

WESTERN CLARION

Official Organ of
THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

HISTORY
ECONOMICS
PHILOSOPHY

No. 385

NINETEENTH YEAR.

Twice a Month

VANCOUVER, B.C., FEBRUARY 15, 1923

FIVE CENTS

Farmers and Quacks

By DONALD MACPHERSON.

MANY are the phrases, catch words and slogans that are used these days to camouflage the real and only issue that stands between the farmers and other members of the working class and their emancipation.

I have here before me the official organ of the United Farmers of Alberta, namely the U. F. A., of February 1st, 1923. It contains a full report of the seventh annual address of President H. W. Wood, also a summary, or diary, as they call it, of the annual Convention held in Calgary January 16th to 19th, of this year. I will deal with some passages of the President's address first, as he is "the" leading light of the farmers' organization, the U. F. A. And let us all take note of the veritable bunk that emanates from this highly esteemed leader of the blind.

After dealing slightly with the crisis in Agriculture in the first paragraph, the second runs: "In fact there are those who believe that a complete collapse is imminent, that the violent abuse from quack doctoring of our economic system has gone so far that a general breaking down is unavoidable, and that on the wreckage of our present Mammonistic financial system a new one will have to be slowly and laboriously built."

Quack doctoring is right. We have only to view the past political somersaults of Messrs. Crearer & Co., leading lights in the U. G. G., i.e., the financial foster mother of the U. F. A. Again, Mr. Wood says: "We are beginning this year with a world-wide economic condition in which agriculture is prostrate, trade tottering, industrial activities arrested, while poverty and misery are world-wide and increasing; all because the blind Samson of finance has seen fit to put his strength against the supporting pillars of industrialism, and the structure is tottering to a fall." Here we have more quackery! Putting the sole blame of industrial world-wide chaos on the financial mechanism of capitalism alone without explanation. Why Mr. Samson should do anything so base and cruel is not disclosed.

He again innocently remarks: "Why not look the situation squarely in the face, and at least admit that our financial and economic structure needs a thorough systematic, and scientific investigation with the view of finding and correcting flaws and defects? By this method and no other can we hope to establish a firm and stable basis for optimism regarding the future of civilization." I am sure that Mr. Wood should know full well that scientific and systematic investigation has been going on by the master class for ages, as to the best and most effective methods to fleece the farmers and the wage workers of the surplus they produce. On the other hand, if he expects the ruling class to stop fleecing by investigation, etc., then he is expecting something beyond reason. The fleecing of the slaves can't be stopped by such methods, nor by social reforms and palliatives, but by the understanding by the people of the underlying social and economic laws that rule and govern human conduct.

The U. F. A. and the U. G. G. and the labor fakirs are not interested in educating the farmers and the working class along scientific lines. They evade the real issue of exploitation and skinning as they would poison. Financial Reform is the latest dope

they try to inoculate into our systems. Major Douglas's book on "Economic Democracy." "Credit Power and Democracy," "The New Economics" by Cumberland and Harrison, and various others who try to discredit the labor theory of Surplus Value and raise anew on a higher pedestal old theories garbed in new language that have been relegated to the scrap heap of bunk years ago. These gentry try to tell the Farmer and other slaves that the Bankers are the real robbers. The mortgage companies, oil trusts, steel trusts, machinery and engineering combines, who heap and conjure billions of dollars every year out of "gall and thin air" are all right; they don't exploit labor. The laborer is not exploited at all by these gentry; they (the capitalists) are really benefactors, benevolent, kind hearted folk who are interested solely in having prosperous times to keep the poor workers and their wives and babies in a grub stake—altruistic, kindly disposed gentlemen that they are!

But may we ask Mr. Wood, Mr. Douglas, et. al.—Why? If the financiers are fleecing the poor farmers, and the industrial workers who own no finances practically and can borrow next to nothing as they are nearly always broke, with the exception of 3 per cent of the farmers, and less than that of the industrial workers which is not worth speaking of, there must be a tremendous amount of skinning and fleecing taking place all the time by the naughty financiers of those who own real property, such as the big capitalistic concerns, etc., railroad and steamship outfits, etc, etc.

I am afraid it is from some of the bigger interests that the voice of Economic Democracy is coming. They will use the workers to do the squealing and kicking, as they have always done in the past!

Reverting back to Mr. H. W. Wood and the U. F. A. Convention. He says: "Political democracy and political autocracy are irreconcilable, and we find all the adherents of political autocracy fighting against political democracy, even though in an extremity they may have to fight together." I am sure they will fight together; if they may have political petty squabbles there will be no blood spilt. They will all join together in defence of private property, and in trying to rear the derelict structure of capitalism on a foundation of sand, that the farm and industrial slaves may again be more effectively exploited. But it can't be done. Economic forces inherent in the present social order can no longer harmonize with the glad song of rent, interest and profit.

Further on in his speech he deals with immigration, and bewails the fact that the land is unsettled. He says: "That it is in the best interest of all concerned that any country should be settled to a normal degree of density would hardly be questioned by anyone."

Surely anyone with a modicum of knowledge of economics will not agree that a denser settlement than we have now will be favourable to the Western farmer. A few million more settlers on the Western prairies will simply mean a few million more bushels of wheat, and thousands more of cattle, sheep and swine to swell an already glutted world market. The wail of all our politicians, bourgeois econom-

ists, press, and the U. F. A. is for markets. Still Wood & Company hearken to their master's voice for more cheap slaves to increase the ranks of an ever swelling, industrial reserve army.

The greater the volume of farm commodities produced, according to the law of supply and demand, the cheaper these commodities will become, which will mean more starvation and misery to the farmers. In order to be logical Mr. Wood ought to be advocating a curtailment of farm production, such as is being advocated by the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, in their special sphere of production.

Further on, Mr. Wood after giving facts and figures on immigration shows there is something wrong as the settlers refuse to settle after they get on the land. He does not tell us what the cause of this state of affairs is. Neither does he tell us of 15 to 20 years ago, when this great and glorious west was being settled, when slaves from across the pond were forced to leave their happy homes and their relatives and friends, and come to a cold country, and suffer privation and hardships that no dumb animals could patiently endure. This story can hardly be crammed in a short article. Volumes could be written on the tears and blood and sweat and cold and hunger of those who did the pioneering work, and out of whom fortunes have been extracted. Today they are still slaves, poor, wretched, and cast adrift in the foul stinking mess of the Capitalist system, still victims of strange delusions, ready to lend a listening ear to all kinds of freaks and quacks who talk of reforms, and co-operation, wheat pools, group governments, farmers' banks and other piffle that is supposed to deliver them out of their wretched misery into the promised land, where life will be one continual round of pleasure.

WHAT THE CONVENTION DID (Copied from U. F. A. official organ.)

Asked Alberta Legislature to create provincial wheat pool, if efforts to establish Federal pool should not succeed.

Urged Dominion Government to establish adequate grain storage facilities at Pacific Coast, and to abolish discrimination in west bound freight rates.

Re-indorsed resolutions asking for Province owned Bank and Federal Loan department, but rejected proposal that Alberta Government should issue Provincial Bonds to liquidate farmers' debts under a funding plan.

Adopted proposition of new constitution.

Proposed creation of Dominion wide organization to be known as "The United Farmers of Canada."

Approved livestock pooling plan as outlined by the U. G. G.

Asked Federal Government to assist needy settlers by providing seed grain for new land or land under summer fallow, and feed for the necessary horse power.

Asked Alberta Government to make the Drought Relief Commissioner official assignee in rural districts.

I leave it to Clarion readers to judge if this is an honest effort to emancipate the farmers from the yoke of capitalism.

Conditions will prevail in the near future when quacks and quackery will not satisfy the needs, wants and desires of the farmer. He will seek another route whereby he can get relief. That route is understanding of the forces that are keeping them chained to a master class; he will make common cause with his brother wage slave.

By the Way

IF these notes should continue to appear in the Clarion, no doubt readers will find reason from time to time to disagree with what the writer has to say. In such case I hope the grounds of disagreement will be valid ones. That I bring before the reader questions that matter and stimulate thought upon them, will remain to console me. Sometimes it may be with malice prepense that the writer is deliberately provocative, desiring to stir up thought out of the rut of routine, repeating and conformity.

That bad mental habit leads to the "thoughtlessness" characteristic of the creeds. Their principles are held to be fixed rules covering facts in all times and places, as a thimble covers a pea. They betoken a habit of mind hostile to ideas and an outlook on life reluctant to acknowledge change. On the other hand, as I understand it, Socialism is a science whose principles are methods; methods of interpreting and of judging the facts of an ever changing, ever unfolding social process. So considered, principles are simply aids to intelligence in dealing with new situations.

In the last issue I referred to the necessity of working class education on the social problem, but, be one however eloquent on that subject, it can never be done justice to. There is then left the constant repetition of the exhortation: Educate. And the Clarion. Spade workers in the Socialist movement, do not forget our unique instrument for that purpose! Get new subscribers! Support it every day, in every way you can!

