

A Kentucky Yankee in the Middle Ages

THE State of Kentucky, besides being famous for the production of family feuds, negro folk-songs, rye whisky, race horses and labor troubles has added to its list a now famous bill, introduced in the Legislature to bar the teaching of evolution in any tax-supporting educational institution of that State. The bill failed of passage by one vote.

This has attracted wide attention and has evoked considerable controversy centred mainly upon Darwinism, which Mr. Bryan (himself a product of Kentucky), regards as a worthless atheistic guess.

Mr. Bryan is the gentleman known to most of us as the long winded-runner up for the office of President. Perhaps, had he "made it," it would have proved (as was suggested when Maj.-Gen. Leonard Wood was mentioned as a nominee) the truth of the popular American superstition that "anybody can be president." Anyway, free silver and grape-juice having lost their popular glamour, Mr. Bryan appoints himself defender of the faith, with appropriate denominational impartiality. Thus:

"We stamp upon our coins 'In God We Trust'; we administer to witnesses an oath in which God's name appears; our President takes his oath of office upon the Bible. Is it fanatical to suggest that public taxes should not be employed for the purpose of undermining the nation's God? When we defend the Mosaic account of man's creation and contend that man has no brute blood in him, but was made in God's image by separate act and placed on earth to carry out a divine decree, we are defending the God of the Jews as well as the God of the Gentiles; the God of the Catholics as well as the God of the Protestants. We believe that faith in a Supreme Being is essential to civilization as well as to religion and that abandonment of God means ruin to the world and chaos to society.

"Let those believers in 'the tree man' come down out of the trees and meet the issue. Let them defend the teaching of agnosticism or atheism if they dare. If they deny that the natural tendency of Darwinism is to lead many to a denial of God, let them frankly point out the portions of the Bible which they regard as consistent with Darwinism, or evolution applied to man. They weaken faith in God, discourage prayer, raise doubt as to a future life, reduce Christ to the stature of a man, and make the Bible a 'scrap of paper.' As religion is the only basis of morals, it is time for Christians to protect religion from its most insidious enemy."

Mr. Bryan toured the State in support of the bill already mentioned and in opposition to what he supposes to be "Darwinism." Even at that, the trouble is not exactly Darwinism, but rather that it leads to a disbelief in God and the bankruptcy of religion. This is on a level with the mentality of Mr. Voliva, head of the Christian Apostolic Church, to whom the stars are "points of light, that is all. They are not worlds, they are not suns. So-called science is a lot of silly rot, and so is so-called medical science and all the rest of their so-called sciences." According to this Christian romancer the sky is a solid dome with edges resting "on the wall of ice which surrounds the flat world."

The believers in "the tree man" have "dared" to come down and meet the issue. Mr. Bryan has been writing in the New York "Times" in opposition to any teaching in the public schools that leads to irreligion; but irreligion or not, along comes Prof. H. F. Osborne (lately Director, Museum Natural His-

tory, N. Y.) who, writing in "Science," New York, says:

"The mode of origin of species was practically discovered by a little-known German paleontologist by the name of Waagen in 1869, but, like the great discovery of Mendel in heredity, this truth has been long in making its way, even among biologists. Waagen's observations that species do not originate by chance or by accident, as Darwin at one time supposed, but through a continuous and well-ordered process, has since been confirmed by an overwhelming volume of testimony, so that we are now able to assemble and place in order line after line of animals in their true evolutionary succession, extending, in the case of what I have called the edition de luxe of the horses, over millions of years. These facts are so well known and make up such an army of evidence, that they form the chief foundation of the statement that evolution has long since passed out of the domain of hypothesis and theory, to which Mr. Bryan refers, into the domain of natural law.

"Evolution takes its place with the gravitation law of Newton. It should be taught in our schools simply as Nature speaks to us about it, and entirely separated from the opinions, materialistic or theistic, which have clustered about it.

It would not be true to say that the evolution of man rests upon evidence as complete as that of the horse, for example, because we have only traced man's ancestors back for a period of 400,000 years, as geologic time was conservatively estimated in 1893 by Secretary Walcott of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington; whereas, we have traced the horse back for a period of 3,000,000 years, according to similar estimates of geologic time.

The very recent discovery of Tertiary man, living long before the Ice Age, certainly capable of walking in an erect position, having a hand and a foot fashioned like our own, also a brain of sufficient intelligence to fashion many different kinds of implements, to make a fire, to make flint tools which may have been used for the dress of hides as clothing, constitutes the most convincing answer to Mr. Bryan's call for more evidence. This Foxhall man, found near Ipswich, England, tends to remove man still further from the great lines which led to the man apes, the chimpanzees, the orang, the gorilla and the gibbon. This is not guess-work, this is fact. In this instance again truth is stranger than hypothesis or speculation.

Nearer to us in the Piltdown man, found not far from 75 miles to the southwest of Ipswich, England; still nearer in geologic time is the Heidelberg man, found on the Neckar River; still nearer is the Neanderthal man, whom we know all about—his frame, his head form, his industries, his ceremonial burial of the dead, also evidence of his belief in a future existence; nearer still is the Cro-Magnon man, who lived about 30,000 years ago, our equal if not superior in intelligence. This chain of human ancestors was totally unknown to Darwin. He could not have even dreamed of such a flood of proof and truth. It is a dramatic circumstance that Darwin had within his reach the head of the Neanderthal man without realizing that it constituted the "missing link" between man and the lower order. All this evidence is today within reach of every schoolboy. It is all at the service of Mr. Bryan. It will, we are convinced, satisfactorily answer in the negative, his question: "Is it not more rational to believe in the creation of man by separate act of God than to believe in evolution without a particle of evidence?"

Prof. Conklin, dealing with the idea that the teachings of science must again suffer "an inquisition . . . at the bar of theology," says:

Scientific investigators and productive scholars in almost every field have long since accepted evolution in the broadest sense as an established fact. Science now deals with the evolution of the elements, of the stars and solar system, of the earth, of life upon the earth, of various types and species of plants and animals, of the body, mind and society of man, of science, art, government, education and religion. In the light of this great generalization all

sciences, and especially those which have to do with living things, have made more progress in the last half century than in all the previous centuries of human history.

In the face of all these facts, Mr. Bryan and his kind hurl their medieval theology. It would be amusing if it were not so pathetic and disheartening to see these modern defenders of the faith beating their gongs and firing their giant firecrackers against the ramparts of science.

