

# THE INDICATOR

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## The Moscow of Today---First Impressions

By Mr. W. T. Goode

(From Manchester "Guardian")

I WENT from the station at Moscow to the room which had been allotted to me. All hotels have been nationalized and are used as Government offices or apportioned as homes for ministerial employees and other workers. A number of great houses have also been commandeered and used in the same way. It is quite natural, therefore, that the Soviet, in whose disposal all accommodation rests, should have fixed a room for me to live in while in Moscow.

I had visited Moscow twice before, and was familiar with its appearance and life. My first impression, then, as I crossed the town was bound to be a vivid one. It was more—it was bewildering. I had expected to find evidences of great destruction and a crushed and cowed populace. I certainly did not find the Moscow of my last visit, but I found life going on in an ordinary common-place way, street markets flourishing, large numbers of people in the streets (the population has increased by 25 per cent.) tramcars running, with loads of people hanging on to any exerecence that would give hand and foot hold, and on this first occasion no evidences of destruction. That came later, when I went freely about the city.

Then I discovered streets where the facades of the buildings were chipped by shot, windows pierced by bullets, the holes mended by plaques of glass,

in some cases with paper, and at the bottom of one of the boulevards a carrefour which was a mass of tumbled brick and ruin, while a row of tall houses on one side was nothing but a skeleton of gutted brick and stone work. This was the result of the Social Revolutionaries in June last year. But on the whole the destruction was very small when the huge size of the city and the scenes that have taken place there are taken into account.

Churches and monasteries are intact. The Basil Cathedral and the glorious Church of the Redeemer are as splendid as ever; so is the Troitzky Monastery and the Tretiakov Gallery. One thing strikes strangely. The old glitter of the shops is gone. Most of them are boarded up and give a queer, desolate appearance to the line of the streets. But in many cases this was voluntary, since there were no goods to sell. And others were closed by the Soviet when stocks ran low and profiteering of pestilential kind began in the remaining stocks. These were then commandeered and distributed from the Soviet shops, which are of all kinds and are found in every district. Their number is so large that queues do not exist except when certain goods—boots, stuffs for clothes—are sold on cards on days that have been previously notified and from specified shops. There are Soviet tea-houses and restaurants, but some private ones are still open at speculative rates. And a number of small trades

which it would not pay to nationalize at present are still in the hands of private persons.

In fact, the socialistic and individualistic forms of distribution go on side by side, since it is not the practice of the Soviet to embark on nationalization of anything until everything is ready for the complete change. Theatres and concert halls are fuller than ever the, workers now having the best chance in the distribution of tickets. Both the famous ballet and the still more famous Art Theatre have been left untouched, and for the ballet school special regulations have been made allowing promising aspirants to enter at an age much below the age legally fixed for beginning work. Concerts of excellent music are maintained, and the cost of entrance is small, and theatres for children are run gratuitously in seven different parts of the city every Sunday afternoon.

I missed the Alexander statue in the Kremlin and the Skobelev statue in front of the old Hotel de Ville, and was informed that they had been carefully dismantled, and would be set up again in a museum, and I noted the efforts of the Soviet in the direction of monuments. The Skobelev statue is replaced by a really imposing monument by the sculptor Andreef. It is a triangular obelisk mounted on a three-sided pedestal, with curved sides, fronted by a splendidly posed female figure with up-lifted and outstretched arm. At the

foot of the figure is a tiny rostrum from which Kamenev and Lunacharsky made speeches to the huge crowd below at the unveiling ceremony, which I walked to see. On the boulevards the Soviet has placed monuments of famous Russians, some meant to be permanent, others temporary.

It may be imagined that as I took in all this my astonishment grew. But one thing made that even greater. I mean the order and security which reigned in Moscow. I have crossed the town on foot at midnight without fear of molestation, accompanied only by a lady with whom I had been to a concert. And again and again I was told by those whose work took them out at all hours of day and night that the security is absolute. And there is no street lighting at night. There are police and armed military in the streets, but they are not greatly in evidence.

Open prostitution seems to have disappeared, and, though there are still beggars, the pest to which I was subjected in 1911 is greatly modified, and I understand that steps are to be taken to cause its complete disappearance.

"Moscow is a dead city," said to me a man in a town on the way to Kieff which I visited. That seems to me to be too strong a statement. There is plenty of movement, plenty of noise, but on the whole, life is greyer in tone, duller in flavor than in the Moscow which I knew a few years ago.

## Evolution

From "The Freethinker."

EVOLUTION began as a formula and, with many, ends as a fiat. One the one hand, it is invoked with all the solemnity of a mediaeval magician commanding the presence of his attendant spirits. On the other hand, it is approached with a hushed reverence that is reminiscent of a Catholic devotee before his favorite shrine. It has acquired the characteristics of the "Kismet" of the Mohammedan, the Beelzebub of the pious Christian, and the inspiration of glory to the born soldier. It is used to dispel doubts and to awaken curiosity. It becomes a formula that may express comprehension or merely indicate vacuity. Decisions are pronounced in its name with all the impressiveness of a "Thus saith the Lord!" We are not even sure that some will not object that to talk about evolution in this light way is "irreverent," and should be avoided. For there are crowds of folk who can not separate profundity from solemnity, and who continually mistake a long face for the sure indication of a well-stored brain. The

truth is, ofcourse, that what a man understands thoroughly he can deal with easily; that he laughs at a difficulty is not necessarily a sign that he fails to appreciate it—it may be a consequence of his having taken its measure. The chief reason why people will not laugh at religion is due to a perception of the fact that it will not stand it. The priest everywhere maintains his hold largely because of the narcotizing influence of ill-understood phrases, and in this he is matched by the pseudo-philosopher, whose pompous use of imperfectly appreciated formulae disguises from the crowd the mistiness of his own understanding.

### The Ghost.

A glance over the uses made of the word "evolution" will well illustrate what has been said. These sometimes make one wonder what on earth the writer thinks "evolution" stands for, and at other times one feels sure that its prime function is to cover up mere want of comprehension. For example: in a recent issue of the Daily Express, Mr. Shaw Desmond, writing on the subject of the demand for equality, asks, What do people

mean by it? and, after discussing the probable meanings, remarks: "If it is a demand for a levelling of mankind down to the average, every good citizen will fight that, and he will have evolution with him, for all evolution is a levelling up." Now it would be quite unfair to pillory Mr. Desmond as being peculiar in this conception of evolution; he is one of a very large group, and this specimen is selected only because it is representative of a group, and because it has some very important bearings on social and religious as well as on scientific questions. And here we must, paradoxical as it may sound, be discursive in order to keep to the point. Primarily, this ascription of what one may call a moral element to evolution is no more than a carrying over into science of the Theistic spirit and temper. Quite naturally, the Theist was driven to find some ethical justification for what he said was the divine government of the universe. And he proceeded to argue that it was morally and intellectually admirable. From the Godite's point of view that was a sound position. The world was God's world; he made it; and we were ultimately compelled to judge the character of the workman by the quality of his work. But now comes the non-Theist, and he, although rejecting "God," and sub-

stituting the formula "evolution," frequently proceeds to claim for his formula all that the Theist had claimed for his. That also had to be shown to be moral, and noble, and just, etc. We don't marvel that the Christian often says to the Freethinker that he has a God. Substantially, some of them have. That is, they carry on with the same pseudo-scientific reasoning that is characteristic of apologetic Theism. They have given up God, but they cumber themselves with his ghost.

### Adaptation.

Now evolution, we repeat, is not a fiat; it is a formula. It does not decree; it describes. It has nothing to do with morality as such, nor with progress as such, nor with levelling up, nor with a levelling down. It is no more than a special application of the principle of causation; and whether the working out of that principle has a moralizing, or an ennobling, or a progressive effect, is not "given" in the principle itself. Cosmic phenomena presents us with two things, difference and change. And the law of evolution is at attempt to express those differences and those changes in a more or less precise formula. It does for phenomena in general precisely what a particular scientific law does for its own special

(Continued On Page Two.)

# The Death of Jim Connolly

(From Glasgow "Forward")

Moving Story By His Daughter

THE manner in which James Connolly was foully done to death by the British Government, after the Dublin Rebellion in May, 1916, was told in a very moving speech by his daughter, Miss Norah Connolly, at a concert held in the St. Andrew's Hall, on Tuesday, Oct. 7, for the purpose of raising funds for the establishment of a James Connolly Memorial Labor College in Dublin. Captain J. R. White presided over a fairly large audience, and was accompanied on the platform by Mrs. Connolly. Captain White said at one time he had not always agreed with James Connolly, but at that time his knowledge of the implacable class war was not complete. He now realized, however, that Connolly's insistence on economic determinism was the strongest part of his faith. (Applause.) The problem they had to face was neither political nor economic, but a foul moral cancer whose only cure was the knife. (Applause.) The safest way of bringing about the change in a peaceful way, and in order to avert bloodshed, was to prepare for it now. (Loud applause.)

