalry.

Rose Pastor Stokes attacked war profiteers.

Berger, Germer, Tucker, Kruse and Engdahl attacked war.

The St. Louis platform of the Socialist party said the war was caused by trade rivalry.

And—

Debs is caged like a felon by the administration in its Atlanta prison.

Mrs. Stokes and the other five anti-war Socialists, are under long terms of imprisonment.

The Socialist party was raided, its press destroyed, its work impeded, its rights to the mails taken away.

But—

President Wilson spoke at St. Louis, September 5, and said:

"Peace? Why, my fellow citizens, is there any man here or any woman

## Commodities and Capital

THE beginnings of Capitalist Society are to be found in agriculture and handicraft.

Originally the agricultural family satisfied all of its own needs. It produced all the food, clothing and tools for its own members and built its own house. It produced as much as it needed and no more. With the advance in the methods of farming, however, it came about that more was produced than enough to satisfy the immediate needs of the family. This placed the family in a position to purchase weapons, tools or articles of luxury, which it could not produce itself. Through this exchange products became commodities.

A commodity is a product designed for exchange. The wheat the farmer produces for his own consumption is not a commodity; the wheat he produces to sell is a commodity. Selling is nothing more or less than trading a commodity for another which is acceptable to all, gold, for example.

Now the craftsman, working independently is a producer of commodities from the beginning. He does not sell merely his surplus products; production for sale is his main purpose. Exchange of commodities implies two conditions: First, a division of social labor. Second, private ownership of the things exchanged. The more this division develops and the more private property increases in extent and importance, the more general becomes production for exchange.

This leads naturally to the appearance of a new trade; buying and selling becomes a business. Those engaged in it make their living by selling dearer than they buy. This does not mean that they control prices absolutely. The price of a commodity depends finally on its exchange value. The value of a commodity, however, is determined by the amount of labor generally required to produce it. The price of a commodity, nevertheless, seldom coincides exactly with its value; it is determined by the conditions of the market more than by the conditions of production—primarily by the relation of supply and demand.

The farmer or craftsman buys for consumption, the tradesman buys to sell. Now money used for this latter purpose is capital. One can not say of any commodity or sum of

—let me say, is there any child—who does not know that the seed of war in the modern world is industrial and commercial rivalry?

"This war was a commercialized and industrial war. It was not a political war."

And President Wilson's special train rolled on, burning up the funds of the public treasury, amid a blare of music and roars of applause. The Department of Justice is NOT contemplating any criminal action against President Wilson for violating the Espionage Law which was signed.—Reading Labor Advocate.

SAYS CLEMENCEAU

Monsieur Clemenceau, (surnamed "The Tiger") says, "that as for the Bolsheviks it is only a question of force."

money that by its very nature, it is capital. That depends on the use to which it is put. The tobacco, a merchant buys to sell is capital; that which he buys to smoke is not.

The original form of capital is merchant's capital. Almost equally old is interest bearing capital, the profits of which is in the form of interest. As soon as these forms of capital have been developed, private property becomes something quite different from what it was in the beginning. Defenders of the present system try to distract attention from this aspect of property by talking constantly of the forms necessary to the beginnings of society. They attempt to prevent our seeing any difference between the ownership of a home and the ownership of a branch of industry.

At the stage of economic development now under discussion the income of the craftsman or laborer depends somewhat on his industry and skill. But it can never go beyond a fixed limit. That of the tradesman, however, is determined only by the amount of his capital. The possibilities of labor are limited; those of capital unlimited.

So we have here a condition that would naturally lead to social development. We started with a society in which each owned certain means of production in which, therefore, the individuals were approximately equal. The natural limitations of the income from capital would naturally tend to bring about a condition of inequality. But there is still another element of the situation to be taken into account.

Private property in the means of production implies for everyone the possibility of coming into possession of them, but it implies also the possibility of losing possession. That is, the craftsman may fall into absolute poverty. The existence of interest-bearing capital implies the existence of want. One who has what he needs will not borrow. By exploiting want, capital constantly increases it.

Here we have then, the beginnings of modern conditions. Some "make" money without producing; others produce and remain in poverty. It is true that the evils of the system are not yet quite clear. The capitalist is dependent on the prosperity of the farmer and craftsman, his interest does not lie in dispossessing them entirely. Whole classes are not driven into poverty. Therefore, poverty is regarded as a visitation of Providence, or as the result of shiftlessness or carelessness.