This writer says: "no intelligent person now believes that the earth was made just 5,246 years ago and in six literal days." But Mr. Bryan evidently believes that, or pretends to believe it. He must have a hard opinion of Lord Rayleigh, who, at a session of the British Association for the advancement of Science, held recently in Edinburgh, declared his opinion that the oldest of the earth's rocks were 925 million years of age and the earth's crust probably 6,000 million years.

Mr. Bryan will need something more than grape juice to keep up his spirits if he intends to maintain the effort to fool the American youth of citizenship age. We guess that to be the trouble anyway. Bryan works at "being a politician" and he has to keep on making audiences for himself. It's not "the truth of the matter" that counts, really, but what it leads to.

In this particular matter it leads to disbelief in God and that will never do, for "Religion is the opium of the People." Which means to say that the master class, through their puppets and intellectual strap-hangers of Bryan's stripe use religion and all its influences to stifle working class understanding.

THE TERMS.

REPORTS from Genoa already indicate that Russia occupies the centre of the stage, with Germany next in order. Great Britain appears to be the most interested party. Chicherin has called for political recognition of the Soviet Republic which, of course, he knew would not be immediately forthcoming, but it brings the conditions of the Allies on recognition at once to the front. Some of these are reported as:

Article 1 declares that the soviet government should accept the financial obligations of its predecessors, namely the imperial Russian government and the provisional government. This includes obligations to foreign powers and their nationals.

Article 2 provides for recognition by the soviet of the financial engagements of all Russian authorities, provincial or local, and also all public utility enterprises contracted with other powers or peoples.

Article 3 declares that the soviet should assume responsibility for all damages suffered by foreigners in consequence of the acts or negligence of the soviet or its predecessors.

Article 4 says that the responsibilities mentioned in the preceding articles will be fixed by the commission on the Russian debt, and by mixed arbitration tribunals to be created.

Article 5 declares that all debts, responsibilities and obligations between foreign governments and the Russian government since August 1, 1914, shall be considered as entirely effaced by the payment of sums to be fixed in a future accord.

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The Origin of the World

By R. McMillan.

CHAPTER V.

THE LAW OF GRAVITATION.

"Sir Isaac Newton discovered the law of gravitation." You will be told so at school, and you will read so in books, and you will come to believe so at last; and I daresay it is true. But what you want to know is what is gravitation? We take everything for granted, and people tell us things and we accept them as true, and our teachers think they have taught us; but they have not! We fail to understand not only the big words, but the small ones and the ones that our teachers think are very simple.

We are told that "Newton discovered the law of gravitation," and we believe it; but what is gravitation? When a horse slips in the street and falls down, it is drawn to earth by the law of gravitation. When your fingers slip, the cup in your hand falls to the ground and is smashed, in answer to the call of gravitation. When you throw a ball up into the air it soon comes back to earth, because gravitation pulls it. But what is gravitation? It is the pull which exists in all solid bodies; it is the force of the universe; it is the mystery of the universe.

I think I had better explain to you now that science explains nothing. Between ourselves, I think that very few explanations ever explain anything. Science never explains any thing, but it arranges things. That is all. Nobody in the world can explain anything, and one of our greatest philosophers (Herbert Spencer) has declared that "the simplest phenomena, in their ultimate essence, are unknowable," which means not only that the simplest things cannot be explained, but that they are unexplainable—which, after all, is just what I have been saying.

After having had everything "explained" to you all your life, it is very difficult to understand that nothing is certain, and that no explanation explains anything. But if you are going to learn about the origin of the world, you have got to learn the limitations of your own mind.

I can explain to you how my watch goes, can I not? I have wound two watches up every night for years. I often wonder at their marvellous mechanism, which keeps time with the sun, year after year. You know how a watch is worked, do you not? It contains a spring; and every night I twist that spring up, and the watch keeps untwisting the spring all night and all the next day. So the wheels keep moving, and the wheels move with the sun; and I know at any instant, from the position of the hands, where the sun is. That is "time." If there was no sun, there would be no more time.

Next night the spring is nearly unwound, and I have to twist it up again; and I have to twist it up every night of my life, or the watch will stop. That is simple, is it not? The watch is driven by force. I put the force into it when I wind it up every night. That is a simple "explanation," but it has not been explained what "force" is. What is "force"? What is gravitation? What is law? What is electricity? What is anything? I know what all those things are only so far as I see what they do, and nobody knows any more about them. Some people could tell you a great deal—far more than I can—about how they work; but what they are in their final essence nobody knows. Law is incomprehensible. Force, matter, electricity, time, space, motion, are all incomprehensible.

We see the law forever at work, but there is a curious thing about force. My watch goes by force, and I apply the force every night; but if I die I will have no "force" to put into the watches, and they will stop, unless somebody else puts the force into them. Where did my force come from? From what I ate! And where did the eatables get the force from? From the sun! So, if the sun ceased to shine, all the force in the world would cease to be.

But where does the sun get the force from? From other suns! But where do they get it from? Ah! Now we have to come to a big question. There is force in the universe beyond all human comprehension, and if you spend your force you lose it, but something else gets it. I put so much of my force into the watch every night, but there is no less force in the world, because the watch spring has the force that I spent.

A man may spend all his force hoisting stones up on to the top of a tall building. If he lets one fall and it strikes a man, it will kill him. That is, the force that was invested in the lifted stone will kill the man; and the stones that are lying so quietly on top of the building are full of the same deadly force; gravitation. But what is gravitation? I do not know; but there it is! The man who hoisted the stones to the top of the building put all his "force" into the stones when he overcame the action of gravitation and raised them to the roof; and that "force" is still in the stones. And the law of gravitation keeps the world in its place, and the sun in its place, and all the planets in their places. When you see a star falling, or a comet rushing, or a baby tumbling down the steps, they are all acting in obedience to the "law" whatever that is. Law is not anything, really, except what always happens. Water always rolls down a hill, and fire always burns, so we say it is "law" that they should do so; but it means only that the same effects follow the same causes all the time. What Newton discovered about the year 1700 was the law that governs this force. Other people had discovered the force of gravitation. Kepler, the great astronomer, talked about it before Newton; but what Sir Isaac Newton discovered was the "law" of the force, the rate at which all bodies fall. And that was perhaps the greatest discovery any man ever made. No wonder that our poets have dreamed about it, and no wonder that one of them wrote:—

The very law that moulds a tear,
And bids it trickle from its source,
That law preserves the earth a sphere,
And guides the planets in their course.