Miss Norah Connolly, who received an enthusiastic ovation, spoke under the stress of great emotion. She said

it was in Glasgow and Edinburgh that her father had spent the early struggles of his youth. It was here he learned what capitalism meant to the workers, but it was also here he realized what Socialism meant to the workers. (Applause.) It was in Scotland that he had given his first work for the labor movement, and had helped to lay the foundation of the great labor movement that was in the country today. It was appropriate, therefore, that she should ask the workers here to do what they could to help in the establishment of the Connolly Memorial Labor College. She asked them to help, not only because James Connolly had lived and worked in Glasgow, but also because he had lived and died for the workers. (Loud applause.) After the Rebellion in 1916, when her father was lying a prisoner, the first organ to cry out for his blood was that of William Martin Murphy. (Hisses and cries of "Shame!") Her father lay in bed unable to move, for one of his legs had been shattered in two places and he had been shot through the arm, and it was while he was in this condition that an informal court-martial was held around his bed, he himself having to be propped up with pillows. (Hoots and hisses.) She saw him after the court-martial, when he

told her that he felt quite weak but that he was not suffering much. The militarists were determined, however, on getting him out of the way, and at two o'clock in the morning they came with an ambulance and took him to Kilmainham Jail, where they strapped him to a chair so that they might shoot him. (Loud groans and hisses.) They had not done that because he was James Connolly, but because Capitalism was not safe while a man of his type was alive—(applause)—and because they were foolish enough to believe that with Connolly dead his principles and teachings would die along with him. (Applause.) They now realized today, when it was too late, that the blood of James Connolly had sanctified his teachings, and that Capitalism was no longer safe. In 1916, the workers in Ireland were not organized at all, but today they were organized in every county. In 1916, the funds of the Irish Transport Workers' Union were down to £96. They were down and out, with only five branches and 5000 members, but today they had 400 branches, with 12,000 members. (Loud applause.) Today the workers all over Ireland were marching towards the Socialist Republic for which James Connolly had died. (Loud Applause.)

gaged in efforts to overthrow, forcibly or otherwise, the existing form of government in the United States. The Russian Soviet Government has scrupulously refrained from any interference whatsoever with the internal affairs of this country. As the representative of that government in the United States, I myself and my office have strictly observed every rule of propriety in this respect. While the activities of my bureau have been subject to the closest possible scrutiny by the American authorities, nothing has been disclosed which might be interpreted as "propaganda to overthrow" your government, or other interference in the affairs of the United States.

The same can not be said of the Allied Governments, including the Government of the United States, in their attitude toward the government which I have the honor to represent. For the past two years the allied and associated governments have been actively engaged in direct and indirect efforts violently to overthrow the present Russian Government. These efforts have taken the form of widely organized propaganda within Russia, many Allied Governments fomenting plots against my government, distributing funds to elements in Russia plotting against it, materially and morally supporting every group of Russian counter-revolutionary elements in their civil war against Soviet Russia, and actually organizing such groups.

Without a declaration of war against Soviet Russia, and without stating either the reasons for their attacks or terms on which such attacks would cease, the allied and associated governments have been employing armed forces against Soviet Russia, thereby compelling the Russian people to carry on a defensive war, which prevents them from concentrating their efforts on the economic rehabilitation of the country. These governments and their agents also are inciting neighbors of Soviet Russia to attacks, and actively plotting against the conclusion of peace with Soviet Russia on the part of such neighbor states who ardently desire an end to the present hostilities.

It is quite conceivable that such unprovoked attacks, coupled with a blockade of Russian ports, which causes untold suffering to the people, have created deep resentment in Soviet Russia against the aggressors—and that this resentment has often taken the form of appeals to the peoples of various countries, urging them to protest against the efforts of their governments to strangle the working people of Russia. At no time, however, has the Russian Soviet Government embarked upon a policy of interference with the internal politics of any allied country and especially in the affairs of the United States. It is an undeniable fact that Soviet Russia's attitude toward the United States, in spite of the implied hostility of the latter toward Soviet Russia—so much at variance with the promises of its good will—has been one of extreme patience and a desire of conciliation.

Respectfully yours,

L. A. MARTENS.

Representative in the United States of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

Subscriptions to "The Indicator," \$1.00 for 20 issues.

## EVOLUTION

(Continued from Page One)

group of phenomena. But it no more has a moral implication, or a progressive implication, or a levelling up implication than has the law of gravitation or the law of chemical affinity. It may result in one or the other; it has resulted in one or the other; its operations make here for progress, and there for stagnation or retrogression, but it is only called the one or the other by us. Evolution knows only adaption and equilibrium. Whether that adaptation spells a levelling up or a levelling down is quite another matter.

### The Direction of Evolution.

Confining our attention to animal society, how is evolution expressed? Primarily, what we have is adaptation. If an animal is to live it must be adapted to its surroundings to the extent of being able to overcome those forces that threaten its existence. That is a commonplace; all it says is, that if an animal lives it must be able to live; but all truths are commonplaces—when one sees them. Still, if we only had adaptation to consider, and if the environment in relation to which adaptation was to be secured remained constant, all we should have would be the deaths of all not able to live, the survival of better endowed specimens; but there would be no movement that could be called progression or retrogression. This arises because the environment itself changes. Either the material conditions undergo a change, or the pressure of numbers on the means of subsistence initiate a struggle as to their possession. The consequence is the introduction of a new quality into the process of adaptation. It becomes a question of a greater endow-

ment of the particular qualities that spell survival. And that paves the way to what we call progress—or the reverse. For one must observe that evolution is as evident whether the movement is in the direction of, or away from, what we call progress. It levels neither "up" nor "down;" what it does is to secure a certain measure of accommodation between an organism and its surroundings. Up and down is as relative in biology as it is in astronomy. In nature there is neither better nor worse, neither high nor low, there are only differences, and if that had been borne in mind a great many theistic apologies would never have seen the light, nor would non-theists have so often weakened their case by using a watered-down form of the theistic argument.

### Evolution and Progress.

What ground is there, then, for speaking of evolution as "levelling up," or of its being a progressive force? None whatever. Retrogression (if one must use these terms) is as common in nature as progression. On the one hand, we have aquatic life giving rise to mammalian life. On the other hand, we have mammalian life taking again to an aquatic existence. Here, we have a "lower" form of life giving way to a "higher" form; and, there, we have the higher being supplanted by a lower. And, on the whole, lower forms are more persistent than are the higher ones. There are certain lowly forms that were in existence long before the appearance of man, and which will most probably be the last form of life to disappear from a worn-out globe. The argument with which the Theist seeks to meet a mechanistic conception of nature, namely, that evolution is a law of progress, that it implies a goal, and is the realization of a plan, is wholly fallacious.

From a scientific point of view it is meaningless chatter. Science knows nothing of a plan, or an end, or even of progress in nature. All these are conceptions that we humans create for our own convenience. They are so many standards of measurement, of the same nature as our agreement that a certain measure of space shall be called a yard, or that a certain quantity of liquid shall be called a pint. It is sheer anthropomorphism. It is the ghost of God imported into science.

In my next article I will deal with the more concrete applications of the principles on which I have been dwelling.

CHAPMAN COHEN.

## The Defence of Soviet Russia

The following is an extract from a three column reply in the Christian Science Monitor, Nov. 13, of L. A. Martens, representation in the United States of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, to statements made by William Phillips, Assistant United States Secretary of State. This extract from the reply deals with one of the Phillip statements, viz., "that the Soviet Government is engaged in propaganda to overthrow the United States Government."

Nov. 5, 1919.

Honorable James W. Wadsworth, Jr.,  
United States Senate,  
Washington, D. C.

Sir: . . . It is to be regretted that the Department of State apparently is very much misinformed as to the true situation.

First of all, I wish most emphatically to deny the allegation that the Russian Soviet Government is en-

# Constitutional Methods

## Direct and Political Action—What Are They? What Do they Mean?

ALL societies are organized about their means of obtaining a livelihood, and the nature and character of that organization is determined by the manner in which that livelihood is obtained. In brief, that man's social institutions are the consequence of the material conditions of life.