"Permanent war or revolution," says Trotsky; "It is a race between education and catastrophe" says H. G. Wells: and many others ring the changes on the same theme. Some of them in despairing tones, others more hopefully. Civilization, all of them say, is in peril. The social problem is a world problem. It is not particularly a British, or French, or German, or Italian, or Russian, or American problem to be solved by approaching it with a mental bias in favor of any one of such national entities. Look at European conditions, fruit of the economics of predatory nationalisms on the physical plane of material wealth. It is oil, it is coal, or coke, or iron, or it is strong places strategically important in case of war the nations compete for like "monsters in the prime," as though industrial power could not create a sufficiency for all. In the finer arts, literature, music, etc., in scientific discovery, in the art of healing, medicine, surgery, etc., competitive rivalry is characterized by friendly emulation and international intercourse that yet is efficient in stimulating creative activity. But such interests are void of the profit principle! Here difference of nationality sets up no barriers. In fact such differences are recognized as advantages, for they mean diversity of effort in diverse lines of endeavor, the results a contribution to the common good, varied and rich.

Nevertheless, another code of rules for another department of life, where profit holds sway, presided over by the great god Capital. Here the press and the pulpit, whose special care is our spiritual welfare, are careful that we do not lose our sacred social superstitions and those nationalistic prejudices that make possible the beastly struggle within the human family.

In British Columbia we have had another mining disaster, taking its toll of working humanity. The Editors are to the forefront, of course, with copiously worded regrets and consolations. I would not disparage the value of any consolations to the bereaved, nor would I care to deny the common human feelings to editors, but—Oh for consistency. We remember the venomous slander with which those very editors pursued those very miners a few years ago, when mine conditions were the bone of con-

tention between the miners and the companies. It was under cover of a flood of misrepresentation by the press that the then Attorney General felt confident to say to a delegation of miners interviewing him on gas in a mine: "My answer to you is a thousand bayonets in Nanaimo tomorrow morning." So bayonets and machine guns covered the operations of thugs, and professional strike-breaking agencies. Wholesale arrests and convictions were then the order until the miners were forced back to work. To this day they are without an organization recognized by the employers.

The present calamity calls too loudly for an expression of sympathy for those closely affected and the mining community at large for the press to ignore it, yet even so, the editors could not forget their lackey's function to put an edifying face on capitalist operations of industry: "The cause of the explosion is wrapt in mystery, etc, etc." The spokesmen of edification stretch their philosophy to its limits: "Thy will be done," is the refrain that blunts and checkmates the public interest that leads to the search for material causes. At least one editor ought to be elected President of the Amalgamated Boosters' Club of B. C. After cutting up to the tune of "In Christian truths are to be found our consolations," he prints a spurious list of mining disasters which had taken large toll or life in various parts of the world. I call it a spurious list because it omits to mention any British Columbia mining disaster, whereas there have been many with large losses in human life, and because its effect and, I think, its deliberate intention was to deceive the B. C. community, if not also the larger community outside. Else why not mention the Fernie disaster of about 1903 with over 500 lives, or Morrissey, with somewhere around 100. There are many others of magnitude of which I can not give exact detail.

A syndicated article, in a recent issue of a Vancouver daily paper, concerning the threatened world revolution which so many feared and others hoped for immediately after the war, asks the question: "What has become of it?" and inconclusively answers by saying that "something has happened to change the opinion of the people." Socialists, with their sense of an historical process, might say that far from the world revolution having disappeared, on the contrary, it is now on; and that any change in the opinion of the people is still in that direction. Nevertheless, neither the hopes of one party nor the fears of the other materialized in the shape they had in mind. We all underestimated at least one important factor in the situation, and that was the force of lag in social change. And our failure to make an effective study of social psychology led, I think, to that. Men do not, can not, change deep-rooted social habits, whether of thought or of action, as they would change a shirt. As a social being, man is a creature of habit. Born into a society ready-made, from his birth he learns by precept and example and by many compulsions to satisfy or to curb his impulses, wants and desires, according to already socially established standards of conduct and ways of doing things. However, my space is already exhausted, and further comment along these lines on this subject may be taken up in a succeeding issue.

A last word: The Clarion needs more subscribers! C.

Some Notes taken from an address on
"PROFITS AND WAGES"
Delivered by J. G. MORGAN, at the Central
Mission, Vancouver, B. C., Feby. 10th, 1923.

BEFORE entering our subject proper, let us define a few phrases that we may use in our discussion; this will tend to lay the ground which we will try to unfold.

In order to live, it is necessary to have an in-

come, and we are concerned here to find out what this income consists of and how we get it.

Wealth is a continuous stream of products which, we can say for general purposes, is produced and consumed annually.

Life is a process of assimilation and dissemination of these products.

The human body can be compared with a machine as an accumulator.

For the act of production we must have labor and the necessary tools to be applied to the land, to appropriate the necessary means of subsistence.

This productive action is a matter of changing the form of the material objects to suit the wants of man.

There is nothing creative about this process; man moves these objects about and with the help of nature they acquire the desired form, place and time utility.

A normal man is capable of exerting a force equal to that of 1/7 of a horse power.

Primitive man, like most other animals, is capable of working collectively. His means of communication have developed enormously. He also accumulates and records knowledge.

With this co-operation, we notice the division and sub-division of labor. All of which results in a condition of affairs in which a man is able to produce more than he—by reason of the limits set by the price of his labor-power—is able to consume.

This division of labor gives rise to a section of society who administrate, who later develop as dominators; and later still to an idle class who do nothing towards the production of the things necessary to meet the wants of man.

With this we notice the development of property rights, which necessitate the development of the state.

Our time is limited, so we will jump into the epoch of the production of commodities by a working class who live by the sale of their labor-power.

Some people state that labor or labor-power is not a commodity, but we can say definitely that the laborer sells his Body-Force, Energy, or power to labor to the capitalist for a price, or money-wage.

This price or wage may be looked at from three different angles: Nominal Wage, which is the amount in money the laborer receives: Real Wage, the amount of necessities he can buy: and Relative Wage, the proportion he receives relative to the total product which results from the use of his labor.

The industrialist obtains the necessary means for the productive-process: land for which he pays rent to its owner; finance for which he pays interest; and labor for which he pays wages to the laborer, who buys the means of existence to allow him to appear on the job the next day.

Our trouble now is to find out what brings these Values into existence. Land and Machinery are the constant factor, so they cannot create values. Labor is the active factor, and when applied to the constant factor it brings all values into existence.

Admitting property right to the capitalist class it follows that they control us, our actions, and that they own all that results from our actions, excepting of course that which is necessary to maintain us as a working class, which we receive in the form of wages.

C. CROOK.

REFLECTIONS ON FARMING.

BY GEORGE PATON.

As we are carried around by our little sphere we view the different aspects of Capitalism as we move along. Dark and Abyssmal is the stage we have reached and the deep sounding toll of the bell rings the warning of the approach of the closing years of human slavery. While the highest expression of Capitalism is striving to maintain its power by its numerous continental gatherings and invitation feasting the whole social fabric is rocking upon its rotten foundation. Every year brings its difficulties, and all modern nations find it harder and harder to surmount the obstacles that each year brings forth.

We can recall the time during the great war when the genteel friends of patriotism interrogated platform speakers as to what they would do if a foreign foe entered their mother's home and threatened to drive her out. Canadian mothers by the thousands are now being driven by Capitalism from their homes and not a single Hun has taken any part in the project. Bankers demand the signatures of mothers and fathers to chattel mortgages, denying them exemption rights and, in default of payment of a little borrowed money to keep the wolf from the door the bank forecloses, then seizes all chattles, even the very milk is snatched away from the mouth of the child.

Wage earners from the centers of industry who were wheedled into settling on the land by the paintings of Canadian farm homes showing roses climbing up the pillars of the verandahs are sorely in distress. Instead of roses climbing up the pillars of the verandah the victims discover mortgages equal to \$200 per head for every man, woman and child, rural and urban, in the three western provinces decorating the verandah.

The Calgary "Herald" Jan. 16th, 1923 reports the farmers' government rendering help to the needy by strengthening the hands of the mortgage companies. Capital is required from outside to help the farmers, or more correctly to chain them tighter to their endless task. The farmers' government must comply with the demands of capitalism or go out of business.

To expect any government to better the conditions that infest the farmers and wage workers and still maintain Capitalism is out of all reason.

Wage workers and farmers frantically rushed their representatives to power, but contrary to expectation the enemies of the working class are strapped firmer to the saddle of exploitation. The latest moves of the Alberta Farmer's Government proves the deception. To rescue the perishing farmers of the South, legislation favours the migration of the victims to the North of Alberta. Capitalist missionaries report that we have perpetual daylight during the summer months in the North. Southern farmers found it hard to live in normal times with the product of sixteen hours labor, but in the North the product of 24 hours may meet the demands of the Capitalists that are called upon from outside by the farmers government to "help the farmers out." The farmer's journalists are behind the government and say that if immigrants cannot make both ends meet where perpetual daylight reigns throughout the summer months they can revert to barbarism and start rat catching. The "farmer trapper" will not require lamp oil; hides can be stripped from the muskrat in the light of the Aurora Borealis.