Newton was a great mathematician, and he asked himself what kept the moon going round the earth all the time so regularly? If this law of gravitation was correct by which an apple fell from a tree always at the same rate, then the moon ought to fall round the earth at a certain rate and make the journey in a certain time. He tried to work it out, but it came out wrong, and he put the figures away disappointed. But later on a man made a measurement of the earth by measuring a part of the circle, and that altered the figures that Newton had to work on. He got out the old figures, and began on them again. He saw that his proposed law was coming out right, and he grew so nervous and excited that he broke down, and had to get another mathematician to finish his work. And behold! The moon obeys the law of gravitation and falls round the earth in twenty-eight days; and the earth obeys the law and falls round the sun in 365 days; and the sun obeys the law and falls round somewhere else at the rate of thirteen miles a second. All the universe is filled with law. The earth is so true to the law of its nature that it alters only one second in 168,000 years. If you waited to see it alter an hour, it would take six thousand million years! How slowly the law works. And yet I believe that "once upon a time" the moon was very close to the earth, and we and the moon revolved much faster, and the day was only about three hours long. But that was a very, very long time ago.

What a wonderful world we live in, and what a momentous discovery Sir Isaac Newton made; but how very few people, even today, understand the nature of his discovery! The sun, moon, planets, comets, stars—everything, everywhere, everywhen—

are under law; and so are we, as well as the suns and worlds.

Today I noticed the grass beginning to grow in a half-dried waterhole; and the green shoots all over the mud made me think that the grass was full of intelligence, and had only waited for the water to dry up. It was living under law! When there is a cry of "fire" in the theatre the people are filled with panic and rush to death, as unreasonable as beasts. They also are acting up to the law of their natures, poor souls, as unreasoning as the grass. All things in the universe are under law.

NEXT LESSON: FORCE AND ENERGY.

RIVALS IN REAL ESTATE.

REGINALD McKENNA, a leading financier of Great Britain and one time Chancellor of the Exchequer, recently toured this continent giving lectures here and there on international finance, with special reference to after-the-war problems, reparations, inter-allied debts and so forth. He made suggestions that the U. S. should agree with Great Britain to cancel all war debts and start out with a clean sheet. He had rather a cold reception in Chicago where they have been making a critical and somewhat unfriendly survey of the territorial extension of Great Britain's imperialistic back yard.

This is illustrated by these pointed remarks made by the "Chicago Tribune."

"There is nothing to pay back with, he says, except goods to be manufactured by the debtor nations. Neither the United States nor Great Britain wants to be flooded with foreign goods for such payments while their own people are idle. The money loaned is spent "and there is nothing material now to show for it." Those are depressing statements, and are near enough the truth to be convincing. But they are generalities. Let us be specific.

Has Great Britain "nothing to show" for the 4,277,000,000 dollars advanced to her by the United States to help win the war? She has, in addition to relief from German naval and merchant marine competition, the majority of Togoland and Kamerun, East Africa, with a territory of 224,830 square miles, a market for 3,000,000 dollars worth of British goods annually and a production for export worth over 4,000,000 dollars annually. She has, together with France, some 500,000 square miles of new territory in South-West Africa, with a market for 4,500,000 dollars worth of British goods and a production of nearly 7,000,000 dollars goods for export. She has extended her rule in Mesopotamia over 143,000 additional square miles of territory with incalculable natural resources, and active flying power of 46,961,000 dollars worth of British goods a year, and a production for export of 28,000,000 dollars. She has included under her rule Palestine and part of Arabia, with 100,000 square miles of territory and annual imports of more than 16,000,000 dollars and exports of 3,000,000 dollars a year. In the Pacific she has taken over Nauru, with its valuable deposits of phosphates and its great central wireless station; the Solomon Islands, with about 3500 square miles of territory and valuable trading concessions; West Samoa, with an annual demand for 1,000,000 dollars worth of British goods and an export production of 2,000,000 dollars. German New Guinea, with almost double the imports and exports of West Samoa. And all these islands are incalculably more valuable as defensive outposts of Australasia than as economic resources.

Then, when Mr. McKenna says there is "nothing material to show" for the war debts we must take issue with him. Britain alone has more than 1,000,000 square miles of additional territory, rich in mineral and other natural resources, and in part highly valuable for strategic purposes, to show for what the United States loaned her and otherwise assisted her in the war.

In view of these facts it does not seem improper to suggest to Great Britain that if she is unable to pay in cash what she owes us she might turn over to us the islands of the British West Indies, including the Bahamas, the Bermudas, the Leeward and the Windward Islands, Barbados, Jamaica, and Trinidad. Altogether they have hardly more than one-tenth the area of the new territory acquired by Great Britain through the war. Lying on the east and south-east coasts of the United States, they are not vital to any of the great British trade routes. They are not a vast source of income to Great Britain. They are valuable to us largely for strategic and defensive purposes, particularly in defence of our Panama Canal route. Their strategic value to Brit-

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Current Topics: the European Tangle

ARTICLE II.—By ROBERT KIRK

SLAVES and free men, as well as patricians, of Ancient Rome, Carthage, Babylon, Persia, and Athens, shared in and enjoyed the spoils of the plundering expeditions of their royal masters. But not so with the wage-slaves of today, though the magnitude of the looting from present wars is greater now than was ever possible in those early civilizations. Middle Europe was just as surely sacked at the Conference of Versailles as Carthage was by Roman legions. But the wage-slaves of the Allied countries never were so poor as after the looting. And the reason for this lies in the fact that the spoil of war is stamped with the hallmark of capitalism—commodities, which are for sale.

The round sum of 56½ billion dollars, to be paid in half-yearly installments, over a period of 42 years, is the amount demanded by the Reparations Commission. Satisfaction was written large on the faces of most good patriots, workers all, when 1,600,000 Allied troops crossed the Rhine to insure payments of these claims from Germany. Doubts existed in the minds of many bourgeoisie economists, and some were expressed, concerning the capacity of Germany's economic resources to stand the strain these reparations would make upon them. None, however, considered for a moment whether the amount of surplus-values this sum represents (56½ billion dollars) was within the physical ability of German workers to produce over and above the needs of the German people. Or, if they could produce this quantity of surplus wealth, what effect the delivery would have on industrial conditions outside of Germany.

If payments are to be made, then German goods must have a preference in the markets of the world, in order to import the essential materials for the continuation of the reproductive process.

While compliance with these terms would entail constant employment for all German workers; the application of every known device for increasing productivity and the strictest economy of industrial organization and administration, in order to extract the utmost in values to pay the Allied claims. And this is precisely what has happened in Germany, to the detriment of trade throughout the world. The percentage of unemployed in January, 1921, was 4.5; in June it had been reduced to 3.0; while in October, 1921, unemployment, so far as organized workers were concerned, had disappeared.