Political societies imply ruling and subject classes, and the keynote of political organization is the dominance by a ruling class of the social means of life, i.e., by property right in life's necessities, secured by class legislation. How this idea of property arose or how the form of property right has changed is not the motive of this article. As the title implies, we must begin with the form of society in which it is our fortune (?) to live, and in which, alone, those terms have any significance.

Capitalist society is divided into two main classes—a relatively small, non-producing, owning class, and a large non-owning producing class. This small owning class, by its possession and control of the means of life, dictates the conditions of life to the producing class. Labor is necessary to sustain life, but labor can only function on the terms imposed by property right, and naturally, the terms are favorable to property-holders. Also, no matter how necessitous may be the conditions of the subjugated class, the behests of the legal class-owners govern the nature and direction of social production which has been established by social need. The function of a ruling class is to govern and maintain its privileged position: of a slave class to perform service for its masters. The real interests of these two classes are, therefore, opposed—one struggling for privilege, the other to escape its impositions. It would seem that a large, numerous slave-class might easily escape from the rule of a small owning-class. But it appears not. Why? How do the few maintain their power over the many?

In this way: Society, like all other phenomena in nature, is a growth, an evolution from prior condition. The present social relation of Capital did not always exist, nor the power of its capitalists. Out of the social needs of a pre-existing society it came into being. From bondage, out of a savage and bitter struggle with a former ruling class, it rose to power and place, setting up its new standards of life; its new regulations of interests, its new thought and endeavor in conformity with the inevitable development of social growth. And it achieved success because of this harmony with the social forces, because it satisfied social necessities that could not be otherwise satisfied, because it was, temporarily, in agreement with and performed service imperatively demanded by social progress.

In the performance of this service the new social relationship, of necessity, assumed the form and adopted methods most suitable to its own development; and this form and method being the continued evolution of the expanding powers of social production, it secured to itself the adherence

of the social community. But this new social relation and its commercial interests, although receiving the sanction of necessitous society, was a class interest, and being a class interest, could attain security only by class action—legalizing its actions for the perpetuation of its interests by political domination. It is this political dominance of class interests (established on and through the needs of society, and the force of social opinion) that holds the dominated class in bondage; holds the slaves in bonds of class law, until again the social powers of production shall shatter the confining bonds.

This present system of society—Capital—is founded on wage-labor, commodity production, and its political organization is designed with the single purpose of preserving its economic supremacy. The development of the economic of capital has been the architect of its political structure and the reflex of this developed condition overshadows and determines, with the same process of inevitability, the actions and ideas of the slaves. Hence the political bondage of Capital, veiled with its class concepts of "individual right," "liberty of action," "freedom of expansion," etc., confuses the subjugated class with conceptions far removed from reality, by the long centuries, of the exercise of property right, adapted and expanded by the champions of the new "freedom," and so overmasters us with the tradition of its sanctity.

But property-right is class-interest, and as property vests in individuals, individuals in society have the right to hold and, in consequence, to safeguard their interests in property. Property is thus held by social sanction, and being thus held, is regulated by social custom, and this custom and sanction is employed—or exploited—by the capitalist class to build up its political institutions and formulas for the preservation of its privileged interests.

Furthermore, property can only exist in things subject to social control, otherwise the right could not be exercised. And being subject to this control, can be, therefore, none other than the social means of subsistence. The means of subsistence being thus the subject of property right the regulation of property is neither more nor less than government—the passing of laws and enactments, the creation of councils and executives, enacted and created by property-holders, for the preservation of their class interests. In other words, that the power of the State is exerted in the maintenance of privilege.

In the process of development, social organization generates of itself new forces and conditions. These new forces and conditions react on individual interests, creating conflicts of interests in the social body. These discordant interests require to be adjusted or eliminated if society, in the form it has assumed, is to be developed to maturity, if its members as a majority are to have satisfaction of their life's necessities. These negotiations and adjustments take place, according to a certain agreement or plan laid down—or rather, evolved in course of time—by governments of in-

terests for their guidance in the management of property right. This agreement is called the "code" or "constitution," written or traditional. It is the system of property laws, whereby property holders in the means of life manage and administer their common interests in principle. In this regulation of the affairs of privilege reference is made to the "constitution" and according as the adjustment suggested, or the method pursued harmonises with the "book of the law" it is, or is not, "constitutional."

Since Government is the preservation of privilege, or conversely the subjugation of a slave class, property interests may safely be entrusted to their owners. We can rest assured in absolute security that as far as the ownership has vision, those interests will be held inviolate. And if, when the progress of material condition inaugurates a change in the venue of possession, the constitution may be and is amended to suit the new condition. A slave class having no possession, has no interest in constitutions, save as legal formality may assist it as a (in this system) commodity sellers. The law of the constitution is the perpetuation of the law and order of ruling class society, that is, for the slave class, the perpetuation of its slavery.

Society, being thus divided into two opposing economic classes, the consequent conditions, mutually react on each other. The owners must organize as their commercial needs demand. The slaves must do likewise, and the organization of the latter will be determined and patterned by the former. The concentration of capital intensified competition in turn, straightening the life conditions of the slaves—capital struggling for a greater volume of profit, labor, for a greater share of its production. In both cases a commodity struggle; capital seeking to buy social labor as cheaply as possible; the worker to sell his labor-power as dearly as he can.

Master class associations and working class organizations, are thus the fruit of the capitalist system of production. Both class organizations deal only with effects; both ignorant of the prime cause of social movement. And because, both master and slave meet on the economic field as commodity traders and because their economic interests are opposed, conflict takes place and is fought out primarily on the industrial plane—invariably to the confusion of the workers. For it is not property right of itself that constitutes the power of the capitalist class, it is the class command of the powers of the State, which, through its political machinery, legalizing title to class ownership, justifies the control and concept of property. Moreover, the amelioration of social conditions is not brought about by industrial organizations, but by the development of capitalist economy and the blind commodity struggle, not only tends to augment competitive intensity, but, in the end, in reality, lowers the relative wages of the workers. A perception of this state of affairs causes the workers to organize industrially at the point of production,

where they are exploited on the job; the idea being apparently that by industrial control of industry, the power of the master class can be overthrown.

But they attempt on the part of the workers, to control their means of life by controlling the industries to which they are attached, brings them into conflict with the State on the property question, and being a violation of property interest, is therefore, unconstitutional, and being unable on account of economic conditions to present a united front to Government, the attempt to control industrially, proves abortive.

However, the realization of this feature, in face of a powerful State, presents us clearly and unambiguously with the issue of social relationship. The concentration of capital will continually and progressively increase the numbers and destitution of the proletariat; abolish all minor class interests, disintegrate the concepts of capitalist idealism, and finally put the property right of the non-producing owner against the necessity of society. Age-long and stubborn preconceptions and prejudices are thus broken in the crucible of fact, and the new ideation of the slave, in the control of his means of life, will assume the hue of the political. United and organized, world-wide and class-wise on this political basis, cognizant of the State and its power, and clearly visualizing the issue of property right, the workers thus bringing their whole power and intelligence, knowledge and effort into the political field, uniting the productive processes with the machinery of control at once and automatically transform all action, into political action for the triumph of emancipation.

But this method, too, will be "unconstitutional," and more; it will be revolutionary. Because the control by labor of its means of life, means the abolition of capitalist property—the basis of all constitutionalism.

Nevertheless, in due time the conversion from capitalist "right," to social utility will happen, and when it does, the historic condition of the day, heedless of codes and constitutions will determine the methods and devise the weapons for the complete emancipation of the proletariat. The economic of a social system, having genesis in that particular form of organization, is spun on the loom of social necessity, and in obedience to the principle of causation, takes its deliberate course, not to the desire of class, not to the will of man, but as expanding social forces inspire and direct it. R.

### NEW PUBLICATION BY HUEBSCH PUBLISHING HOUSE

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

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### The Great Man

**D**URING the course of social progress, sundry "great" men have appeared, who, flying the banner of the ideal, have overwhelmed the world with their logic. The ideal is no doubt a beautiful possession, but somewhat dangerous to handle. Too much ideal seems to act on the brain like baking powder in cake—makes it light and feathery, while too little tends to density. Sailing between this Scylla and Charybdis is possible only when ballasted with material fact.