Capitalism demands the human pelt, then compels the peltless human animal to skin and wrap the pelt of fur-bearing animals up with his own hide and fork it over to the capitalist, encouraged and protected by a farmer and labor government.

Again, we are told, in order to restore peace and prosperity, we must have a large population and more capital. The painter must get busy again. More capital means more wage slaves and farm slaves will be set in motion. With the influx of labor and capital we will have a further accumulation of surplus value, taxing the power of the country to get rid of the burden. So soon as Capitalism is bound up by the burden of its own creation it bel-

lows through the nostrils of its flunkies for more room for expansion.

Another Capitalist move and the farmers will be clinging to the axis of our planet at the North Pole.

Why monkey further with reform governments? Get in touch with the Socialist Party of Canada, and study Socialist literature that will inform you what you should do when Capitalism enters your mother's home and throws both her and the family out.

THIS "BEST OF ALL POSSIBLE WORLDS."

As the Statistician Sees it.

A CIRCULAR, printed by a large insurance corporation contains the following interesting statistics, which, it says, are obtained from government reports: "Out of every hundred men at the age of 65, 54 will be dependant upon charity, public or private, 36 will be dead, 6 obliged to work for a bare living; 3 will be well-to-do, and one will be wealthy."

Nothing could, from our point of view, better prove our contention that this world of ours is not quite altogether perfect. A social system that produces the results stated above is not such as to merit our unstinted praise, for we are inclined to think that in such a glorious age as we are supposed to be living in, the results ought to have been somewhat more pleasing.

"Fifty-four will be dependent on charity." Why? Because they have been unable to bear the strains of our inhuman industrial system for a period of forty years. And so they have broken down to become a source of burden to their friends, relatives and the state. It may be argued that several of them were shiftless, lazy and indolent or they would have been better off. The blame for this, however, should not be laid at the door of these unfortunates, but at the system of society that takes such little concern in human welfare and places such great importance on individual gain.

"Thirty-six will be dead," almost before they have begun to live. Why? Simply because they could not stand the terrific strain of the struggle for existence until they would have reached the age of sixty-five. And many are the victims of the system who die, not only before sixty-five, but before twenty-five, and even in childhood or in infancy, all on account of the fact that capitalists in order to flourish must of necessity exploit the individual as well as the resources of Nature. Thirty-six per cent of the population dying before the age of sixty-five is one of the outstanding achievements of our glorious civilization. With the aid of science and a better social system the industrial diseases and the social diseases so rampant in the world to-day would soon disappear, and the average span of human life would be lengthened greatly.

"Six will be obliged to work for a bare living." A glorious prospect for the young man starting out in life to know that, after having worked for forty years, he will still be obliged to toil in the traces until the end of his life in order that he may exist. "But," we are told, "if these men had been thrifty, and sober, and wise, and had invested their money instead of spending it aimlessly as they no doubt did, they would have been far better off, and possibly well-to-do." A cheering argument, indeed, when the wages paid under our inhuman industrial system never exceed the cost of subsistence. We claim that the fault does not lie with the individual, but with the society that produced the individual. Against the social system the individual, acting in that capacity, is more than helpless.

"Three will be well-to-do, and one will be wealthy." That is what we have been contending all the time: that 95% of the people are dominated by the other 5%. But according to this report it is 96%. And soon it will be 99% dominated by 1%, and our chances to become wealthy or well-to-do will be even less than they are now. But, were the wealth of society not controlled by the capitalist class, who constitute so small a portion of the population, the disinherited of this earth might be a little better off.

But as it is, the vast majority of people are condemned to poverty and toil, starvation, dirt and disease and early death, while a few aristocrats lord it over them in ease and luxury.

The report further tells us that out of every hundred estates of men, eighty-two leave nothing, and that out of every hundred widows, thirty-five are dependent on charity and forty-seven must work in order to exist.

Nothing we could say ourselves could condemn our social system to a greater degree than do these facts (and the circular emphatically claims that they are facts), published by this large insurance corporation as an inducement to get people to buy policies as a sure remedy for all the above enumerated evils.

Again we say that a system of society that condemns the vast majority of the people to poverty, toil, starvation and premature death, is not a system that should be tolerated by those sorely oppressed therein, and that the only way they can attain freedom from these conditions is to strike themselves the blow which will set them free and allow them to live decent lives such as real men and women should live.

But while they themselves must find the way out they can do that only if they understand the forces bearing upon their present condition. The lack of understanding holds them in thralldom. The task of spreading the doctrine of working class education is not spectacular and it can hardly be considered to be popular, but it strikes directly at the foundation of working class misery: working class ignorance.

J. B. GOLDSTONE.

CLARION MAINTENANCE FUND.

J. R. MacDonald \$4; A. J. Turner \$1; Des Moines Comrades (per Frank Williams) \$5; S. H. Colwell \$2.50; John Eslinger \$2; Fred Cocker \$2; W. F. Welling \$1.50; Mrs. Dey \$1; J. Parnell \$1; H. Kersten 50 cents; Jack Dennis \$1; Tom Richardson \$1; J. J. MacDonald \$5; Geo. R. Ronald 35 cents; St. John Comrades (per M. Goudie) \$11.25,

Following collected by L. Hoey: J. S. McPhie \$2.50; J. Ulrich \$2; L. Hoey \$9; Mrs. Rumpler \$1; H. Pollock \$1; Dr. Kavinoki \$1; R. Castner \$1. (Hoey's collection \$17.50). Following collected by T. A. Lessey: F. Kelly \$5; J. Isenstein \$1; W. Smith \$1; Mrs. S. Warsh \$1; W. Watts \$1; Dan Pollett \$1; C. Hollingshead \$1; A. Supporter \$1; A. Wellwisher \$1; S. Warsh 50 cents; A. Tree 50 cents; A. Roberts 50 cents; T. A. Lessey 50 cents. (Lessey's collection \$15).

Above, Clarion Maintenance Fund receipts from 31st Jan. to 13th Feby., inclusive, total \$71.60.

Socialist Party of Canada
PROPAGANDA MEETINGS

STAR THEATRE, 300 Block, Main Street

February 18th. Speaker, ROBT. KIRK.

February 25th. Speaker, J. D. HARRINGTON.

New Westminster, Edison Theatre:

February 25th. Speaker, W. A. PRITCHARD.

All meetings at 8 p.m.

MEETINGS EVERY SUNDAY.

Questions. Discussion.

Western Clarion

A Journal of History, Economics, Philosophy,
and Current Events.

Published twice a month by the Socialist Party of
Canada, P. O. Box 710, Vancouver, B. C.
Entered at G. P. O. as a newspaper.

Editor.....Ewen MacLeod

SUBSCRIPTION:

Canada, 20 issues \$1.00
Foreign, 16 issues \$1.00

886 If this number is on your address label your
subscription expires with next issue. Renew
promptly.

VANCOUVER, B.C., FEBRUARY 15, 1923

CLARION MAIL BAG.

CLARION Mail Bag enthusiasts will be sorry to learn that Comrade Earp is sick. He is a patient at St. Paul's Hospital, Vancouver (Ward 411. A visitor now and then will find ward 411 the most cheerful corner of the gloom house). At first we thought he had surrendered before the onrush of a possible avalanche of finance in view of his constant encouragement to Mail Bag correspondents, but his trouble is of another order. Francis (Lord) Bacon used to say that "Reading maketh a full man, conference a ready man, and writing an exact man." Comrade Earp adds, "and overwork maketh a tired man, a weary man and, at times a sick man." All hands will join with us in hopes of a quick recovery.

Following the practice established by Com. Earp we open the Mail Bag in the Maritime country and first we come upon M. Goudie, St. John, N. B. This man Goudie is one who earns his living by making queer noises on a violin. Such time as he has on hand after piloting the young folks up and down the scale, he entices friends and acquaintances into his parlor and performs to the tune of the Clarion Maintenance Fund and, as Mail Bag readers well know, with happy result. This time, in the name of the St. John comrades, he sends \$11.25 to the C. M. F.

If Sam. Gompers, Tom Moore and Co. could read what C. Woolings, Georgetown, Ont. thinks of them and their habitual practices, they would (we hope) encounter restless nights. Comrade Woolings was a member of Local Victoria in 1911 and now lives in the land of the Presbytery. Without a doubt the labor leaders need criticism and, sometimes, denunciation. Comrade Woolings will remember, though, that they cannot be worse than the system that breeds them, and working class innocence, somehow or other, manages to tolerate that. Ten cent meal ticket aspirants are sure to generate wherever the misery of wage-labor may be fastened upon, and very often they are somewhat over-anxious. But it will hardly do to let them monopolize all the power of our attack, as Comrade Woolings would like to have it.