This way of looking at things is still common among the small capitalist class, and representatives of the present system, editors, lecturers, etc., strive to maintain popular faith in it. Private property in the means of wealth production was once necessary for the good of society; there was a time when the average man had a chance to own property. This condition of affairs they would have us believe still exists. But in reality the nature of private property has changed. The old conditions have passed away absolutely.

[Next issue will describe how this came about.—Edit.]

KAUTSKY.

## THE DISINTEGRATION OF RULING-CLASS IDEOLOGY

THE eminent French psychologist, Gustave Le Bon, in his work on "The Crowd" observes that "man's two great concerns since he has existed have been to create a network of traditions which he afterwards endeavors to destroy when their beneficial effects have worn themselves out." This remark, coming as it does from a bourgeois educator of international repute, is interesting because it is in essence a re-statement of the Marxian Materialist Theory without, however, acknowledging the materialistic influences which eventually compel men to destroy their previously "created network of traditions."

During the process of birth and growth, capitalism, like its preceding class economies, gathers about itself a tradition not unlike folklore. In the main, this tradition is formulated and nurtured by the beneficiaries of the existing order who impose it upon the masses. In this way it becomes the ruling ideology of the time or, as Marx aptly termed it, 'the social consciousness.'

As long as the economic structure functions to the seeming satisfaction of the population as a whole, the social concepts arising from it are tenaciously, even religiously, adhered to. Attesting to this fact is the patriotic zeal which characterized the over and underlying populations, allegiance to their respective governments during the late European unpleasantness.

Comes then the inevitable period of decay when, as it is put in the preface to the "Critique of Political Economy":—"From forces of development of the forces of production these relations (property relations) turn into their fetters"—that is to say, "The twentieth-century technology has outgrown the eighteenth century system of vested rights. The now archaic property relations begin to seriously hinder the even tenor of the productive forces which in turn affects the condition of the masses whose livelihood hinges upon the uninterrupted operation of these social means of production.

At this stage of development, the economic status of the proletariat is first jarred and then more thoroughly shaken and with it is shaken their heretofore zealous allegiance hitherto woven around and about the now crumbling politico-economic structure. This corresponds to the "ideologic forms in which men become conscious of the political and economic antagonisms and fight it out." And so we have the period of social revolution (now upon us) resulting in, "the destruction of that network of traditions whose beneficial effects have worn themselves out."

JULIUS DAVIDSON.

The reasonable man adapts himself to the world; the unreasonable one persists in trying to adapt the world to himself. Therefore, all progress depends on the unreasonable man.—G. B. Shaw.

## COMMENTS

By J. P.

The early snows in the Okanagan have put a stop to the fruit picking, and the papers are full of reports of the loss sustained by the large fruit ranchers. The loss sustained by the girls who picked and packed the fruit is not considered worthy of comment. They only lost their means of subsistence and can go to the Coast where the grass is still eatable.

The wage-workers strike for higher pay and the employers have to charge more for their produce, so say the wise ones. The fools ask, when did the employers not charge all the market would bear? And why do they spend millions in fighting against an increase in wages if all they are required to do is grant the increase in wages and tack the extra on the goods?

## FOR THE STUDY OF MARXIAN SOCIALISM

[A comrade in Ontario has forwarded us the following programme to be pursued by the Socialist Locals in that province during this Fall and Winter's educational season. A perusal of the programme, educational in itself, will assist comrades in other parts of the country in systematizing their own study courses.—Editor, "Indicator."]

### 1. Industrial Society:

The Evolution of Modern Capitalism: In broad outline the origin and development of the Capitalist system of production and distribution from the breakdown of Feudalism and the Guilds; the resultant social-political changes; the underlying assumptions of the Capitalist regime such as property and competition. Text Book: Gibbin's Industrial History of England.

### 2. Marxian Economic Theory:

From the Marxian viewpoint, the fundamental concepts of economic science; commodity production, price, value, wages, capital, surplus value, etc.; the main tendencies and characteristic features of the Capitalist system such as concentration of capital, economic contradictions, crises, etc. Text Books: Marx, Value, Price and Profit. Marx, Capital, Volume 1, first nine chapters. Books recommended for further reading: Boudin, Theoretical System of Karl Marx. Bonger, Present Economic System. Marx, Critique of Political Economy. Marx, Wage-Labor and Capital.