Be that as it may, there is one peculiarity noticeable in the great man ideal. If his ideal is in conformity with the dominant social forces of progress, his logic is irresistible. If not, the united powers of truth and reason battle in vain to establish it. Owen's New Lanark Utopia, failed because his ideal was not in tune with those forces, and like all classical ideals, was founded on the assumption that society is the reflex of the all-potent mind. Negro slavery was not influenced by the sentimentalism of an "Uncle Tom's Cabin." The abolition of Southern slavery, required a war—backed by the economic necessity of the Northern industrial master class for "free" labor. And the great idealists of Britain who fought for "freedom," just as readily fought for slavery, and captured negroes for the purpose of developing their American possessions. Van Tromp, with his broom at the masthead, was the necessity of Dutch supremacy, and the "great" sailors and soldiers and merchants, etc., of Britain were made by the geographical position and economic requirements of her capitalist rulers. They did not make England, on the contrary, England made them, evolved them from the historic condition of the time. The bourgeois Napoleon rose on the wings of class-interest to a throne, but the fatal assumption of the dominance of "will," dragged him to the dust. His logic conflicted with the aspirations and ambitions of nationalistic Europe—yet to be developed, and was not therefore in accord with material fact, and though plotting and scheming and planning with the historic circumstances, failed to see and recognize that the human equation was but the instrument, not the master of social modification. One hundred years later, but on a world scale, the scientific German, pressed by the tremendous forces of social development, reaped the same harvest for the same reason—forcing the "will" of necessitous man against the impregnable power of social causation. Knox and Luther, imbued with the ideals of the bourgeoisie, from which they sprung, "freed us" from the tyranny of Rome, but because their

ideals agreed with bourgeois interests, the dominant social forces. The reformers of France were not so successful, and a century before Luther, the "logic" of Huss did not prevail, and more than a century after Luther, in Italy, Bruno, an essentially "greater" man than any of those, also sealed his failure with his life. In both cases because the social forces were not of their ideal. And so on one might go right through history, through the prehistoric to the stone ages, when the men who first invented fire and stone weapons, in keeping with human traditions, may have been regarded, perhaps revered, or even worshipped as "great" men.

Since the dawn of political society, historical conditions have been slave conditions, and slave societies being necessarily class societies, generate class conflicts. Throughout history, one ruling class follows another in power, as the social progress evolving new circumstances brings other interests into the forefront of development. And of necessity, the class interests in harmony with the advanced social condition, predominates, strikes down the preceding decadent civilization and establishes its own methods and concepts.

The organization of society, like all other natural phenomena, is in a constant and continuous flux of modification, organized around the means of life, its interests are economic interests, and its social institutions, the reflex of those interests. But the constant modification of society brings the political institutions into necessary conflict with its developing economic interest, and this conflict intensifies with social development, until the new economic interests, evolved from that development, and being therefore in harmony with the progressive social forces, will, under the apparent genius of some "great" man, a Cromwell, for instance, take the power of control from the preceding system, and order the new society in keeping with its own interests.

So, in the present capitalist system of society, we, the social producers of the necessities of life, being the rising and dominant economic interest in conformity with the advanced progress and concepts of the social forces, shall, of necessity for our own preservation, overthrow the now decadent society of capital, abolish its ancient political institutions and establish our own methods of producing and controlling the means of life.

Nevertheless, until the condition for the triumph of the new social order is fulfilled, the effort of man can not establish it. Naturally, we are eager for the change, as it is to our benefit. In the weariness of our subjection with the lingering, intolerable, deliberateness of evolution, we deem existing conditions favorable and ripe for change. But self-interest is blind, and the mental perspective of time, as deceptive as the physical perspective of distance. Till the hour strikes, and the vision of class servitude becomes class-clear, neither man nor hero can give import to the passing show. That is the prerogative of social progress. But when the never-halting development of that progress rings down the curtain on ancient use and wont, we be to whatsoever would impede its inexorable necessity. R.

## Government by Advertisement

(By Jerome K. Jerome, in "Common Sense.")

**W**AS it not by advertisement that we prolonged the war? Would a million Englishmen have died to achieve Lloyd George's senseless knock-out blow if it had not been for those lurid posters? Germany sang her hymn of hate. We advertised ours on the hoardings. It was more effective. It was by poster and advertisement that the war loans were subscribed. Save England and pocket five per cent. Such an opportunity may not occur again. Hurry up, patriots, now is your time. Peace does not look like being popular, likely to prove a frost. Advertise her. She has got to be popular. Otherwise, what price the Wizard from Wales? Light the bonfires, ring the bells, commandeer the churches, beat the drums. An American theatrical manager once boasted that he would make of any actor or actress under forty a star in eighteen months. It depended upon the size of the type. Bolshevism the enemy. Work the films. Show Lenin slaughtering women and children, while the cinema operator turns his handle. Be sure to engage a good producer, with sufficient supply of Russian costumes. Throw in a young girl in white with her hair down. Defeat the Unions. Show the wicked agitator. Be sure that he is made-up sufficiently repulsive. Contrast him with the noble young non-unionist. Mr. Winston Churchill is making his new army quite popular. One hears that recruits are crowding to it. Are you fond of travel? See foreign lands at Government expense. Nothing to do but to smoke cigarettes and wink at the girls of sunny Cairo, of happy India; to flirt with the houris of Bagdad. Are you fond of study? Are you fond of sport? Are you fond of a life of ease and pleasure? What is it you do want? Join the army and you get it. Walk up! Walk up! The show is just beginning. The mud and the groans and the blood. Keep all that out of the picture.

Government by advertisement. It seems an inspiration. Almost automatically it ensures for the Government the unanimous support of the press. The newspaper boss must be feeling that all things are coming his way. It gets rid of the cackle. Even in a Coalition Parliament there is always the tenth man to be reckoned with, the man who can not be bought. The workers—the "anarchists"—are bound to be defeated almost before the battle has begun. Colored posters are expensive. Displayed advertisements in the newspapers, I take it, vary from one hundred to five hundred pounds a page. Cinema films run into tens of thousands of pounds. What chance has any opposition, Labor or otherwise, against a Government commanding the entire public purse? At first sight it looks an assured success. But there is danger in it. Labor is already complaining that it is allowed no platform from which to state its case. Its own press is limited to one or two papers hampered for want of capital; and the cry to suppress even these is gaining daily force. The big popular journals are savagely opposed to it. In their columns its arguments are misrepresented, its meetings misrepresented. Parliament in

old days afforded at least a safety valve. Lloyd George's tactics at the last election have denied it even this. It has no voice in Parliament. Even if it had, that voice would not be allowed by the press to reach the public. It is still allowed the street corner where it is surrounded by Government spies and agents. Discontent will not be killed. It will be driven under ground, as it has been in other countries. The Ruling Classes would do well, in their own interest, to give a little thought to the matter. Labor represents, roughly speaking, three-quarters of the population. It includes the army and the police. Would it not be wiser to allow it a voice?

### A POLICE SPY'S EVIDENCE

A police spy by the name of Zaneth, giving evidence at the trial in Winnipeg, is reported in the Vancouver Sun of Dec. 6, as saying that he acted as an organizer for the Socialist Party of Canada, under the name of Glass.

All Socialist Party of Canada organizers must receive their credentials from the Dominion Executive Committee. Neither under the name of Glass nor of Zaneth or under any other name has this man had credentials issued to him by this committee. This committee has no knowledge of any one bearing such names either as organizers or as members of the Party.

C. STEPHENSON,

for the

Dominion Executive Committee.

### Local Smithers Building Fund.

Send assistance to R. C. Mutch, Box 10, Smithers, B. C.

Reply to the article by Le B. P. Miles on prices, held over to next issue.

### OUR LITERATURE

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

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

The Present Economic System, by Professor W. A. Bonger, \$6 per 100. Single copies, 10 cents.

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

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

Postage Paid.

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

### EDUCATIONAL CLASSES

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

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

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

# The Coal Crisis

THE rigor of winter is upon the North American continent and a great coal strike will add to the miseries and hardships of the poor. Industries are short of coal and widespread dislocation and stoppage of industry is becoming the condition of affairs. Who is responsible for this condition? Is it the owners or the workers of the mines? We read that already on the prairies, in the towns and villages, and on the farms, there is a shortage of coal and also of knowledge of the real facts of the case in the coal strike from the mine-workers' side. We know that the capitalist press will take advantage of the intolerant temper produced by suffering and inconvenience to lie and to misrepresent the miners' case, and throw the onus of blame on them. We hear and shall hear more about enormous wages and about red propaganda, etc. So to do our little mite towards counteracting the press liars, we publish the following summary taken from the November, New York "Dial," and compiled from an expert's report on the cause of the situation in the coal industry in the United States, which is published in the same issue:

## Coal: A Mismanaged Industry.

In its most superficial aspect, the coal question is one of hours and wages, amenable to adjustment by collective bargaining. But the fundamental issues involved are beyond the compass of the diplomats of capital and labor; they demand for their solution the best efforts of the technicians of production—scientists, engineers, laborers; and every year that leaves these questions unsolved involves the country in losses compared with which the waste involved in a coal strike is as nothing.