Export trade for 1920 reached the total of 69 1-3 milliard marks (a milliard is a thousand millions, corresponding to an American "billion"), with imports, for the same year, totalling 98.1 milliard marks. But in 1921, for the last eight months of the year, exports reached the sum of 70 1-3 milliard marks and imports had grown to 80 1-3 milliard marks. The extent of German trade is further seen in the amount of shipping which calls for it at the three chief ports of the country.

| Port | No. of vessels | Gross tonnage |
|-------------------|----------------|---------------|
| Hamburg— | | |
| 1921 | 8,633 | 9,532,801 |
| 1920 | 4,880 | 4,537,333 |
| Antwerp— | | |
| 1921 | 8,074 | 12,980,147 |
| 1920 | 7,698 | 10,858,926 |
| Rotterdam— | | |
| 1921 | 8,069 | 10,874,629 |
| 1920 | 5,951 | 7,609,777 |

In one industry alone, which includes the by-products, we have an interesting story which shows us above all else one of the main factors in putting the British coal trade out of the European market. The prolific output of German coal, coke and coal briquettes is seen in the following figures taken from the "Economic Review" (London), February 17, 1922.

Germany's coal output for the year 1920 was:
Pit coal—131,340,797 tons.

Lignite—111,880,413 tons.
Coke—25,117,039 tons.
Briquettes—Coal—4,938,150 tons.
Lignite—24,278,460 tons.

"And for the year 1921 the output was:—
Pit coal—136,210,088 tons.
Lignite—123,011,250 tons.
Coke—27,921,341 tons.
Briquettes—Coal—5,688,167 tons.
Lignite—28,243,017"

This immense output takes care of the demand for coal which a European market calls for, and which British merchants formerly supplied. No wonder the British Labor Party submitted a report of conditions in the coal areas of Britain to Lloyd George, before that marvellous "peacemaker" visited Cannes. The following is taken from the memorandum prepared by the British Miners' Federation:

"The export of British coal to Russia during the eleven months ended November 30, 1913, was 5,598,000 tons, and in the eleven months ended November, 1921, 126,400 tons, or a net reduction of five and a half million tons in eleven months.

"Exports to Germany for the eleven months ended 30th November, 1913, amounted to 8,300,000 tons, as against 659,000 tons in the eleven months ended November, 1921, a reduction of nearly 8,000,000 tons of coal.

"The amount of coal exported to France from this country (Britain) during the eleven months ended the 30th November, 1913, was 11,676,000 tons, and for the same period of 1921 5,161,000 tons, or a net reduction of over 6,000,000 tons of coal."

This represents a loss in the export coal trade of 19½ million tons, and accounts for 50,000 mine workers in the South Wales coal fields being out of a job, subsisting on "doles" paid from German reparations. While the few who are working four shifts per week are watching the painful operation of their masters cutting prices in an attempt to recover the continental market, and at the same time feeling the results of a cut in wages, which brings them as near to starvation as those who are unemployed.

"The effect of the Spa Coal Agreement has been to damage materially the prospects of trade recovery in the exporting districts of this country. Under the agreement, Germany is compelled to export to the Allied countries 22,000,000 tons of coal per annum. This coal finds its way into Belgium, France and Italy, and in consequence of the character of the Treaty, no cash transaction takes place between the receiving countries and the German Government. The respective Governments, however, in selling the coal to consumers in their countries charge them the current prices in their country.

"But if they are unable to dispose of it at home, they re-export it to other countries and obtain the world price for it. Therefore, the net effect of this process is that coal is being sold so cheaply in the countries referred to, that British coal has to be sold at a price below cost in order to find any kind of market at all, and only the better classes of British coal are able to secure a market, in view of the large quantities of coal coming into these countries under the Reparation Clauses.

"The German Government is given credit for the coal so exported as a set-off against the reparation payable by her, but the price at which it is credited to her is the actual price at which similar classes of coal are sold in Germany, plus the freightage to the frontier. When these prices are expressed in the rate of exchange of the receiving countries, they are considerably below any price at which British exporters can sell their coal as a paying proposition."

In this statement of facts, quoted above, there is ample evidence showing how one industry of England has been affected by the Treaty of Versailles. But this is by no means the only industry or country that has been economically crippled by the terms of reparations. For the coal trade of Germany, exten-

sive as it is, makes but a single item of the nation's activity.

While reparations have acted as a boomerang against British trade the effect of them on France is different in many respects, which we will deal with in our next issue. But the point which I want the reader to see is the stupendous ignorance of our rulers and the still greater density of the mass who place in their hands the destinies of peoples, and the results of continued meddling by so-called statesmen with forces they do not understand.

MINERS' STRIKE FEATURES.

TOTAL number of Miners, estimated at upward of 700,000. Of these the union claims 560,000, divided into 425,000 bituminous and 135,000 anthracite. Union figures place the number of non-union miners at about 125,000, but operators' estimates are up to 200,000. The union claims 100,000 non-union miners will join the strike; the operators claim comparatively few will do so.

Total Number of Mines: Approximately 10,300, about 10,000 of them bituminous and 300-odd anthracite. Of the bituminous, some 2,500 have been shut down for some time. Of the remaining 7,500 bituminous the union claims that at least 6,000 will be shut down by the strike, as about 1,500, it is estimated, are non-union mines. Nearly all the anthracite miners are unionized.

Total Area Affected: Bituminous—Mining districts of western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, known as the central competitive field; West Virginia, the main non-union field; Maryland, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas, Colorado, Utah, Wyoming, Montana, North Dakota, Washington and the four Canadian provinces of Alberta, Saskatchewan, British Columbia and Nova Scotia. Anthracite—Entirely in northeastern Pennsylvania.

Chief "Theater of War": West Virginia, western Pennsylvania and Kansas, the former two because of the large number of non-union miners and the latter because of the Industrial Court law.

Total Available Coal Supply Above Ground: Estimated at about 63,000,000 tons of bituminous, or a normal supply for nearly nine weeks, and 8,000,000 tons of anthracite, or a supply of from six to seven weeks. The bituminous operators claim they can maintain a non-union production of from 3,500,000 to more than 5,000,000 tons—7,000,000 is the normal weekly consumption—and that no shortage should be felt within at least four months. The union claims non-production will be much less than 3,500,000 tons, that the present supply is not equitably distributed and that the public will feel the "pinch" within six weeks.

Bituminous Miners' Chief Demands: Continuation of the present wage of \$7.50 a day, maintenance of the check-off system and institution of the six-hour day and five-day week, held by the miners to be the same as the eight-hour day under ground.