Our old friend "Progress" sends us the text of the address of Mr. Colin H. Brunell, President of the United Farmers of Manitoba, an address made at their 20th annual convention. The Manitoba Farmers have over 500 Locals, over 100 Women's sections and more than 15,000 members. They have 23 rural representatives in the Manitoba Legislative Assembly and 12 in the House of Commons. The President says: "We must be careful lest we come to regard our political activities as the main function of our Association, and politics as the panacea for all our ills." It is, no doubt, very natural that the farmers should manifest more understanding of their own efforts toward organization as producers and marketers of general farm produce and grain than of their political ventures, these latter being still somewhat in their infancy, and the former rather a continuous emphasis of cruel experience. Time has not yet yielded to the farmers the full measure of political understanding, but the facts of their experience as producers are recognized by them at once. These facts tend to modify somewhat the first enthusiasm of their early political successes,

and to evoke a further study and reconsideration of the case. President Brunell says:

"There are at the present time more farmers in Canada in financial difficulties than at any time in our history." The purchasing power of farm produce comes in for special mention. Mr. Brunell quotes a neighboring farmer, thus: "Fifty bushels of wheat paid my taxes four years ago, but it took 235 bushels to pay them this year." And: "The farmer who on November 1st 1919 went to pay a \$100 obligation required 38 bushels of No. 1 Northern wheat On November 1st 1922 he would require 95 bushels to pay \$100. If he paid it with oats he required 117 bushels 2 C. W. in 1919, and 218 bushels in 1922; 67 bushels of barley in 1919 and 190 bushels in 1922. If he was a mixed farmer he could meet his \$100 obligation by selling a 952 lb. best butcher steer, four years ago. This last November his steer would have to weigh 1,818 lbs. If he sold hogs, 654 lbs. of selects would pay the bill in 1919, but it would take 1,025 lbs. to do the trick in 1922."

There are the farmer's worries all in a nutshell, and when we add interest on loans, taxation and operation expenses, we account for his present misery. The farmer, beast of burden that he is, tries to offset this—in face of a climbing pile of farm produce now unsold—by MORE WORK. The President says: "Many farmers are using the most up-to-date machinery, driving six and eight-horse teams where they used to drive four, and working 16 hours where they used to work 12." They will continue to spend their time worrying about tariffs, freight rates, cooperative buying and marketing, eliminating the commission man, the jobber, examining double taxation—taxation to the manufacturer and to the government—cooperative banking, all in trying to keep ahead of a dollar bill. They are bound to do this until they find they have a problem in common with all producers, and here is the opportunity for every socialist educator to share his knowledge with those on the land who need it. Every socialist is, or should be, a propagandist.

Comrade John Glendenning, of Winnipeg, writes a long letter concerning the S. P. of C. Local there and the O. B. U. He says the officials of the O. B. U. assert that all Locals of the S. P. of C., excepting Winnipeg Local, support the position of the O. B. U.

Now there is apparently considerable friction existing in Winnipeg over the functions of organizations, industrial and political, and we cannot regard the O. B. U., nor for that matter the A. F. of L., as a rival organization to the S. P. of C. They (the O. B. U. and the A. F. of L.) are rather to be considered as rivals of one another, each functioning primarily in the day-to-day operations of industrial life. They may—and they do—attract people who take advantage of such opportunities as may offer to promote various educational policies, good, bad and indifferent, for working class advancement. There follows from this endless argument as to the respective merits of industrial organizations, craft union and otherwise, as agencies of working class emancipation, sometimes to be considered as agencies working to the exclusion of all others. Well now it is apparent, as a roll-call of general trade union membership will testify, that membership in these organizations is conditioned by the job, and the magnitude of that membership is conditioned by the state of the job market. Such disputes as arise between, let us say, the O. B. U. and the A. F. of L. arise, in the main, over that essential feature of any and all industrial unions as necessary to the maintenance of a dues-paying membership—the matter of functioning, as a union, in the job areas. There attaches itself, of course, to the various organizations, in greater or less degree something of class understanding and class propaganda, and a measure also of class loyalty, but no union can live wholly on that, as unions now are. The rival merits of one form of industrial organization as against another are tested according to their several capacities to meet the needs of wage workers organized in industry, according to the nature of the industry, whether it be operated by skilled or unskilled labor or by labor that is seasonal, migratory, and so forth. For instance, it can-

not be denied that the I. W. W. have succeeded in organizing thousands of men in industry that the A. F. of L. have left untouched. That form of combination, it would seem, appears to meet the organizational wants imposed upon wage workers engaged in certain avenues of employment. Functioning as trade unions is the test imposed upon all forms of trade unions, in spite of some considerable palaver which, at times, would have us consider the I. W. W. man as a sort of biological entity all by himself. It is a fact worth noting also that those occupations which feature a lack of skill, or which do not entail a long apprenticeship, generally promote and foster the growth of organizations committed to policies more radical than those organizations based on craft affiliations find to be acceptable. The unions of what, for convenience, we may call unskilled workers, generally adopt the most highly sounding titles and the farthest flung policies. The craft unions having, or supposing themselves to have something to conserve, are not so susceptible to radical innovations. As to politics, such time as the growth or work of trade union organization is confronted by the structure of the state or the framework of the law, to the hindrance of union activities in any way, the members' attention is diverted to the field of politics necessarily, with direct concern as to the possibilities of success in labor organization. An examination of trade union history will bear this out.

Now this, we hope it will be recognized, is not intended to nourish any feeling of ill-will among the folk who are loyal to their organizations and who see in them useful avenues toward working class enlightenment. The individual wage worker can hardly be said to choose his organization. Rather, it may be said, the nature of the industry favors given forms of industrial organization, and these in turn largely govern the actions of and attract to themselves their adherents. The quarrel between the A. F. of L. and the O. B. U. in Canada is a quarrel over their respective merits as industrial organizations of wage workers. If they succeed in functioning in that way they stay. If they don't they die. Yet one may thrive where the other cannot. No doubt in the present quarrel the disputants are more familiar with the accumulated details of the matter than we are. At any rate, as far as concerns our work as socialists we should very much like to see the back-yard battles, where everybody is a general in strategy and there are never any casualties, come to an end. Yet it takes time (and we are fully aware of it) to wear off the ragged edges from working class differences of opinion and, perhaps, to forget the circumstances in which have been lodged violated pledges and questionable practices which, too, are undoubtedly contributory factors in present time prevailing disputes.

Comrade Ashton of Winnipeg writes a friendly criticism of Com. Stephenson's statement of the Soviet case and an appreciation of MacPherson's "Farmer's Misery." A. Jankoff and J. M. Sanderson each send a sub. Sandy has or had gripe or something. He gets no sympathy from us, for he was consumed with merriment when we had it.

Fred Wood, Morgan Cassin and L. B. LaMarche all send subs. from Sask. La Marche asks Bob. Power to write to him; address Anglia, Sask. P. J. Hunt and Geo. Ronald send subs. from Fiske. Ronald says the farmers mostly interested in our propaganda are those in the dire straits. We're the last hope, apparently.

Geo. Donaldson of Local 110, of the S. P. of C. Stanmore, Alberta, writes of his work and that of the comrades in the neighborhood. Their meetings are well attended, particularly since Lestor's visit, by members of the United Farmers. Likewise comrade George Paton. He finds that the farmers around Delburne are the more perplexed the more they work. The schools are being closed through lack of funds, the municipalities in the agricultural areas are in financial straits and even the bankers are worrying about the chances of recovery. Comrade Exelby, secretary, Alta. P. E. C. (succeeding Com. R. Burns) sends for 1000 leaflets containing the article "Where Are We At?" for distribution. Comrade T. A. Lessey sends a well formulated let-

ter outlining his experiences selling literature to the delegates at the Farmers' convention, held in Calgary a few weeks ago. He says: "It was very hard work to get them to buy. One individual asked me what I means by 'Slave of the Farm.' I told him it was a person who had 160 acres, more or less, mortgaged beyond redemption and thinking that it was his. Another, a sprightly dressed young lady, when I offered her the 'Slave of the Farm' said, 'I don't like being a slave.' I answered by saying, 'I don't like being a slave myself, but I am none the less.'

"After sitting through two or three sessions of the Farmers' Convention I am convinced that the revolution is around the corner. Anyway, it is out of sight. With all the instruments at my disposal I can't focus the darn thing." He sends along some literature moneys and some C. M. F. contributions which will be recorded under "Here and Now." Comrade T. De Mott, of Michichi, Alberta, sending some Clarion moneys (which were recorded in last issue), says:

"If you have to make the Clarion half as big, or issue it half as often, it might be well before taking this step to ask through the Clarion for subscribers who could and would donate \$5 apiece to keep it at its present standard. I for one will do this, although I am not a member of the Party.

We commend this quotation to the willing and able ones and, in the meantime, we will wheedle as many issues out of a hungry printer as we can, adopting meanwhile the philosophy of Micawber, awaiting the essential "something to turn up."

Ed Fiala, E. Robinson, John Eslinger, John Mackenzie and H. Dosh send Clarion moneys. Comrade MacPherson says the Wimborne Economics class has twenty promising young students. Comrade Quinn of Calgary has been of invaluable assistance in organizing the class. Mac asks that "Geordie" be "induced" to review the Douglas proposals, as these doctrines are under deep consideration in the Farmers' organizations throughout the country, and a Clarion review by "Geordie" of the Douglas doctrines would be eagerly sized upon. We make no promises on Geordie's behalf, but we'll promise to worry him.