Everyone is astonished to learn what the miners want, because no one knows what they have got. To begin with, they want to rest two days in seven, but they also want to work the other five. This represents a demand for 250 working days a year—3 per cent. to 21 per cent. more days per year than miners have ever worked in the history of the American coal industry!

The miners want a six-hour day. In 1917, when maximum production was essential, and when the mine-labor force had been considerably diluted by the substitution of unskilled men for experienced workers withdrawn for military or war-industry service, the length of the working day was reduced 4.8 per cent., the number of days increased 5.6 per cent., and the total output of the mines increased 9.8 per cent. The total coal production for the country was actually 12,000,000 tons in excess of what it would have been if the individual workers had produced no more coal per hour than the more experienced force produced in 1916. Within reasonable limits, productivity per man per day is inversely proportional to the length of the day.

The miners want a 60 per cent. raise in wages. (Their last raise of wages was in 1917, with the cost of living rising ever since. They asked for a rise in 1918 from the government, but were told to wait till after the war. Edit., "Indicator.") Before the war, in the Pennsylvania field, labor got 66c of every dollar paid

for coal, 28c went for supplies and general expenses, and 6c remained as the operator's margin. During the war, labor's share shrank to 84.8 per cent. of the pre-war figure, general expenses fell off somewhat, and the operator's share increased 400 per cent. If the operators would be content with only double their pre-war margin, they could make a 30 per cent. raise in wages without transferring one cent of this burden to the public in the form of an increase in coal prices.

But suppose the miners' day, week and wage demands are granted; and suppose that the operators actually succeed in holding onto their huge profits, and in shifting the new charges to the public—is this threatened price change the first or the greatest burden that the profiteering mismanagement of the coal industry has imposed upon the country? The answer of expert testimony is that this threatened loss, like the loss incident to a strike, is negligible by comparison with the losses involved in the routine mismanagement of the coal-business-as-usual.

Under the present regime of businesslike bungling, it is more profitable to waste nearly 50 per cent. of all the coal that is mined than to save it by carefully standardized methods of operation. If the miners go on digging nearly two tons of coal for every ton made available for consumption, it is probable that the fuel supply of the country will be exhausted in 100 years. By abandoning partly exploited mines, by leaving unreclaimed coal in the mines that are being worked, by failing to utilize coal dust, low-grade coal, and the various by-products of coal, the managers impose upon the resources of the country a loss that amounts to 500,000,000 tons per year. This waste can not be completely eliminated otherwise than by a thorough reformation of mining methods, and by the "manufacture" of coal into its various products—electric power, benzol, tar, and the like—at the pit mouth.

A problem more easily controlled, but beyond the reach of the mine operators themselves, is that involved in the wastage of the coal now consumed in scattered industrial plants and in railway locomotives. Eighty per cent. of the annual product of the country is consumed in this way—and one-fourth of this amount—one-fifth of all tonnage delivered to consumers, is wasted because of faulty methods of firing.

As business is now organized, the only way to enforce economy in consumption is by raising prices—to the further profit of the prodigals who control the coal resources of the country, and the further exasperation of a hard-driven public.

The miners see only the first elements of this problem—they want to work more regularly than they have worked before, and they want more of the necessities and comforts of life than they have been receiving. The public wants coal produced with the minimum expenditure of energy and the minimum waste of material, and it wants this product used with the maximum of economy in order that it may finally yield the maximum of consumption goods.

## Sacrifice of the Innocent

THE following account of the destruction of infant life is not a tale of Soviet Russia. It is a prosaic statistical relation of facts issued from a state department, and because of that, is the more eloquent in what it does not say even than in what it does say of the conditions of life of the working class, under capitalism, and in a country which sets itself up to possess the loftiest example of modern culture—"Americanism." As a matter of fact, "Americanism" is only one of capitalism's many territorial aliases. It has other names in other countries and in them all daily takes toll of life. As for the working class, its slaves, whenever death comes, it finds them as having never really lived. The young, under those conditions, they are fortunate in an early release.

According to the Labor Gazette, for November, issued from the Department of Labor, Ottawa, the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor has issued a report concerning the relation which exists between the rate of infant mortality and family earnings.

The conclusions reached in that report, which were based on an investigation in eight United States cities over a period of six years, appear to be corroborated by the report of an intensive study of conditions in Saginaw, Mich., in regard to the death rate of infants, particulars of which are given in a new bulletin of the Infant Mortality Series issued by the same Bureau. The total number of children born in 1914, the selected year, in that city of 50,000, was 1015, the general rate of infant mortality being 84.6 per thousand. Analyzed according to the rate of family earnings, the highest death rate, 179.5 per thousand is for infants whose fathers earn under \$450, and the lowest death rate, 22.2, is for those whose fathers earn over \$1250. The death rate falls steadily through each group as the fathers' earnings increase, but the rate does not fall below 100 per thousand until the group \$850 to \$1250 is reached, and from that point the fall is very marked. "In other words," the bulletin concludes, "the babies in families where the earnings are low, die at a much higher rate than do those whose fathers are able to provide sufficient care for them. Poverty with its concomitants is an important factor in infant mortality." In New Bedford and Manchester, two other cities where inquiries were held and in which economic conditions were not so good as in Saginaw, the same connection between poverty and infant mortality is further shown, the infant mortality rates in these cities being respectively 201.9 and 242.9 for the lowest, and 59.9 and 58.3 for the highest earning group.

If the operator is interested neither in the economics of production nor in those of consumption, the engineer is interested in both, and a master of both. The workers may find temporary relief in dividing the spoils with the operators. But for labor there is no permanent relief, and for the public no relief at all, except in a permanent alliance of knowledge and interest—of technicians and workers—for the production of goods.

## TRIAL BY JURY SUPPRESSED IN IRELAND

THE refusal of the Juries in Ireland to convict on political offences has its historical counterpart in England itself of the Eighteenth century. That period has other resemblances to the present. The French Revolution had just taken place as the Russian Revolution now. The following is taken from Buckle's History of Civilization in England, p.p. 394-5 of vol. 1:

"In England, however, as soon as the fate of the King (of France) was known, the government, without waiting for explanation, and without asking for any guarantee as to the future, treated the death of Louis as an offence against itself, and imperiously ordered the French Resident to quit the country: thus wantonly originating a war which lasted twenty years, cost the lives of millions, plunged all Europe into confusion, and more than any other circumstance, stopped the march of civilization, by postponing for a whole generation those reforms which, late in the eighteenth century, the progress of affairs rendered indispensable.

"The European results of this, the most hateful, the most unjust, and the most atrocious war, England ever waged against any country, will be hereafter considered: at present I confine myself to a short summary of its leading effects on English society.

"What distinguishes this sanguinary contest from all preceding ones, and what gives it its worst features, is, that it was eminently a war of opinions,—a war which we carried on, not with a view to territorial acquisitions, but with the object of repressing that desire for reforms of every kind, which had now become the marked characteristic of the leading countries of Europe. As soon, therefore, as hostilities began, the English Government had a two-fold duty to perform: it had to destroy a republic abroad, and it had to prevent improvement at home. The first of these duties it fulfilled by squandering the blood and treasure of England, till it had thrown nearly every family into mourning, and reduced the country to the verge of bankruptcy. The other duty it attempted to execute by enacting a series of laws intended to put an end to the free discussion of political questions, and stifle that spirit of enquiry which was every year becoming more active. These laws were so comprehensive, and so well calculated to effect their purpose, that if the energy of the nation had not prevented their being properly enforced, they would either have destroyed every vestige of popular liberty, or else have provoked a general rebellion. Indeed, during several years the danger was so imminent, that, in the opinion of some high authorities, nothing could have averted it, but the bold spirit with which our English juries, by their hostile verdicts, resisted the proceedings of government, and refused to sanction laws which the crown had proposed, and to which a timid and servile legislature had willingly consented."

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

# The Evolution of Man

No. III. of This Series— By PROF. WILLIAM BOLSCHE

I MENTIONED, a while ago, that we have remains of skeletons of men who lived in the ice age, the age of mammoths. But these men of the ice age, who are still relatively close to us when compared to the more distant primitive periods, are not so very much behind in their civilization when compared to certain savage peoples of today. Even in our day, there are certain tribes, for instance in South America, who are not familiar with metals, who fashion all their own tools and weapons out of stone, horn, or wood, and who therefore are actually living in the "Stone Age" similar to those primitive mammoth hunters. Nevertheless, if one of us had met one of these primitive ice age men, we should have been somewhat startled by the features of that man. For his face, his size and his limbs would have appeared to us perceptibly different from ours, even from those of the savages of the present day. True, no one would have doubted that this was still a "man," but something strange, something divergent, would certainly have startled us in this type of the "Ice-age man." We may still reconstruct this man tolerably well from the remains of his skeleton.