Bituminous Operators' Chief Demands: Never made, as they refused to meet the miners. However, they posted notices of a 30 per cent. wage cut in western Pennsylvania mines.

Anthracite Miners' Chief Demands: Increase of 20 per cent. for contract workers, and \$1 a day for day workers, on the contention that most of them now earn less than \$6.00 a day; also institution of the check-off system.

Anthracite Operators' Demands: Revision of the wage scale downward, on the contention this is necessary to reduce the price of coal.

Chief Charges of the Miners: That the operators want the strike in order to sell coal at inflated prices and raise prices again when a shortage develops, and that they are seeking to destroy the union or weaken its power. The bituminous operators are charged with contract-breaking in refusing to meet the miners.

Chief Charges of the Operators: That the miners are unreasonable in wanting to maintain their present wages or get increases with wage deflation; other lines of industry going on.—(New York Tribune.

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GENOA.

NOW that Mr. Lloyd George has, by the aid of a certain deftness which he possesses in appropriating to his own speechmaking use the arguments of others, secured his coveted vote of confidence, the Genoa conference goes forward. There was at first some doubt as to whether the conference would convene at all, for, after Cannes French chauvinism bristled at the impossible idea of meeting representatives from Germany and Russia on an equal footing. Germany must not be given any chance to argue further about the reparations terms, and Russia must first recognise the debt! America declined (in a polite note) to attend, at the same time sending in a tidy bill of expense for patrolling the Rhineland.

The "Genoa Idea" as at first embraced by the liberally minded was that all hands would get together and devise ways and means to work for a solution of common problems: to facilitate the interchange of goods, open up credit, reduce administrative expense, employ labor,—all to be done of course without disturbing competition and private enterprise and ownership as the established order of things. In short, the "Genoa Idea" was peaceful production and profit making. But the French jackals have the reparations bone, even if there is little meat on it, and they will not give it up. Not until the British Prime Minister publicly announced that Russia must recognize the Czarist debts and that no question would be entered at the Conference as to German responsibility for war damages, would France agree to attend. Those guarantees have been made and the Conference is now under way. Mr. Lloyd George seems quite at home in "shaking hands with murderers," and nobody seems to be very much perturbed.

The first session has passed, with a little diplomatic excitement as to the numerical proportion of representation on committees allotted to the various countries, together with some fireworks, mainly about restrictions on discussion of such like subjects as disarmament. In this, first blood (if there be any blood in diploma) is to the credit of Chicherin, who adroitly proposes disarmament all round, much to the discomfiture of everyone. Of course, he is "out of order," and knows it, but reparations and armed forces are subjects that will govern the decisions of the conference, whether they are discussed or not.

We suspect that the new international consortium with headquarters in London, whereby the rehabilitation of Russia under the supervision of German industrial skill and systematic organization will be credited to Germany through the reparations account, will form the background of the British programme. Time alone, however, can give this confirmation.

BORING ANYWAY.

AFTER all the bluster of the new leadership, self-appointed to lead the workers hither and thither, in and out, the result to date of the order to return to the international unions and "bore from within" has not met with an enthusiastic response. Officials in the international organizations are up in arms. "Forewarned is forearmed," they

say, and they have been discussing the new programmes with alarm, as engineered by competitors who threaten to encroach on their preserves. The "Western Labor News" (Winnipeg) has given much space recently to discussions in labor ranks of the hopes expressed by the new leaders, from which we gather that they do not take kindly to the "boring from within" idea. So too the "Canadian Congress Journal," which, incidentally, betrays an easy aptitude for building up a history of Socialist organizations in Canada to suit itself. The "Journal" shuts the door with a bang and locks and bolts it in the face of the new leadership, which evidently will have to wait a little before the operation of "boring from within" actively commences. With apologies to Gilbert's Major General we offer the following: Now we cannot help but mention when we see what you're about,

That when "boring from within" you're really "boring from without";

All your Constitutions, Programmes, all your speeches thus result in

What to Leaders of ambition is decidedly insultin'.

IMMIGRANTS: PICKED AND SELECTED

WHILE the Duke of Devonshire (late Governor-General of Canada) and other enthusiastic exporters of British surplus population have been making glowing speeches in the Canadian Club, London, about the men Canada needs, Sir Clifford Sifton has been making speeches in Toronto about the men Canada wants.

The Duke is an enthusiastic Imperialist and thinks Canada could do with some thousands more men, British born and bred. Sir Clifford used to be Minister of the Interior, and knows all about immigration. He therefore has some bright ideas of his own on the subject. (See "MacLean's Magazine," April 1, 1922).

"There is talk, also, about getting a large number of people from the manufacturing towns of England and Scotland. We do not want mechanics from the Clyde—riotous, turbulent, and with an insatiable appetite for whiskey."

Sir Clifford wants none of these, and the South of England also does not, generally speaking, produce the men he approves of as Canadian immigrants. They will not do. They do not measure up to "The Quality Standard" of Canada's needs.

This is the quality standard.

"When I speak of quality I have in mind, I think, something that is quite different from what is in the mind of the average writer or speaker upon the question of immigration. I think a stalwart peasant in a sheep-skin coat, born on the soil, whose forefathers have been farmers for ten generations, with a stout wife and a half-dozen children is good quality. A Trades Union artisan who will not work more than eight hours a day and will not work that long if he can help it, will not work on a farm at all and has to be fed by the public when work is slack is, in my judgment, quantity and very bad quality. I am indifferent as to whether or not he is British born. It matters not what his nationality is; such men are not wanted in Canada, and the more of them we get the more trouble we shall have."

Sir Clifford concedes there are a few "quality" men to be found in the north of England and Scotland, but, in the main:

"In Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Belgium, Bohemia, Hungary and Galicia there are hundreds of thousands of hardy peasants, men of the type above described, farmers for ten or fifteen generations, who are anxious to leave Europe and start life under better conditions in a new country. These men are workers. They have been bred for generations to work from daylight to dark. They have never done anything else and they never expect to do anything else. We have some hundreds of thousands of them in Canada now, and they are among our most useful and productive people." This, then, is the "quality" needed for Canada.

It matters not what their nationality may be. Not even a dreaded "Hun" would be turned back nowadays, if he had the sheepskin coat, the large family and the capacity for work from daylight to dark without hope of doing anything else.

Not that we're kicking at all! Not a bit of it! We're just sympathizing with the Duke, who is thus

forced to endure the company of those whiskey drinkers who don't like working from daylight to dark!

Those thousands of poverty stricken farmers of the Canadian prairie are now to have some added company in their misery and, while Sir Clifford and the Duke may differ on points, they will both agree that, whatever happens, the world, including Canada, must be made Safe for Democracy.