S. H. Colwell, Claude F. Orchard, Gus. Johnson, G. Lamont, H. Kersten, Alex Miller, H. Schlinsog and J. Gray send Clarion moneys from B. C. points. Also Walter Read, Walter, or "Smacker" Read as he is better known, came to B. C. with the late Comrade H. M. Fitzgerald in 1909. Fitz, unfortunately, is now under the sod, and Smacker has exclusive rights to a stump ranch on the northern B. C. coast, where the crops are harvested with a hammer and drill or, for variety, with a gill-net or a peevie; where the family pets are as corpulent as the nimble weazel and the songsters are of a corvine complexion.

Sundry subs. have been collected in Vancouver and Com. Chadwick sends Clarion moneys by mail (acknowledged last issue). Writing from Nanaimo, T. A. Barnard says: "I wish to express my appreciation for the splendid article in your issue, Febr. 1st by J. Harrington. I enjoy and benefit by many articles appearing from time to time in the Clarion, and I wish it long life and increased circulation." Comrade Jordan, Secretary of Nanaimo Local 111 of the S. P. of C. has been appointed by the Island miners to attend the enquiry into the causes of the recent mine disaster at Cumberland.

Comrade Moore of Lund, B. C., sends a letter "concerning fairies, religion, socialism and theology." Comrade Moore thinks some people who might be attracted to an enquiry into the socialist case and who are not very much worried over theology are at the same time possessed of a religious sentiment which we should not offend. They "have an inherent conviction that the universe is operated by a ruling mind," he avers. He says Shakespeare, Goethe, Burns, Tennyson, Kant and Socrates were governed by a broad religious sentiment. Well, maybe. But that "religious sentiment" when subjected to analysis, betrays very human characteristics. Its attributes are featured by time and place, and conditioned by understanding. Tom Paine, for instance, was born and bred in a Quaker environment,

and in his early stages he identified religion with the Christian faith. In his later life he discovered that, from his standpoint, religion and Christianity were irreconcilable. Yet it is recorded that he had conceptions "most sublime" of an "Omnipotent Being" who, however, was not presentable other wise than in kindly thoughts and nicely written language. All churches, he held, were set up to "enslave and terrify mankind, and monopolise power and profit." He asserted his belief in "One God, and no more." Religious duty to him consisted in justice, mercy, and the promotion of happiness.

Now, religion is organized and is recognized by the state. It exists in conformity with the requirements of that state and assumes a doctrinal form. Paine found this out, and many others have found it out also, to their hurt. To exist, it must serve the needs of the state in peace and war, and its practices must shape themselves according to the tenets of patriotism and profit. Washington was a Deist, but the young republic needed the Christian religion and Paine violated the tenets of the only true religion—which is official religion, in whatever state it may be found, and according to the structure of that state. Paine, the intellectual representative of the American revolution, neglected by the young republic he had labored to bring into being, lay rotting in a jail of the French revolution and expressed his thoughts of the religion of Washington, his words directed to the sculptor who was to make the statue of Washington:

"Take from the mine the coldest, hardest stone:
"It needs no fashion: it is Washington.
"But if you chisel, let the stroke be rude,
"And on his heart engrave—Ingratitude."

So much for the feelings of one religious man for another, who had once been together in close association and friendship. It is the old "legal, political, religious, aesthetic or philosophic,—ideological forms," which correspond with each other and with the material conditions out of which they, together with man's consciousness, came. Religion is not recognizable in any other form as a factor in social life.

Comrade E. Staples sends a sub. from New Zealand. Comrade M. T. Swanson, organizer for the Proletarian Party in Cleveland, Ohio (2317 Forestdale Ave.), sends a sub. and an invitation to any S. P. men visiting Cleveland to call. J. A. Moore, Oakland, California, sends a sub. and passes some remarks on local conditions and matters of interest concerning propaganda. He says: "Every means is taken here by the authorities to suppress any movement of a radical nature. I believe the only speakers that are not to be disturbed are the religious fanatics." Comrade J. J. MacDonald, Venice, California, sends Clarion moneys. So also John A. McDonald. Also Com. J. Kilgour, on behalf of the 'Frisco Labor College. F. L. Johnson of Local Oakland, S. P. of A. sends a sub, renewal, and expresses appreciation of Calgary's "Where Are We At?" of a recent Clarion issue. Unfortunately, we are unable to supply an order for 100 copies of that issue for Local Oakland, S. P. of A. Comrade Billy Welling, of Redondo Beach, California sends Clarion moneys. Billy used to be a member of Local Vancouver, S. P. of C. Throughout his travels in recent years through the Panama Canal zone and the U. S. A. he has been in correspondence with the Clarion. Comrade L. Hoey, last heard of two years or more ago in Calgary, turns up now at Los Angeles. He sends subs. and C. M. F. donations and says there is an atmosphere of satisfaction and ignorance among the workers of the south. The Calgary folks will look upon Hoey's appearance as a reincarnation. They've asked for him often enough, so there he is. The Clarion is equal to anything!

Comrade Frank Williams sends some donations gathered among the Des Moines, Iowa, Comrades, who have been attending his class there. Frank says the output of the Clarion writers is appreciated all round. Already Com. Williams has found some promising material in the classes. There is the field

of the work that endures. Williams' letter is full of kindly encouragement and recognition of the good work of the Clarion. As a matter of fact all the letters are. We have searched the Mail Bag for a few well chosen and carefully selected insults, denunciations of the Clarion folk as being submerged in dogma, of being literary monsters or of suffering from the cultus highbrow. Not a word of that at all. So we close the Mail Bag with a letter from Comrade F. J. McNey, of 'Frisco. In extending his sub McNey says if he were not so tired and could work a little more he might be able to help the Clarion more financially, but that, again, would prevent his writing. In his "Economic Power and Action" of last issue a sentence near the bottom of the second column should read: "As a matter of fact, if we are ever going to abolish capitalism and replace it by a Socialistic commonwealth, we must separate political power and action from economic power and action, not only theoretically but practically." The top line of third column should read "the means of wealth production." McNey wants to know if Peter Leckie is dead. We'll have to send some abuse to Peter and get him to write up the present happy state of Europe for Clarion readers.

So there is a rough outline of the Mail Bag contents, up to and including February 12th.

HERE AND NOW.

WE don't know what the subjoined figures would represent, stated in the mark, rouble or kronen currencies, but we are sure the Clarion would be in the millionaire class and thus in line for recognition among those who affect to grace their social standing with a degree of pecuniary poise, even if fictitious. For ourselves, we are rather like the farmer with his hogs. He trades hogs for currency and nowadays he clearly perceives that currency, in turn, is worth to him what he can trade it for. So with our currency. Be it marks, kronen, roubles, lire or dollar bills or anything what ever in the newsprint line, its worth to us lies in what amount of printing it will fetch. We are still delinquents in the printer's eye, yet the intercessions of Clarion readers and writers all around have yielded responses that clearly show the "family journal" is well recognized as being useful, and that merits existence, even to the satisfaction of those up-to-the-minute philosophers—the people with "a poverty of purpose"—the pragmatists. At anyrate, if we were to unfold a full text of the encomiums showered upon the Clarion scribes they would blush a rosy red.

However, we set out to perform the task of resetting our keynote to the persistent broadcasting of "S.O.S." and here we are. So be it that we have set that down we will leave our readers in peace, for once. Our financial roll-call rumbles in deeper tones this time, hence our forgiving attitude:—

Following \$1 each: J. R. MacDonald, J. A. Moore, A. J. Turner, Henry Schlinsog, M. T. Swanson, S. H. Colwell, E. Robinson, John Eslinger, J. M. Sanderson, A. Jankoff, Mrs. Dey, J. Parnell, C. Woolings, P. J. Hunt, E. Fiala, Joe Hubble. Following \$1, each collected by L. Hoey: Mrs. Rimpler, C. C. Showen, J. P. Lord, H. M. Soul, E. Levin, B. Foltz and L. Hoey. (Total by L. Hoey \$7).

Following \$2 each: P. Bang, Alex Miller, Geo. R. Ronald, L. B. LaMarche, John A. McDonald, Local Oakland S.P. of A., F. J. McNey.

Dave Lewis \$1.75; J. Gray \$3; 'Frisco Labor College \$5.60; Smacker Read \$5; C. Tassall 50 cents; Local Victoria \$5; W. F. Welling \$4.50; I. L. A., Vancouver, \$5; Geo. Paton \$1.05.

Above, Clarion subs from 31st Jany. to 13th Feby., inclusive, total \$68.40.

The Standard of Living

In Two Parts.

Part I.

THE standard of living is a social standard of life, determined by the material conditions of any given society, at any given time. If those conditions alter, obviously there must be change in the living standards and, conversely, normal changes in the living standards indicate advancement in the technique of production. And in time that advance of the new standard will be correlated.

Because of these material conditions, living standards differ from country to country, and at different times in the same country. The individual handicrafts and self-sufficing production of feudalism brought the life standard to correspondence with feudal economy. Its standard was simple, its wealth distribution comparatively proportionate, because its tools were simple, its methods crude, and its demands on human energy the natural activity of rustic labor.