It was in 1856 that such genuine human bones, with strangely divergent characteristics, were discovered for the first time and scientifically analyzed. It was in the so-called Neander Valley near Dusseldorf, (Rhineland.) Some working men were clearing out an old cave. They found an old and partly decayed skeleton. A physician, Dr. Fuhlrott, happened along and saved as many of these bones as he could obtain. In this way they reached a museum, and they are now on exhibition in the Provincial Museum of Bonn. The student is especially surprised by the construction of the skull of this man, which is very flat in the part directly above the brain, and has thick and unsightly bumps right over the cavities of the eyes. Even the lowest Australian has no such bumps on his forehead today.

For a long time the genuineness of this discovery was doubted, and no correct conclusions could be formed because the experts could not agree on the period to which this Neander Valley skull should be assigned. Some even doubted whether this man was really very old and whether he could have been a contemporary of the mammoth. Rudolph Virchow then took part in the discussion and claimed that whatever might have been the antiquity of these bones, and granting that they might be genuine bones of a contemporary of the mammoth, they certainly did not belong to a normal man, but rather to one who was diseased. The divergence from the present human type was attributed to the effects of disease. It was supposed that this Neander Valley man suffered from softening of the bones when a baby, from gout when an old man, and that at sometime in his life his skull had been crushed by a blow and healed imperfectly. And in this way the bumps over the eyes and other strange characteristics were supposed to have been produced. But this very daring assumption, looked far-fetched when examined in detail, was refuted when Professor Fraipont, in 1887, discovered two human skeletons in another cave near Namur, (Belgium) the so-called cave of Spy. These skeletons had skulls with the same strange bumps on them. One could not easily assume that all these individuals had endured the same improbable sufferings. Some time after that, a whole mass of remains of such bones, belonging to not less than ten individuals of different ages, were found near Krapina in Austria. They evidently represented the remains of a prehistoric cannibal feast, and the poor victim who had been roasted on that occasion had all of them the same structure of

skull as that of the Neander Valley man. And, finally Schwabe and Klaatsch have demonstrated scientifically that the Neander Valley bones were not at all diseased.

It is quite certain, then, that a type of man with such skulls has once existed and the discoveries at Spy and Krapina have shown at the same time to what period the man belonged. They were found together with the bones of the mammoth and cave bear of exactly the same age. They were therefore of the same age. They were therefore remains of the "Ice-age" men, and these ice-age men still showed this strange divergence from the present living type of "man."

Now, let us imagine that these variations continued far into the more primitive period. The traces of civilization, as we have seen, finally disappear altogether. Man, himself, if present in those very primitive periods, would not have been advanced far enough to fashion the crudest weapons out of flint stone. And we may logically draw conclusions from this lack of ability as to his physical constitution. The man of the Ice-age was able to fashion weapons from flint stones, and yet he was far behind us in the structure of his skull. How far behind, then, in the structure of his skull, would be a man without knowledge of flint stone tools?

The line of research here absolutely dissolves into nothing. Man diverges more and more from the present type of human beings. He finally varies to an extent which makes him absolutely indistinguishable and hides "Man" in beings which are not at all like him.

We must recall to mind the millions of years of the primitive world, the infinite succession of time, and think on and on along this line of natural development, just as we would in the case of a star which, once started on a definite course from a certain point, continues to move and move incessantly in a certain fixed direction.

But now that we have gone so far, we feel a pardonable curiosity and a certain daring. Would it not be possible for our penetration, once we have conceived of these possibilities, to forge ahead still farther into the mystery of things, get at the facts of all these "possibilities, to forge ask what disguise man might have adopted? What may be those strange primitive beings, the fossil remains of which we might perhaps find and in which he may be most likely hidden?

We have at least a starting point. We perceive, so to say, the mathematical point where the course begins to deviate, that is to say, we may start from these grotesque skulls of the ice-age with their crude bumps above the eyes. May we not speculate a little further as to the next physical transformation, and so forth?

It is precisely at this point that we meet with something which has the great advantage of not being merely a logical assumption, but rather a tangible scientific fact.

The beautiful island of Java in the tropics has long been known on account of its violent volcanic eruptions. As late as the Tertiary period, there was an eruption of a certain volcano which buried an entire section of land with loose masses of ashes in the same way in which Mt. Vesuvius buried the city of Pompei in historical times. On this occasion a multitude of living beings were buried. Their bones remained in that volcanic mass and were later on carried to a certain place by waters washing their way through this mass. The name of this place today is Trinil, and the old mass of volcanic ashes is now a part of the bed of the Bengawan River. In 1894, a Dutch physician, Eugen Dubois, made excavations in the banks of this river, and incidentally he discovered masses of old bones, mostly the bones of large

mammals of the Tertiary period, such as elephants and hippopotami which do not live in Java in our day. But among these bones Dubois found also a thigh bone and skull cap and a pair of molar teeth of a peculiar creature which had evidently lived in those primitive days with those animals at the time when the eruption of that volcano occurred.

This creature must have had a strange likeness to human beings. It had almost the height of a man. Its upper thigh bone indicates that it had the habit of walking upright. Indeed, it was so manlike that a number of authorities in anatomy, for instance, Rudolph Virchow, declared without hesitation that it was a genuine human bone. But matters were different with the skull. Flat, without a forehead, and with the bumps above his eyes, this skull seemed in its fundamental plan to be an extreme exaggeration of the Neander Valley skull. But this exaggeration went so far that the human likeness receded against a new likeness. This Trinil skull resembled strikingly—a monkey skull. And it was even possible to name the definite species of monkey which it resembled most nearly, a monkey living to this day in Southern Asia, the so-called gibbon. The gibbon is the nearest relative of the orang-outang, the gorilla and the chimpanzee. The present living species are all of them much smaller than this strange creature of Trinil was. But that old skull was, in many respects, so like that of the gibbon that quite a number of grave experts declared that it belonged to an extinct species of gibbon which had the size of a man.

Still, a few others did not agree with this idea. The cavity of the skull, so far as it was preserved, was filled with gypsum in order to find out how much space it contained for a brain. The figure ascertained by this means was approximately half-way between a gorilla and the lowest Australian aborigine. That is to say, its brain capacity exceeded by far that of a gibbon without however coming anywhere near that of present-day man or even the ice-age man. What sort of a creature could this be? The scientists disagreed. "A very gibbon-like man," said some of them. "A very man-like gibbon," said the others. The discoverer Dubois took a middle course; he baptized this creature with the double name of pithecanthropus, monkey-man.

This disagreement of the scientists is very instructive in our research. We learn, as an actual fact, that in the Tertiary period there still existed on this globe certain creatures which stood about half-way between a man and a gibbon. Their skull exaggerated those characteristics, by which the ice-age man was distinguished from present-day man, to such an extent that this creature approached a new station which we have long known by the name of monkeys. In this way we are given a definite goal indicating the first disguise in which we may look for man further back and discover him, so to say, by evidences which reveal his presence beyond that limit where he began to deviate entirely from the present type, of man.

Is it perhaps possible that at a certain historical stage, man simply merges in the monkey? Here another very old and venerable line of reasoning, long used even in the most exact research of nature, comes to our aid.

(To Be Continued)

[The next installment begins with an account of the great work of the scientist, Linnaeus, in classifying plant and animal life, and the value of these classifications for the method of comparative anatomy in throwing light on the steps of the evolution of man from lower animal forms.]

## IRISH JURIES WILL NOT CONVICT

(From Vancouver "Province")

LONDON, Dec. 3.—Unlooked for delay has occurred in connection with the financial provisions of the new Home Rule Bill, and the measure is not now expected to come before Parliament this month. Before Christmas, however, the government will announce the main details of the bill, and at the opening of next session Home Rule will be treated as the most urgent matter in the government pro-

gramme.

Meanwhile the appalling crime wave in Ireland is engaging the government's close attention, and special radical arrangements are being made to deal with criminals, who at present escape punishment, through the impossibility of empanelling a jury that will record a conviction even when the clearest evidence of guilt is produced. To meet this difficulty persons charged with crimes having a political origin, will be tried by a commission of judges instead of by jury.

## BRITAIN AND U. S. COMPETE TO RUSH GOODS TO GERMANY

WASHINGTON, Dec. 3.—Since the signing of the armistice, the United States and Great Britain have resumed trading with Germany, as shown in reports made public by the department of commerce.