THE TERMS

(Continued from page 1)

The Russians, of course, will have a contra account. Their bill of expense will include the expenses met in repelling armed invasion, allied counter-revolutionary propaganda, loss suffered through the blockade; besides this there will follow argument over the present political complexion of the treaties of the Czar's government as now affecting Russia, excluded by the terms of the peace treaty of Versailles.

If they ever get as far as this, Article 4 (personel) will be unusually interesting.

HERE AND NOW

Here's the very thing. Just what we've been looking for—envy, emulation and jealousy over "prominence" in Here and Now. Not that such a spirit could be condoned in any other walk of life, but in Here and Now all hands will agree that it's positively ethical. Perpend!

"Noticing the enviable prominence accorded the remarks of some sub-renewers to "Clarion," my attention was stirred to gain the same by sending along my widow's mite. But then there's two things: First, I'm not a widow, and second, in view of the claims on me, \$2.60 is not a "mite." However, please renew my sub. and send along (registered) 25 copies "Slave of the Farm."

Thus our old friend "Progress" claims the attention of the community in Dauphin, Man., where he intends to leave a copy of "Slave of the Farm" when he goes calling.

Talking about farms, here's a word from rural life in Alberta:

"It may be of interest to you to know what condition the average farmer is in in this district.

They are living on relief administered by the Alberta Provincial Government. Relief clothing comes from the Red Cross; feed for their stock, seed and a little food also from the Government, which constitutes a first charge on this year's crop.

The average farmer is hopelessly in debt; he has not paid interest during the past three or four years. In spite of their conditions it is uphill work to get them to consider our position and read literature. Co-operation and what they understand by economics they will talk willingly enough, but Socialism! They are afraid of the word and are suspicious of all explanations. At the same time they are afraid to have us meet their spokesmen in public debate, for we are able to analyse conditions and make a more comprehensive survey than they are. Anyway, education is the need, so give us more of it."

Seems like that fellow with the sheepskin coat, his wife and six kids will have to bring an enduring lunch with them when they pass the immigration turn-stile attended by Sir Clifford Sifton.

But here, we set out to make a howl about the need for subs. Best thing after all is to let the figures tell their own story:

Following \$1 each: H. Jameson, Wm. Pasch, O. Peterson, A. Lellman, Dick Burge, D. Hearn, J. R. MacDonald, P. Wallgren, Fred Wood.

H. W. Speed, \$3; Mrs. O. Craig, \$3; N. P. Sorenson, \$2.50; J. H. Moon, \$2; Miss Roy, \$2; C. R. Morrison, \$5; F. T. Leekie, \$2; E. Tallon, \$2.

Above Clarion subscriptions received from 1st to 12th April, inclusive, total \$30.50.

Sub rustling contest winners: (1) W. Hoare; (2) H. W. Speed; (3) W. Erwin.

CLARION MAINTENANCE FUND.

J. R. MacDonald, \$4; Local, Ottawa (per P. T. L.), \$6; "J. H. B." \$4.

"C. M. F." Contributions received from 1st to 12th April inclusive, total, \$14.

Economics for Workers

BY PETER T. LECKIE.

COMMODITY LABOR POWER.

LESSON 2.

CLAUSE 13 of the Peace Treaty is devoted to labor. We are told that labor is no longer to be looked upon as a commodity.

This no doubt was throwing a sop to the trade unionists in general who refuse to be treated as a commodity, much against their wishes.

This commodity (labor power) however is the most significant commodity on the capitalist market, i.e., the brain and muscle power of the workers, who have no other means of existence but the sale of their labor power to some master for a stipulated sum. What the laborer sells is not his labor but his labor power vested in his body. The laborer's body is the storage tank of his only marketable commodity.

This commodity labor power is bought by the capitalist for the purpose of being consumed by him.

The capitalist buys it at its market price, as he does all other commodities, and consumes it by putting it to work for his own benefit.

All other commodities are passive during consumption; labor power is active. They are either consumed individually as are food, clothing, shelter, luxuries, or productively as are raw materials, machinery, or labor power.

When consumed individually, the commodities pass entirely out of existence and with them passes their value. When consumed productively their value is transferred into the finished product, into which their substance passes or in the production of which their own substance wears away e.g., machinery.

But labor power has one quality, by which it differs from all other commodities. When it is consumed by the capitalist it does not merely produce other commodities, but reproduces itself. A part of its product passes into the hands of the capitalist, is taken to the market and sold, and the money received for it is used to buy new raw materials, machinery, labor power and pay the individual expenses of the capitalist.

That portion which is spent for the purchase of labor power passes into the hands of the laborer and is used by the laborer for the reproduction and conservation of his labor power. The laborer buys with his wages the necessities of life, builds up new labor power, and offers it again to the same or some other capitalist for renewed productive consumption. (In his earlier works Marx did not make the distinction between labor and labor power. In his "Poverty of Philosophy," and "Wage Labor and Capital" it had the same double meaning which it has in classic economy. But in his great work "Capital" Marx made the distinction clear and used it as his basis of surplus value). Let us see how labor power functions in capitalist production.

The productive consumption of labor power in the factory, transforms the raw material and machinery which have their exchange value (through the labor embodied in their production), transferred into the finished commodity. All these materials, raw material, machinery, etc., form the constant capital of the capitalist. But this raw material, and machinery of itself is unproductive. It cannot either produce commodities or reproduce itself. It cannot create new values, it lies inert, until the labor power of the worker touches it with its creative force. In order to secure this labor power, the capitalist has to pay out wages to the laborer. The amount paid in wages represents the value of his labor power, in other words wages represent on the average what it costs to buy the necessities of life to produce his energy labor power, to maintain the standard of life and bring up his children to take his place when he dies off, under the prevailing conditions of any country or period of capitalism.

It is only the labor power of the laborer that can

conserve and transfer the value of the raw material and machinery into the finished product. The laborer through the application of his labor power creates new value. The value of the machinery and raw material is transferred and this constant capital reappears in the finished product. This is value which already existed before the laborer touched the elements of production. They have simply changed form. Formerly the value existed in the raw material; now they exist in the finished product. But we saw in our first lesson that the capitalist does not care to merely reproduce his constant capital; he is concerned about getting a surplus value. He buys labor power to create new values. These new values are created by the laborer applying his labor power. Labor power reproduces not only its own value but also a surplus value.