But with the development of the machine age, the exacting vigilance of moving machinery, minute social divisions of labor efficiency, its nerve racking tension and exhaustion of effort, transformed the crude life standard of agricultural economy into the necessarily higher grade of capitalist technology. High power energy demands high power physique and from its necessities has capital evolved their satisfaction. Compared with preceding societies, the modern standard of life is immensely advanced. At no period of world history, has society been dowered so superabundantly with wealth, luxury, comfort, wellbeing: all that can make work an art, life a delight and man free.

But capital means wage labor. The private ownership of the social means of life involves the enslavement of the dispossessed. And the slave must work on the terms of his master, i. e., wage-labor commodity production (for profit). The more anticipated profit—the more production—the more labor. The more labor, the greater accumulation of capital. For labor can only reproduce its subsistence by increasing capital. Therefore the greater the development of capitalist production, the greater the enslavement of labor. The greater the accumulation of capital, the deeper the poverty of labor, the greater the inequality of wealth. But the more

developed the capacity of the capitalist powers of production and the more disproportionate the wealth distribution becomes, so in the same proportion the living standard of capitalist society declines.

A standard of living is a gauge of life condition, a social measurement of the factual division and enjoyment of social production. Life is the full benefit of the whole social creations—or it is slavery. Life condition is measured by social status, by comparison with the social attainments of the movement. A candle is a first class illuminant till society introduces electricity; walking a charming method of locomotion until the auto and railroad arrive. Any old order of things suffices until new developments arise, and in relation as society approximates the new condition is its living status determined. Social modifications increase social capacities; increased means of wellbeing elevates the standard of life and that standard has fallen for any portion of society unable to command the new condition and opportunity.

Measured with such a scale, whenever the capitalist method of production fails to absorb the social powers it has developed, the social status, the life condition of society, declines. And at a more rapid rate as commercial expansion fails. Under the terms of capital, ownership of the means of life gives to that ownership the total wealth of production and to the producers their efficiency cost of reproduction. Social machinery lessens the value of available social labor, and furthers the inequality of wealth divisions. The subsistence of labor entails the creation of fresh capital, thereby increasing the power of capital over labor, i. e., augmenting the intensity of exploitation. For these reasons, the actual life condition of the proletariat steadily declines.

By the abolition of political society, and production for profits, for communist cooperation and production for use, the standard of life would be immensely exalted, because it would apply with single scope over a free society of community producers. The resources of society would be conserved, its powers and potentialities developed to capacity, its noblest ideals and aspirations mustered to completest fruition. That is the standard of living that socialism offers to humanity.

R.

Is It a Fossil Tooth?

THE finding of a fossil tooth thought to be that of an intermediate between ape and man, in the home state of William Jennings Bryan, principal opponent of the facts of evolution, started a search for further evidence of the animal."

The paragraph quoted above is taken from "Science", Jan. 12th 1923. "Science" is a weekly journal devoted to the advancement of science, published in New York City.

Now I don't like to discourage the scientists, but I am skeptical about that tooth. We must not allow the scientists to bluff us into "believing" that their "pernicious doctrine" of organic evolution can be proved by any such subterfuge. I am convinced that Willie Bryan lost that tooth himself. It may look like the tooth of a man-like ape or an ape-like man. No matter. It is Willie's own tooth. It was found in Willie's own state.

No doubt the scientists will argue that Willie is a modern man, and that the tooth is a monkey-like tooth apparently of a past age, and therefore, although the tooth might belong to one of Willie's ancestors, it could not possibly belong to Willie. But such an argument is futile because, if Willie just had a tail he would be a perfectly good monkey him-

self right now, never mind his ancestors. Furthermore, Willie tells us that if we had the patriotic satisfaction of knowing that we were descended from American monkeys it would not be so bad, but according to Darwin's theory we are descended from foreign monkeys, or Asiatic monkeys, perhaps, even from Bolshevik monkeys. Is it not horrible to think that Willie Bryan, and Nikolai Lenin, may have descended from the same monkey?

Speaking of Willie Bryan's monkey-like characteristics, it is a peculiar psychological fact that the more a man resembles a monkey intellectually, the more furiously he resents the theory that he is closely related to the monkeys biologically. On the other hand, the scientists and philosophers do not seem to consider it any humiliation or disgrace to know that they are closely related to the mammalia in general, and to the monkeys in particular. Let us see what Darwin himself, the man who is supposed to be responsible for most of this "monkey business," has to say on this point.

"He who has seen a savage in his native land will not feel much shame, if forced to acknowledge that the blood of some more humble creature flows in his veins. For my own part I would as soon be descended from that heroic little monkey, who

braved his dreaded enemy in order to save the life of his keeper, or from that old baboon, who descending from the mountains, carried away in triumph his young comrade from a crowd of astonished dogs—as from a savage who delights to torture his enemies, offers up bloody sacrifices, practises infanticide without remorse, treats his wives like slaves, knows no decency, and is haunted by the grossest superstitions."

There you have Darwin's comparison of men and monkeys. He also gives us an idea of how much he worried about his own descent. And yet, we know that we are descended from such savages and barbarians. And the joke—perhaps it would be better to say the tragedy, of the matter is, that we do not have to go back into ancient history to find savages and barbarians of this type. We do not even have to leave this glorious and enlightened land of North America to find "savages" who are haunted by the grossest superstitions, and they are not the aborigines by any means. Nor do we have to go to the islands of Borneo and Papua, or to the jungles of darkest Africa to find "savages" who delight to torture and murder anybody who differs with them in opinion. And this is the type of humans who consider themselves humiliated and disgraced by the theory that they are closely related to the monkeys. I mentioned before that the more a man resembles a monkey the more he resented the idea that he was related to the monkeys. I take that back, it is a slander on the monkeys. There is very little resemblance between men and monkeys when it comes to blood-thirstiness and superstition.

Now about that old yarn which has been going the rounds for the last sixty years or so, to the effect that Darwin said men were descended from monkeys. The popularity of the yarn itself is proof that men are not descended from monkeys. No animal descended from a monkey could possibly be stupid enough to interpret Darwinism in any such a manner. Neither Darwin nor anybody else with any intelligence ever said anything of the kind. What Darwin did say was that men and monkeys were evidently descended from a common ancestor, from some animal that was neither a man nor a monkey, but was the progenitor of both. Of course it is unreasonable to expect the average opponent of Darwinism to understand anything like that. To do so he would have to understand Darwin's theory of the cause of organic evolution, and the "origin of species," which was Darwin's great discovery. And such an effort is entirely beyond his limited intelligence. The question of the "descent of man", or the relationship of men and monkeys, is merely a side issue. Anybody with ordinary intelligence can see by Darwin's own words in the passage I have quoted, that he never even thought of saying that men were descended from monkeys. He tells us that he would "as soon" be descended from a monkey as from a savage, and explains why. His aim, evidently, was to show that the human animal has no cause to consider himself disgraced by his relationship with the monkeys.

But let us get back to Willie Bryan and his tooth. In spite of everything that has been said about Willie and his opposition to Darwinism, he has perhaps done more to popularize Darwin's theory of evolution than any other man in the United States in the last twenty years. Before Willie started out on his rampage, there were millions of people who had never even heard of Darwinism. Others, who may have heard of it but did not know whether it was the name of a prominent movie star, or a new brand of jackass brandy. When Willie went on the war path they began to ask questions such as: "Where is Darwin's still located anyhow?" Or: "Where did Darwin ever tend bar?" At the present time, however, almost everybody who reads a newspaper knows that Darwinism has something to do with the relationship of men and monkeys. And that is about all that Willie can teach them on the subject. But even that is a step in the right direction.

There is another thing that must be said in Willie's favor that cannot be said about a great

(Continued on page 8)

On a Piece of Chalk

By THOMAS HENRY HUXLEY

(Continued from last issue)

In 1853 Lieutenant Brooke obtained mud from the bottom of the North Atlantic, between Newfoundland and the Azores, at a depth of more than 10,000 feet, or two miles, by the help of this sounding apparatus. The specimens were sent for examination to Ehrenberg of Berlin and to Bailey of West Point, and those able microscopists found that this deep-sea mud was almost entirely composed of the skeletons of living organisms—the greater proportion of these being just like the Globigerinae already known to occur in the chalk.

Thus far, the work had been carried on simply in the interests of science, but Lieutenant Brooke's method of sounding acquired a high commercial value, when the enterprise of laying down the telegraph cable between this country and the United States was undertaken. For it became a matter of immense importance to know, not only the depth of the sea over the whole line along which the cable was to be laid, but the exact nature of the bottom, so as to guard against chances of cutting or fraying the strands of that costly rope. The Admiralty consequently ordered Captain Dayman, an old friend and shipmate of mine, to ascertain the depth over the whole line of the cable and to bring back specimens of the bottom. In former days such a command as this might have sounded very much like one of the impossible things which the young prince in the fairy tales is ordered to do before he can obtain the hand of the princess. However, in the months of June and July, 1857, my friend performed the task assigned to him with great expedition and precision, without, so far as I know, having met with any reward of that kind. The specimens of Atlantic mud which he produced were sent to me to be examined and reported upon.