### 3. Fundamentals of Marxian Socialism:

The philosophic and historical background of Marxian as an analysis of its constituent elements such as the Marxian conception of history: A careful reading of the Communist Manifesto of 1848, and of the new Communist Manifesto of the Third International; concurrent study of important passages from Engel's Socialism: Utopian and Scientific. Books recommended for further reading: Engel's Landmarks of Scientific Socialism. Boudin, Theoretical

## COMPETITION OR EMULATION IN MODERN INDUSTRY

COMPETITION in capitalist industry arises out of the struggle for profits and has no relationship with industrial emulation which has for its sole object the production of goods. "Competition," says Marx, "is not industrial emulation, it is commercial emulation. In our days industrial emulation only exists in view of commerce. There are some phases in the economic life of modern peoples in which everybody is seized with a kind of vertigo for making profit without producing. This vertigo of speculation, which reappears periodically, discloses the real character of competition which seeks to escape the necessity of industrial emulation."

Referring to the businesslike practice in modern industry of curtailment of production below capacity, in the interest of profit, another economist (Veblen) says, "In very great part the directorate's control of the industry has practically taken the shape of a veto on such measures of production as are not approved by the directorate for businesslike reasons, that is to say for purposes of private gain. Business is a pursuit of profits, and profits are to be had from profitable sales, and profitable sales can be made only if prices are maintained at a profitable level, and prices can be maintained only if the volume of marketable output is kept within reasonable limits; so that the paramount consideration in such business as has to do with the staple industries is a reasonable limitation of the output. "Reasonable" means "what the traffic will bear;" that

is to say, "what will yield the largest net return."

"The business man's place in the economy of nature is to 'make money,' not to produce goods. The production of goods is a mechanical process, incidental to the making of money; whereas the making of money is a pecuniary operation, carried on by bargain and sale, not by mechanical appliances and powers. The business men make use of the mechanical appliances and powers of the industrial system, but they make a pecuniary use of them. And in point of fact, the less use a business man can make of the mechanical appliances and powers under his charge, and the smaller a product he can contrive to turn out for a given return in terms of price, the better it suits his purpose. The highest achievement in business is the nearest approach to getting something for nothing. What any given business concern gains must come out of the total output of productive industry, of course; and to that extent any given business concern has an interest in the continued production of goods. But the less any given business concern can contrive to give for what it gets, the more profitable its own traffic will be. Business success means "getting the best of the bargain." The common good, so far as it is a question of material welfare, is evidently best served by an unhampered working of the industrial system at its full capacity, without interruption or dislocation." . . . But, businesslike sabotage "is indispensable to any large success in industrial business."

System of Karl Marx.

### 4. History of the Working Class Movement:

The development of Trade Unionism from its beginnings in the eighteenth century England to its present world-wide extension, and the growth of Socialism since the French Revolution and especially since 1848, a sketch of the evolution of Proletarian Class consciousness, of the stages through which the movement has passed, of its theories and their testing by experience. Books recommended for reading: Webb, History of Trade Unions. Hoxie, Trade Unionism in the United States. Cole, World of Labor and others. Pamphlets and Literature of the various working class organizations, such as: the A. F. of L., O. B. U., W. I. I. U., and I. W. W.

### 5. The Russian Revolution:

The course and implications of an event the true estimation of which has become the "acid test" of intelligence and humanity; prefaced by brief studies of past political and social revolutions such as the French Revolutions of 1789, 1830, 1848, the Paris Communes of 1871, the Russian Insurrection of 1905; Socialism in action, methods of socialization applied, control and government by the Proletariat. Books recommended for reading: Olgin, The Soul of the Russian Revolution, (1905.) Reed, Ten Days That Shook the World, (1917.) Ransome, Russia in 1919. Any of Lenine's or Trotsky's writings that have not been banned.

## COL. KELLY ON THE RUSSIAN SCANDAL

LONDON, Oct. 29.—Lieut.-Colonel J. Sherwood Kelly, holder of the Victoria Cross, pleaded guilty before a court-martial yesterday to writing letters to a London newspaper in which he asserted, among other things, that "there has been a scandalous waste of lives and of vast sums of money" in the operations of the British in Russia. Other letters by Lieut.-Col. Kelly were to give facts in connection with North Russia, that otherwise might never have come to light.

One letter said that troops sent to Russia for defensive purposes were used on the offensive in the furtherance of an ambitious plan of campaign entailing not only undue losses, but the suffering of troops who already had made incalculable sacrifices in the great war.

Lieut.-Colonel Kelly pleaded for a mitigation of sentence on the grounds of previous service and because, in writing, he was actuated by a desire to "protect men against needless sacrifice and to save the country from squandering money which it could ill afford to do."

He declared also that "politicians who are responsible for the waste of British lives in the Russian scandal should be brought to trial."

The sentence against the officer will be promulgated.

Propaganda meeting, Sunday, 8 p.m. Empress theatre, Gore and Hastings.