The aim of capitalism is not use values but surplus values. Surplus value is unpaid labor. Surplus value is produced because of the fact that the capitalist buys the use of labor power for a specified time, 8, 9, or 10 hours a day, whatever the case may be, and pays in return the value of labor power. Surplus value is that part of wealth which is produced after the value of labor power has been produced i.e., the difference between value of the means of production and labor power together and the value of the finished product.

Wages cannot rise as high as the total value produced under capitalism, because we have seen that the capitalist enters business solely to realize a surplus value. Wages appear on the surface to the worker as being fully paid or as the value of their labor, but they are really the value of the commodity labor power, i.e., the value of the means of subsistence under the prevailing conditions in any given country, and this value (labor power) varies when the means of subsistence vary.

The movement spreading all over the capitalist countries today to reduce wages, with the falling of prices as the excuse for the reduction, is proof. The New York Tribune's business summary, referring particularly to the garment manufacturing industry, says: "Although manufacturers are loath to discuss the subject, the feeling is spreading abroad that the next commodity to come down in price will be labor. Manufacturers still consider labor to be a commodity although certain high court dealings have been made to the contrary. Through the country there is a determined stand being made for the open shop, which it is felt will increase the efficiency of the individual worker."

In the Boston "New Bureau" we read: "State Commissioner Cole of Public Works, speaking before the Massachusetts Chamber of Commerce thus describes the increasing willingness of labor to do a full day's labor:

"Today I say to a workman (said an Italian foreman) you take that pick and dig or I'll smash your head. Before, when told to work the laborer replied 'you shut up or I'll smash your head.'" (Lit. Digest Nov. 30, 1920).

Some capitalists have a grasp of the worker's wages being his subsistence.

Mr. H. N. Barnes, director and general manager of a large departmental store, writing in the "Drapers Record," Feb. 1st 1918, said: "After all, the real crux of the matter is, the altered value of money. The exchange value of services is much the same as in pre-war days. 'A wage earner turns out a week's work in exchange for a weeks provisions, etc. The face value of the money he receives is of no consequence, it may be fifty or it may be five pounds but if it is only exchangeable for his weeks sustenance nothing really matters.' That is a good illustration of wages.

In the "Literary Digest" of Nov. 13th 1920, we have this: "Labor is beginning to underbid, and while we insist that labor is not a commodity and

that every man and woman who works in an organization is heart of the human stuff, a little competition is a wholesome thing."

Pro. Ely in "Evolution of Industrial Society," says: "The value of a day's wage cannot be represented in money. That is what the political economist calls nominal wage. The wage must be determined by considering the prices which the laborer has to pay for the necessities of life."

Labor no longer to be looked at as a commodity!

The peace treaty might as well have said that a street car was no longer to be looked upon as a street car.

Because the chattel slave was bought, and there was no money wage, it seemed as if none of his labor was paid.

Because the serf worked for the lord of the manor part of the time, it seemed as if he was partly paid.

Because the wage slave gets wages for his labor power it seems if he is fully paid, but he only gets his maintenance or, as Marx puts it (Vol. III, p. 626 "Capital"). "The worker supplies himself with necessities in order to maintain his labor power, just as coal and water are supplied to the steam engine and oil to its wheels."

Pro. Ely says: "The array of facts gathered from all countries confirms the conclusion that the standard of life determines the wages."

The world over, we find when it becomes necessary for the wife or the wife and children to work in factories, it very soon becomes necessary for them to do so to support the family. Professor E. W. Bemis has called attention to the fact that in the textile industries of Rhode Island and Eastern Connecticut where the women and children work, "the earnings of the entire family are no greater than in those trades where only the men work."

In the textile towns of England and Scotland the same conditions exist. If we could change the climatic conditions of Canada and live on rice we would soon have rice wages. Tell me where living is high and I will tell you where wages are high; or where living is low, there wages are low.

Let me give a few facts in support of the above statement. Rogers tells us during the 20 years of 1800-1820 in London, wages were higher than country wages, but then both were on the margin of existence. In a book, "A Criticism of Socialism in New Zealand," the writer gives a list of wages in Denver, U.S.A., and New Zealand, with the prices of necessities of life, house rents, etc., and concludes that wages are lower in New Zealand than in Denver, while living is higher in Denver. The only difference is that there is not the wide gulf between mechanic's wages and the laborers' wages in New Zealand as in Denver; this being a result of Australia's distance from the Old Country; unskilled labor was unable to pay the steamship passage, where America had a superabundance of unskilled labor with its European emigrants.

Gerber, "High Cost of Living" New York Book Co. 1915, (which is a book of confusion) gives us one very good illustration of wages: "Thus the Chinese workman's wages are regulated by his necessities and are extremely low. He gets 10 to 12 cents a day, with food 5 to 6 cents a day. Compared with their purchasing power it will be found that it is about the same as the purchasing power of the wages received by an American worker.

"For instance, the cost at a night inn is one cent in China; the same class of inn in America costs 25 cents. American laborers' wages at \$1.50 a day gives 6 night' lodging. The Chinaman can secure from 5 to 12 nights with his day's pay. Examine the various items, and, with few exceptions, there is a striking similarity between the purchasing power of a day's wage in each country, although the money difference received amounts to from 25 to 40

times more for American wages than the Chinese workmen receive."

A book I have, entitled "The Bargain Theory of Wages," says: "The figures substantiate the theory, that wages are higher in the Western States where living is relatively higher. The excess of city wages over those of the country is due chiefly to the excess in living expenses."

The following table is given of 160 towns of over 20,000 population.

Average yearly wage in dollars:

| Town | Men. | Women. | Children. |
|----------|-------|--------|-----------|
| U. S. A. | \$567 | \$391 | \$159 |
| Country | 498 | 276 | 141 |
| | 401 | 239 | 120 |

"Women," he says, "are mostly personal upkeep, while men have dependents and therefore need more wages." If you read Engels' "Conditions of the Working Class in England," you will find the reason the Irish were disliked when they emigrated to England was because their potato standard of living was detrimental to the English laborer as the Irish cut him out of work, competing for lower wages.

A book entitled "Labor," published in 1882 says: "Natural wages are such as will reproduce labor. . . Labor is property and its value is determined by the cost of its reproduction." If we call the above "labor-power" it is a good Marxian definition.

Thorold Rogers, in his "Political Economy," pp. 65 and 178 says: "The food of a laborer has a powerful influence over that part of the rate of wages which is relative to his maintenance. If his customary food is costly, his wages will be proportionate."

"In England the staple food of the laborer has been wheat; in Scotland it is generally oatmeal; in Ireland it was, in great degree, is still, potatoes; in many parts of Europe rye or barley. That part of the rate of wages which is devoted to the personal subsistence of the laborer will be determined on the average, by the cost of that on which he principally subsists."