The result of all these operations is, that we know the contours and the nature of the surface soil covered by the North Atlantic for a distance of 1700 miles from east to west, as well as we know that of any part of the dry land.

It is a prodigious plain—one of the widest and most even plains in the world. If the sea were drained off, you might drive a wagon all the way from Valentia, on the west coast of Ireland, to Trinity Bay, in Newfoundland. And, except upon one sharp incline about 200 miles from Valentia, I am not quite sure that it would even be necessary to put the skid on, so gentle are the ascents and descents upon that long route. From Valentia the road would lie down-hill for about 200 miles to the point at which the bottom is now covered by 1700 fathoms of sea-water. Then would come the central plain, more than a thousand miles wide, the inequalities of the surface of which would be hardly perceptible, though the depth of water upon it now varies from 10,000 to 15,000 feet; and there are places in which Mont Blanc might be sunk without showing its peak above water. Beyond this, the ascent on the American side commences and gradually leads, for about 300 miles, to the Newfoundland shore.

Almost the whole of the bottom of this central plain (which extends for many hundred miles in a north and south direction) is covered by a fine mud, which, when brought to the surface, dries into a grayish white friable substance. You can write with this on a blackboard, if you are so inclined; and, to the eye, it is quite like very soft, grayish chalk. Examined chemically, it proves to be composed almost wholly of carbonate of lime; and if you make a section of it, in the same way as that of the piece of chalk was made, and view it with the microscope, it presents innumerable Globigerinae embedded in a granular matrix.

Thus this deep-sea mud is substantially chalk. I say substantially, because there are a good many minor differences; but as these have no bearing on

the question immediately before us,—which is the nature of the Globigerinae of the chalk,—it is unnecessary to speak of them.

Globigerinae of every size, from the smallest to the largest, are associated together in the Atlantic mud, and the chambers of many are filled by a soft animal matter. This soft substance is, in fact, the remains of the creature to which the Globigerina shell, or rather skeleton, owes its existence—and which is an animal of the simplest imaginable description. It is in fact, a mere particle of living jelly, without defined parts of any kind—without a mouth, nerves, muscles, or distinct organs, and only manifesting its vitality to ordinary observation by thrusting out and retracting from all parts of its surface long filamentous processes, which serve for arms and legs. Yet this amorphous particle, devoid of everything which, in the higher animals, we call organs, is capable of feeding, growing, and multiplying; of separating from the ocean the small proportion of carbonate of lime which is dissolved in sea-water; and of building up that substance into a skeleton for itself, according to a pattern which can be imitated by no other known agency.

The notion that animals can live and flourish in the sea, at the vast depths from which apparently living Globigerinae have been brought up, does not agree very well with our usual conceptions respecting the conditions of animal life; and it is not so absolutely impossible, at it might at first sight appear to be, that the Globigerinae of the Atlantic sea-bottom do not live and die where they are found.

As I have mentioned, the soundings from the great Atlantic plain are almost entirely made up of Globigerinae, with the granules which have been mentioned, and some few other calcareous shells; but a small percentage of the chalky mud—perhaps at most some five per cent of it—is of a different nature, and consists of shells and skeletons composed of silex, or pure flint. These silicious bodies belong partly to the lowly vegetable organisms which are called Diatomaceae, and partly to the minute and extremely simple animals termed Radiolaria. It is quite certain that these creatures do not live at the bottom of the ocean, but at its surface—where they may be obtained in prodigious numbers by the use of a properly constructed net. Hence it follows that these silicious organisms, though they are not heavier than the lightest dust, must have fallen, in some cases, through fifteen thousand feet of water, before they reached their final resting-place on the ocean floor. And, considering how large a surface these bodies expose in proportion to their weight, it is probable that they occupy a great length of time in making their burial journey from the surface of the Atlantic to the bottom.

But if the Radiolaria and Diatoms are thus rained upon the bottom of the sea, from the superficial layer of its waters in which they pass their lives, it is obviously possible that the Globigerinae may be similarly derived; and if they were so, it would be much more easy to understand how they obtain their supply of food than it is at present. Nevertheless, the positive and negative evidence all points the other way. The skeletons of the full-grown, deep-sea Globigerinae are so remarkably solid and heavy in proportion to their surface as to seem little fitted for floating; and, as a matter of fact, they are not to be found along with the Diatoms and Radiolaria in the uppermost stratum of the open ocean.

It has been observed, again, that the abundance of Globigerinae, in proportion to other organisms of like kind, increases with the depth of the sea, and that deep-water Globigerinae are larger than those which live in shallower parts of the sea; and such facts negative the supposition that these or-

ganisms have been swept by currents from the shallows into the depths of the Atlantic.

It therefore seems to be hardly doubtful that these wonderful creatures live and die at the depths in which they are found.

However, the important points for us are that the living Globigerinae are exclusively marine animals, the skeletons of which abound at the bottom of deep seas; and that there is not a shadow of reason for believing that the habits of the Globigerinae of the chalk differed from those of the existing species. But if this be true, there is no escaping the conclusion that the chalk itself is the dried mud of an ancient deep sea.

In working over the soundings collected by Captain Dayman, I was surprised to find that many of what I have called the "granules" of that mud, were not, as one might have been tempted to think at first, the mere powder and waste of Globigerinae, but that they had a definite form and size. I termed these bodies "coccoliths," and doubted their organic nature. Dr. Wallich verified my observation, and added the interesting discovery that, not unfrequently, bodies similar to these "coccoliths," were aggregated together into spheroids, which he termed "coccospheres." So far as we knew, these bodies, the nature of which is extremely puzzling and problematical, were peculiar to the Atlantic soundings.

But a few years ago Mr. Sorby, in making a careful examination of the chalk by means of thin sections and otherwise, observed, as Ehrenberg had done before him, that much of its granular basis possesses a definite form. Comparing these formed particles with those in the Atlantic soundings, he found the two to be identical; and thus proved that the chalk, like the soundings, contains these mysterious coccoliths and coccospheres. Here was a further and most interesting confirmation, from internal evidence, of the essential identity of the chalk with modern deep-sea mud. Globigerinae, coccoliths, and coccospheres are found as the chief constituents of both, and testify to the general similarity of the conditions under which both have been formed.

The evidence furnished by the hewing, facing, and superposition of the stones of the Pyramids, and that these structures were built by men, has no greater weight than the evidence that the chalk was built by Globigerinae; and the belief that those ancient pyramid-builders were terrestrial and air-breathing creatures like ourselves,—is it not better based than the conviction that the chalk-makers lived in the sea?

But as our belief in the building of the Pyramids by men is not only grounded on the internal evidence afforded by these structures, but gathers strength from multitudinous collateral proofs, and is clinched by the total absence of any reason for a contrary belief; so the evidence drawn from the Globigerinae that the chalk is an ancient sea-bottom is fortified by innumerable independent lines of evidence; and our belief in the truth of the conclusion to which all positive testimony tends receives the like negative justification from the fact that no other hypothesis has a shadow of foundation.

It may be worth while briefly to consider a few of these collateral proofs that the chalk was deposited at the bottom of the sea.

The great mass of the chalk is composed, as we have seen, of the skeletons of Globigerinae, and other simple organisms, embedded in granular matter. Here and there, however, this hardened mud of the ancient sea reveals the remains of higher animals which have lived and died, and left their hard parts in the mud, just as the oysters die and leave their shells behind them in the mud of the present seas.

There are, at the present day, certain groups of animals which are never found in fresh waters, being unable to live anywhere but in the sea. Such are the corals; those corallines which are called Polyzoa; those creatures which fabricate the lampshells, and are called Brachiopoda; the pearly Nautilus, and all animals allied to it; and all the forms of sea-urchins and star-fishes.

Not only are all these creatures confined to salt water at the present day, but, so far as our records of the past go, the conditions of their existence have been the same; hence their occurrence in any deposit is as strong evidence as can be obtained, that that deposit was formed in the sea. Now the remains of animals of all kinds which have been enumerated occur in the chalk in greater or less abundance, while not one of those forms of shell-fish which are characteristic of fresh water has yet been observed in it.

When we consider that the remains of more than three thousand distinct species of aquatic animals have been discovered among the fossils of the chalk, that the great majority of them are of such forms as are now met with only in the sea, and that there is no reason to believe that any one of them inhabited fresh water—the collateral evidence that the chalk represents an ancient sea-bottom acquires as great force as the proof derived from the nature of the chalk itself. I think you will allow that I did not overstate my case when I asserted that we have as strong grounds for believing that all the vast area of dry land at present occupied by the chalk was once at the bottom of the sea, as we have for any matter of history whatever; while there is no justification for any other belief.

No less certain it is that the time during which the countries we now call southeast England, France, Germany, Poland, Russia, Egypt, Arabia, Syria, were more or less completely covered by a deep sea, was of considerable duration.