Exports from the United States to Germany for the first ten months of the year totalled \$52,420,095, and imports from Germany, \$4,914,787.

Great Britain, from the signing of the armistice to October 1, exported

to Germany goods valued at more than \$80,000,000, and received imports from Germany valued at \$1,085,000.

Of the total American exports to Germany, \$20,663,521 were exported in October. Officials of the department of commerce stated that although Great Britain apparently has started off with a rush, the United States was overhauling her rapidly.

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

## The Proletariat

IN capitalist production, the capitalist and the wage-earner are not fellow-workers, as were the employer and employed in previous industrial epochs. The capitalist soon develops into, and remains, essentially a merchant. His activity, insofar as he is at all active, limits itself, like that of the merchant, to the operations of the market. His labors consist in purchasing as cheaply as possible the raw material, labor-power and other essentials, and selling the finished products as dearly as possible. Upon the field of production itself he does nothing except to secure the largest quantity of labor from the workman for the least possible amount of wages, and thereby to squeeze out of them the largest possible quantity of surplus values. In his relation to his employees he is not a fellow-worker, he is only a driver and exploiter. The longer they work, the better off he is; he is not tired out if the hours of labor are unduly extended; he does not perish if the method of production becomes a murderous one. The capitalist is vastly more reckless of the life and safety of his operatives than the master-workman of former times. Extension of the hours of labor, abolition of holidays, introduction of night labor, damp and over-heated factories, filled with poisonous gases, such are the "improvements" which the capitalist mode of production has introduced for the benefit of the working-class.

The introduction of machinery increases still further the danger to life and limb for the working-man. The machine system fetters him to a monster that moves perpetually with a gigantic power and with insane speed. Only the closest, never flagging attention can protect the working-man attached to such a machine from being seized and broken by it. Protective devices cost money; the capitalist does not introduce them unless he is forced to do it. Economy being the much vaunted virtue of the capitalist, he is constrained by it to save room and to squeeze as much machinery as possible into the workshop. What cares he that the limbs of his working men are thereby endangered? Working men are cheap, but large, airy workshops are dear.

There is still another respect in which the capitalist employment of machinery lowers the condition of the working class. It is this: the tool of the mechanic of former times was cheap and it was subject to few changes that would render it useless. It is otherwise with the machine; in the first place, it costs money, much money; in the second place, if through improvements in the system, it becomes useless, or if it is not used to its full capacity, it will bring loss instead of profit to the capitalist. Again the machine is worn out, not only through use, but through idleness. Furthermore, the introduction of science into production constantly causes new discoveries and inventions to take the place of the old ones. So, because they can not compete with the improved machinery, now this machine, now that, and often whole factories at once, are rendered useless before they have been used to their full extent. Therefore every machine is in danger of

being useless before it is used up; this is sufficient ground for the capitalist to utilize his machine as quickly as possible from the moment he puts it in operation. In other words, the capitalist application of the system of machinery is a spur that drives the capitalist to extend the hours of labor as much as possible, to carry on production without interruption, to introduce the system of night and day shifts, and, accordingly, to make of the unwholesome night work a permanent system.

At the time the system of machinery began to develop, some idealist declared the golden age was at hand; the machine was to release the working-man and render him free. In the hands of the capitalist, however, the machine has made the burden of labor unbearable.

But in the matter of wages, also, the condition of the wage-earner is worse than that of the medieval apprentice. The proletarian, the workman of today, does not eat at the table of the capitalist; he does not live in the same house. However wretched his home may be, however miserable his food, nay, even though he famish, the well-being of the capitalist is not in the least affected by the sickening sight. The words wages and starvation used to be mutually exclusive; the free working man formerly could starve only when he had no work. Whoever worked, earned wages, he had enough to eat, starvation was not his lot. For the capitalist system was reserved, the unenviable distinction of reconciling these two opposites—wages and starvation—raising starvation wages into a permanent institution, even into a prop of the present social system.

## Patriarchal Society

Excerpt from Jenk's "Short History of Politics"

[At the close of the excerpt in last issue, on the above stage of social development, Prof. Jenk stated his view, that the domestication of animals converted the savage pack into the patriarchal tribe; and the adoption of agriculture broke up the tribe into clans. The excerpt this issue, contains his account of wherein patriarchal society has qualities which distinguished it from modern society.]

**P**ATRIARCHAL Society is distinguished from modern society by four leading qualities.

**Personal Union.** 1. It is personal not territorial. Although as has been said the basis of modern society is military allegiance, (A reading of the context will show that he is speaking of the political superstructure considered apart from the economic base. On page 2 he speaks of military allegiance as the tie which binds communities of the modern type together. Edit.) the great factor that determines that allegiance is residence in a fixed area. Doubtless, for certain purposes, a citizen of State A may reside in the territory of State B; yet he is looked upon as an alien, and he takes no part in the political life of State B. On the other hand, if a man qualifies as a citizen of a State by residence, we ask no questions of his blood or race. "Everyone born in

## Industry and the Guild

From Jenks "History of Politics"

(Continued from Last Issue.)

**T**HE Guild. It is totally contrary to the ideas of primitive man to live as an individual, isolated and unprotected, in a large society. Pastoral pursuits developed the tribe, with its strong blood bond, its mutual protection of its members by the blood feud, and its ancestor worship. Agriculture led to the existence of the clan, with its strongly organized family system, its elaborate arrangements of land occupation, (equality of holdings and intermixed plots, etc. Edit.) and its reciprocal duties of protection and service between chief and followers. Just in the same way, the appearance of industrial pursuits produced the guild. The craftsman, finding himself in a strange place, cut off from his own kindred, formed with his fellows an association resembling as closely as possible the association of kindred which he had left behind him. Perhaps at first it was merely a peace-association, a frith-gild as the Saxons called it; then it took on a religious character, doubtless in imitation of the old ancestor worship of the clan. The medieval guild always had its patron saint; and if its members did not really believe themselves to be descended from their patron saint, they often spoke as if they did. Finally, the guild became more industrial in character; busying itself more and more with such matters as the regulation of work and prices, the inspection of workshops, the fixing of measures and qualities, the exclusion of strangers, and so on. But, the

more we study the guild, the more we see its likeness to the old clan. Like the clan, it was strongly hereditary. The best title to admission to the full privileges of a guild was the fact that the applicant's father was, or had been a member. Failing birth, apprenticeship was the only alternative. But apprenticeship is very like adoption. In the days of guilds, the apprentice lived in his master's house, fed at his master's table, shared in his worship, was clothed and taught by him, just like a son. Just as the member of a clan took the name of the founder, and put before it or after it some sound which indicated "son of," so the member of the guild called himself by the name of his craft. While the clansman called himself "Mac-Dowell," or "Billing" or "ap Tudor" or "Benhadad," the craftsman called himself "Smith," "Turner," "Carpenter," and so on. In fact, it is said by some competent observers, that the Indian caste system is merely an elaboration of hereditary craft-guilds. Moreover, the guild in later days provided schools and orphanages for the children of its members, attended their funerals, provided masses for their souls, spoke of its members as "brethren," had an "elder man" (Ealdorman) for chief, settled disputes among its members, and forbade its members to compete with one another, just as a well-conducted association of kinsmen would do. Finally, on its strongly developed social side in its frequent drinkings, feastings and merry-makings, the medieval guild strongly resembled a great family group.

France is a Frenchman," says the Code Napoleon; and, broadly speaking, that is the rule in civilized countries at the present day. But patriarchal society cares nothing for residence or locality. To be a member of a particular group, a man must be of the blood of that group. If he is not, he may pass his whole life in its service, but he will not be a member. In fact, the whole group itself may move its quarters at any time, without affecting its constitution in any way. At least, this is so in the earlier stages of patriarchal society.

**Exclusiveness.** 2. It is exclusive. Modern society believes in large numbers. In spite of certain grumblings about "immigrant aliens," modern States are really anxious to increase their numbers as much as possible, because they know that an increase in numbers means an increase in wealth and of fighting power. To a community in the patriarchal stage, an Immigration Bureau would appear to be a monstrosity. To its members the immigrant is simply a thief, who comes to stint the pasture and the corn land; a heathen, who will introduce strange customs and worships. If he is admitted, he is admitted only as a serf or slave.

**Communal Character.** 3. It is communal. In a modern State, the supreme authority deals directly with each individual. Of course there are intermediate authorities, but they act only as subordinates or delegates of the supreme power, which can set them aside. But, in patriarchal society, each man is a member of a small group, which is itself a mem-

ber of a larger group, and so on. And each man is responsible only to the head of his immediate group—the son, wife, or slave to the housefather, the housefather to the head of his clan, the head of the clan to the tribal chief.