We have already seen that the chalk is, in places, more than a thousand feet thick. I think you will agree with me that it must have taken some time for the skeletons of animalcules of a hundredth of an inch in diameter to heap up such a mass as that. I have said that throughout the thickness of the chalk the remains of other animals are scattered. These remains are often in the most exquisite state of preservation. The valves of the shell-fishes are commonly adherent; the long spines of some of the sea-urchins, which would be detached by the smallest jar, often remain in their places. In a word, it is certain that these animals have lived and died when the place which they now occupy was the surface of as much of the chalk as had then been deposited; and that each has been covered up by the layer of Globigerina mud upon which the creatures embedded a little higher up have, in like manner, lived and died. But some of these remains prove the existence of reptiles of vast size in the chalk sea. These lived their time, and had their ancestors and descendants, which assuredly implies time, reptiles being of slow growth.

(To be concluded)

Wealth being a social product, the individual produces nothing, but only fractions of things. The collective labor of the workers is necessary to produce wealth. The individual is a mere cog in the social machine of production. Being thus unable to produce things for himself, he can procure them only by buying them—unless he begs or steals them. To buy them he must first sell something. In other words, in order to procure the things we need we must give something in exchange for them.

The capitalists can very well do this because to them belongs all the wealth that is produced, by virtue of their ownership of the means of production. The workers, however, have no property in the means of production, and therefore own none of that wealth. The vast majority of them have absolutely nothing to give in exchange for their necessities—that is, nothing tangible. They have, however, the power to labor. In order to procure food, clothing and shelter they must, then, sell their labor power. This is what working for wages amounts to. The worker is not paid for what he does. He is paid for so much labor power, just as he in turn pays the grocer for so much flour and potatoes. He is paid, not for the wealth he produces, but merely for the exertion of producing it. To the wealth he produces, therefore, he has not a vestige of right or title. It belongs by right to those who bought his labor power, by means of which it was produced. To admit the capitalists' claim to the

ownership of the means of production is to admit their right to the whole of the product of labor.

Labor power, being bought and sold, ranks, therefore, as a commodity, and is subject to the law governing the exchange of commodities.

The law governing the exchange of commodities is that they shall exchange, on the average, at their cost of production, as has been shown. The cost of production of any commodity is the social labor necessary for its production. Labor power is the physical energy of the individual. The labor necessary to produce this is the labor that is involved in producing the individual's living. The exchange value of labor power then, is determined by the socially necessary labor involved in the production of those things that go to make up the laborer's living from day to day. And that is exactly what the workers get on the average—their living, according to the prevailing standard. It is true that some of them get a little more than is actually necessary for them to exist on, but, on the other hand, millions get less and are actually dying of slow starvation at their work.

—Manifesto of the S. P. of C.

IS IT A FOSSIL TOOTH?

(Continued from page 6)

many who claim to be exponents of Darwinism: he is at least consistent. Whatever may be said about Willie's reasoning ability, there is one point upon which he is quite clear, namely, that Darwinism cannot be reconciled with any brand of superstition. To Willie it is a question of God or Darwin, and he takes the part of God against Darwin; this is the basis of his whole argument, and at the same time his great merit. He will not discuss the question on any other grounds, and therefore, he has the majority of the so-called exponents of Darwinism "buffaloed," they flinch from the ordeal, they love their Darwin, but oh you Jesus. However, if Willie keeps at it he will force them to take some definite stand on the subject, one way or the other, or else show them up for what they are. Consequently, I hold that Willie is doing a land office business in the interests of science, and I say "wings on him," even if he never flies.

F. J. McNEY.

PLATFORM

Socialist Party of Canada

We, the Socialist Party of Canada affirm our allegiance to, and support of, the principles and programme of the revolutionary working class.

Labor, applied to natural resources, produces all wealth. The present economic system is based upon capitalist ownership of the means of production, consequently, all the products of labor belong to the capitalist class. The capitalist is, therefore, master; the worker a slave.

So long as the capitalist class remains in possession of the reins of government all the powers of the State will be used to protect and defend its property rights in the means of wealth production and its control of the product of labor.

The capitalist system gives to the capitalist an ever-swelling stream of profits, and to the worker, an ever-increasing measure of misery and degradation.

The interest of the working class lies in setting itself free from capitalist exploitation by the abolition of the wage system, under which this exploitation, at the point of production, is cloaked. To accomplish this necessitates the transformation of capitalist property in the means of wealth production into socially controlled economic forces.

The irrepressible conflict of interest between the capitalist and the worker necessarily expresses itself as a struggle for political supremacy. This is the Class Struggle.

Therefore we call upon all workers to organize under the banner of the Socialist Party of Canada, with the object of conquering the political powers for the purpose of setting up and enforcing the economic programme of the working class, as follows:

- 1—The transformation, as rapidly as possible, of capitalist property in the means of wealth production (natural resources, factories, mills, railroads, etc.) into collective means of production.
- 2—The organization and management of industry by the working class.
- 3—The establishment, as speedily as possible, of production for use instead of production for profit.

Literature Price List

Cloth Bound	Per Copy
A. B. C. of Evolution (McCabe)	\$1.15
Economic Determinism	\$1.65
Evolution of the Idea of God (Grant Allen)	\$1.15
Evolution of Property (Lafargue)	\$1.15
Critique of Political Economy	\$1.65
Revolution and Counter Revolution (Marx)	\$1.15
History of Paris Commune (Lissagaray)	\$1.50
Ancient Society	\$1.85
Philosophical Essays	\$1.65
Theoretical System of Karl Marx	\$1.65
Landmarks of Scientific Socialism	\$1.65
Socialism and Philosophy	\$1.65
Essays on the Materialistic Conception of History	\$1.65
Capitalist Production (First Nine and 32nd Chapters "Capital," vol. 1, (Marx)	\$1.00
Vital Problems in Social Evolution	80c
Science and Revolution	80c
The Militant Proletariat	80c
Evolution Social and Organic	80c
Puritanism	80c
Ethics and History	80c
Germes of Mind in Plants	80c
The Triumph of Life	80c
Anarchism and Socialism	80c
Feuerback	80c
Socialism Positive and Negative	80c
The American Empire (Nearing)	60c
Eighteenth Brumaire	80c
The End of the World	80c
Science and Superstition	80c
Paper Covers	Per Copy
Two Essays on History (C. Stephenson and G. Deville)	5c
Independent Working Class Education	10c
Communist Manifesto	10c
Wage-Labor and Capital	10c
The Present Economic System (Prof. W. A. Bonger)	10c
Socialism, Utopian and Scientific	15c
Slave of the Farm	10c
Manifesto, S. P. of C.	10c
Evolution of Man (Prof. Bolsche)	20c
Causes of Belief in God (Lafargue)	10c
Shop Talks on Economics (Marcy)	15c
The State and Revolution (Lenin)	25c
Value, Price and Profit (Marx)	15c
Economic Causes of War (Leckie)	25c
Civil War in France (Marx)	25c
Eighteenth Brumaire (Marx)	25c
Christianism and Communism (Bishop W. M. Brown)	25c
Psychology of Marxian Socialism	30c
W. A. Pritchard's Address to the Jury, (State Trials, Winnipeg, Man., Fall Assizes 1919-20)	25c
Quantity Rates on Paper Covered Pamphlets.	
Two Essays on History	25 copies 75c
Communist Manifesto	25 copies \$2.00
Wage-Labor and Capital	25 copies \$2.00
Present Economic System	25 copies \$1.50
Socialism, Utopian and Scientific	25 copies \$3.25
Slave of the Farm	25 copies \$1.50
Manifesto of S. P. of C.	25 copies \$2.00
Evolution of Man	25 copies \$3.75
Causes of Belief in God	25 copies \$2.00
Value, Price and Profit	25 copies \$3.25
Economic Causes of War	10 copies \$2.00
Christianism and Communism	6 copies \$1.00
Psychology of Marxian Socialism	10 copies \$2.50
W. A. Pritchard's Address to the Jury (State Trials, Winnipeg, Man., Fall Assizes 1919-20)	10 copies \$2.00

All prices include Postage.

Make all moneys payable to E. McLeod, P. O. Box 710, Vancouver, B. C. Add discount on cheques.

All above literature can be obtained from J. M. Sanderson, Box 2354, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

WINNIPEG, MAN.

Local Winnipeg, Manitoba. Secretary J. M. Sanderson, P. O. Box 2354, Winnipeg, Man.

Business meeting every Wednesday at 8 p.m. Economics Class every Monday at 8 p.m. Correspondence invited. When visiting Winnipeg visit the Local Headquarters at 530 Main Street.

ALBERTA NOTES.

Alberta and Saskatchewan P. E. C. of the S. P. of C. Secretary, R. Burns, 134 a 9th Avenue, West, Calgary, Alberta.

Local Calgary. Same address as above. Business meetings every alternate Tuesday, 8 p.m. Study class in Economics every Thursday at 8 p.m. Correspondence from all parts of Alberta and Saskatchewan is earnestly invited from all comrades interested in the organizational and ses and interest in their development and usefulness will be welcomed.

MANIFESTO

— of the —
SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA
(Fifth Edition)

Per copy 10 cents

Per 25 copies \$2

Post Paid