**No Competition.** 4. It is non-competitive. We are accustomed to a state of society in which each man works at what he thinks best, and in the way he thinks best. Subject to certain laws, mostly of a police character, each man "does as he likes." If a farmer thinks he can get a better crop by sowing earlier than his neighbors, he does so. If a carpenter thinks he can make a better box by using nails where screws have hitherto been employed, he does so. If a draper thinks he can attract customers by selling tea, he does so. But patriarchal society would have looked on such practices with horror. Its life was regulated by fixed custom, to deviate from which was impiety. In patriarchal society, everyone found his duties in life prescribed for him; and not only his duties, but the way in which he should perform them. Any deviation from customary rules was looked upon with disfavor.

### MANIFESTO OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

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

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

## Workers' Liberty Bond Campaign--B.C. Hits Stride

WILL the workers of this Province go over the top? Well, it looks like it. The Defense Committee in Vancouver has to date received \$7000, and many outside points have not yet got into their stride, and no returns have been made by the committees handling the campaign at these places. British Columbia's quota is \$20,000. With \$7000 already in hand, and a little push, at least \$25,000 should be raised. Many of the loggers are sending their contributions in lump sums from the different camps in the most out of the way places. This is due to the fact that they are reached by The Federationist. In the correspondence, the committee has found that non-unionists, returned soldiers and men from all walks of life are contributing to the defense of the men in Winnipeg, and splendid assistance is being rendered by International unions in all parts of the Province, and the Vancouver locals are not behind any other point in the Province. This demonstrates that in spite of opinions as to the O. B. U. or International unionism, the workers are lining up in one common cause for the protection of their fellow-workers arrested as a result of the Winnipeg general strike. There is now only ten days of the time for the campaign left, and it is expected that at least \$1000 per day will be the average for the time now left before the 15th. Outlying points may not be heard from for some little time, so it is up to everyone to get in and dig, and go over the top for liberty. Everybody get into this campaign. It is the business of every worker.—Defense Committee.

## Workers' Liberty Bonds

For the Defense of the Men Arrested as a Result of the Winnipeg Strike, in Denominations of \$1, \$2 and \$5. Have You Got Yours Yet?

### A DAY'S PAY FOR WINNIPEG

Liberty of Speech and Action Is Worth Paying and Fighting For

Make all monies payable to A. S. Wells, Secretary of Defense Committee, 405 Dunsmuir Street, Vancouver, B. C.

## Labor Defence Fund

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

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

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

## Clippings From the Press

### GENERAL STRIKE AS A PROTEST IN ITALY

ROME, Dec. 4.—Disorders marked the day throughout Northern Italy, where Socialists called a general strike in most of the larger cities in protest against alleged failure of the government to protect Socialist deputies in Rome, several of whom were attacked by loyalist demonstrators.

ROME, Dec. 4.—Announcement that the general strike in Italy would terminate at midnight Wednesday, was received with relief by everybody throughout the country, including many workmen who admit they struck only in obedience to orders.

The order for the cessation of the strike, which was issued by direction of the Socialist Party and the General Federation of Labor, declares among other things:

"We never more will tolerate, even in the slightest degree, a violation of the right of representation or the liberty of thought, and are ready to take measures which will be sufficiently efficacious to check everywhere every reactionary desire of the professional militarists."

The situation at Milan growing out of the general strike, had become grave, according to advices received here.

### AS A TRIBUTE TO CAPITAL

Calcutta.—It is calculated 40 to 50 millions of the people at present live in a state of semi-starvation in India. And millions of Indians have died because of the want of sufficient food and clothing during the last few years.

Food control is maintained by the government to help the exportation of food, rather than to keep food-stuffs within the country.

The trade return of Calcutta for April, 1918 to March, 1919, shows that whereas in 1917, only 148 million pounds, and in 1918, only 164 million pounds of staple food had been exported from Calcutta by the sea, within the three months of January, February and March, 1919, more than 435 million pounds of rice were exported overseas.

It is known that Indian rice taken by Europe is used more for the distillation of spirits and the manufacture of starch than for food.

### THE COAL STRIKE

The leaders of the striking miners in the States are to face criminal charges. Bench warrants have been issued for 84 of them and they are to appear on Tuesday. The Government claims that the leaders violated the court injunction against the strike by, first that the strike withdrawal notices to the miner's locals did not have the seal on them United Mine Workers, and also they passively consented to the continued idleness by the miners.

"The Indicator," 20 issues \$1.00.

### THE PERMANENT MASS OF PROLETARIANS

The Great West Life Assurance Company has the following on a leaflet, culled from a circular issued by the United States Government.

Out of every twenty, nineteen fail to provide either for their old age or for their families at death.

Over 8,000,000 women must work to live.

Ninety per cent. of estates of over \$5000 are entirely dissipated in seven years.

Ninety per cent. of children who enter school at the age of six have to stop before completing the eighth grade to go to work.

One in every two men at age 25 will be dependent upon someone else at the age of 65.

Thirty-five per cent. of the widows of the country are in want.

### GARBLED PRESS REPORTS AGAIN

The Vancouver "Province," of Dec. 3, contains the following piece of imagination from "our" special correspondent:

"Officers of the Socialist Party, the Canadian headquarters of which is in Vancouver, seem to take it that the Socialist Party is on trial, and it is for them that Messrs. Cassidy, K.C., and J. Edward Bird are appearing in court."

Messrs. Cassidy, K.C., and J. E. Bird are not appearing in court for the officers of the Socialist Party of Canada. We understand they are retained by the Labor defence committee. The Socialist Party of Canada is only on its defence in the same manner as the working class movement at large is on its defence in the case in Winnipeg.

### MR. MARTENS SUES NEW YORK PAPERS

(Special to The Christian Science Monitor from its Eastern News Office.)

NEW YORK, New York.—Counsel for Ludwig C. A. K. Martens, representative in the United States of the Russian Soviet Republic, yesterday served papers in a libel suit against the New York Tribune and the Press Publishing Company, publisher of the New York World, seeking to recover \$1,000,000 damages from the two papers. The claims are based on statements printed in those papers last week asserting that Mr. Martens had "admitted" before the Lusk Committee investigating seditious activities that he was engaged in propaganda for the overthrow of the United States Government.

ROME, Dec. 3.—Through intervention by the Vatican, the Bolsheviki Government of Russia has agreed to an exchange of prisoners of war with Poland.

Among the prisoners affected by the agreement is Archbishop Ropp of Mohilev, who has already returned to Warsaw.

### OFFERED TO FRANK ENTIRE RUSSIAN DEBT

LONDON, Dec. 1.—Colonel John Ward, M.P., says that while he was in Omsk, he was a sort of amateur ambassador, and Admiral Kolchak and his council had such confidence in him that they put before him documents that were "simply astounding."

"To my own knowledge," Colonel Ward proceeded, "one power was prepared to undertake the task of securing order in Russia if she were only given absolute possession of fifty miles square of a particular region in the North Ural territory. She even promised that if she could get hold of another concession which involved merely a small part of Siberia she would undertake to frank the entire debt of Russia, old and new."

### TO STUDY SOCIALISM

(From Vancouver "World")

A newly organized branch of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society has been formed in the University. According to Arnold Bennett, the chief politics of the future will be Socialism. With this in view, the students are preparing to learn all there is to know about the Socialist movement. The purpose of the society is purely for study and not for the promulgation of propaganda.

### THE EXCHANGE RATE

NEW YORK, Dec. 4.—British exchange rallied at the opening of the market today. Demand sterling was quoted at \$3.91 1-4, or 3 1-2 cents above yesterday's close. Francs and lire also were slightly higher, the former opening at 10.31 to the dollar and the latter at 12.62.

WINNIPEG, Dec. 4.—Great alarm was felt in financial and business circles over the further big drop in British pound sterling yesterday. All through the war the rate of exchange between this country and Great Britain was kept close to \$4.76 on the pound. It was pegged at this figure by the British Government. How this was done and what it cost has not been divulged. After the war ended some British students of finance stated that the rate would fall to \$4 or even to \$3.75, and that it would stay here for a long period.

### Will Government Take Action.

It is obvious that the rate is now on the way to \$3.75 and the question arises whether it is going to be pegged at \$3.75 or at any other point in the descent. A fall below \$3.75 would certainly have a pronounced effect on exports from the United States to Britain. The position of the Canadian exporter is not quite so bad.

Manifesto of the Socialist Party of Canada.

A statement of the theories and conclusions of Scientific Socialism.

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