"Five or six centuries ago the wages in Ireland were as high as those in England. The substitution of the potato for oatmeal reduced their wages in Ireland."

In other words Rogers means in England the laborer had wheat wages, in Scotland oatmeal wages, and in Ireland potato wages. Any one who knows the old country concludes that is what Scotch "thrift" attained, i.e., lower wages in Scotland than in England, or, a low standard of living.

If we look at the total wealth of any country it runs 4 to 5 times what is paid in wages. Taking four times as an average it means the average wages is one fourth.

To illustrate, let us assume an 8 hours day of toil. The value of labor power would be reproduced in 2 hours. The workers do not put on their coat and go home. Oh no! They have bargained to sell labor-power for 8 hours. The other 6 hours then, is unpaid labor, or surplus value.

Here is the secret surplus value, discovered by Karl Marx, which the classic economists failed to explain. The reason was because the classic economists never were able to differentiate between labor and labor-power. Their value of labor was really the value of labor-power as it exists in the personality of the laborer, which is as different from its function, labor, as a machine is from the work it performs. Labor-power must not be confused with labor.

Labor is the realization of labor-power and its result embodied in the commodity produced, when labor-power is consumed. Labor is the act of consuming labor-power, the capitalist realizing its use value.

The capitalist receives the product of your labor, paying in return for its use the value of your labor-power; in other words, your means of subsistence, or slave's portion.

In "Capital," Marx says "Skilled labor counts only as simple, intensified, or rather as multiplied, simple labor, that in the creation of a surplus value

it does not in the least matter, whether the labor appropriated by the capitalist be simple, unskilled, of average quality, or more complicated, skilled labor. The labor of a higher and more complicated character than average labor is the expenditure of labor power of a more costly kind; labor-power that has cost more time and labor and which therefore has a higher value than unskilled or simple labor."

This reminds me of a discussion I had with a plasterer when he was very emphatic that his strong trade union organization was responsible for his high wages. It so happened that at that time the laborers had just as good a trade union, so I put the question: "If your trade union gives you the high wages, why have the laborers 20 cents an hour less, when their union is as strongly organized?" He replied: "It would not be fair, because we serve an apprenticeship." I answered: "Under your own argument it would be fair," and then I endeavored to explain it as a higher labor-power value. If labor took too long to reproduce its labor-power value, there would be no rich people because there would be no surplus.

There were no millionaires to speak of a century ago, because the worker labored the most of his time reproducing his own maintenance. Some may say that is the result of capital (machinery). That is true in a sense, but labor produces the machine, and labor, we have seen, is the only factor in production which reproduces not only the value of labor-power but a surplus, while the value of machinery and raw material is only transferred or transformed into the finished commodity. This we see when we come to deal with profits or, as Marx puts it, mystified surplus value. Money wages are so mystifying to the worker that he believes he is fully paid, and yet it is because he is the cheapest slave, that chattel slavery was abandoned.

In 1741 David Hume wrote: "From the experience of our planters, slavery is as little advantageous to the master as to the slave, where hired servants can be procured. A man is obliged to feed and clothe his slave, and he does no more for his servant. The price of the first purchase is therefore a loss to him, not to mention that the fear of punishment will never draw so much labor from a slave as the dread of being turned off and not getting another service, will from a free man."

John Adams in U. S. A. Congress, 1776, said: "It was of no consequence by what name you called your people, whether by that of a free man or of slaves. That in some countries the laboring man was called a free man, in other countries they were called slaves. But the difference was only imaginary. What mattered it whether a landlord, employing ten laborers on his farm, gives them annually as much as will buy the necessaries of life, or gives them those necessities at short hand."

James Ellsworth, a member of the convention to formulate a constitution for the Republic, held at Philadelphia 1787, said: "As population grows poor laborers will become so plentiful as to make slaves useless."

Adam Smith wrote: "Though the wear and tear of a free servant be generally at the expense of his master it generally costs him much less than that of a slave. The fund destined for refunding or repairing a slave is commonly managed by the master, but is performed by the freeman himself. It appears, accordingly, that the work done by a freeman comes cheaper in the end than that of a slave."

In "The Evolution of Industry in the United States," by Carroll D. Wright, 1895, the author says Dr. Franklin wrote an essay which pointed out that the labor of slaves here in America can never be as cheap as the labor of the free working men of Britain.

On page 151 is a table I copied and enlarged on cloth to hang in the class room, which is a very telling, concrete fact as to why slave labor was dear. I use many charts, because it is then easier for the class to grasp than by using only abstract illustrations.

If it is possible, Mr. Editor, print it in the "Clarion" as follows:

"Capital necessary to grow cotton; with slave and with free labor."

| | Free. | Slave. |
|---|---------|----------|
| 100 acres land at \$20 an acre | \$2,000 | \$2,000 |
| Value of cattle, horses and farming tools | 2,000 | 2,000 |
| Food, clothing of farmer free labor, horses, cattle, feed | 1,000 | |
| Food clothing, farmer slave, food horses and cattle, doctors bills for slaves | | 1,000 |
| Ten slaves value \$1,500 each | | 15,000 |
| Wages of free labor | 1,000 | |
| Total investments | \$6,000 | \$20,000 |

We see that free labor means to the capitalist a saving of \$14,000, or the freedom to use this to exploit more wage slaves.

We saw in our history lessons that Engels said: "Slavery was a great step forward from killing their captives." Lester Ward says: "How did man learn to work; did the needs of existence teach him self denial? to tone down his wild unsettled nature and discipline his mind and body to toil? 'Not at all' 'It is safe to say if left to these influences, man would never have learned to labor. It required some other influence far more imperative and coercive. In a word, nothing short of slavery could ever have accomplished this. This was the social mission of human slavery, to convert mere activity into true labor.'"

Yet we hear today you cannot change human nature.

In conclusion of the discussion of this lesson let me point out that there are three values in connection with labor-power.

1st exchange value, which is the maintenance of the laborer.

2nd Its use value to the capitalist.

3rd That Labor-power is not only a source of value but reproduces a surplus value, the production of which is due, as we have seen, to labor-power being utilised beyond the time necessary to reproduce its own value.

Remember. Labor is labor-power in action, and that its action is extended beyond the time of reproducing labor-power's value, the food, clothing, and shelter of the workers, or, in other words, maintenance, which is called wages.

This extended time is surplus labor, which creates surplus value, or, in other words, Rent, Interest and Profit.

Next Lesson: Wages; Relative, Nominal and Real.

RIVALS IN REAL ESTATE

(Continued from page 2)

ain is entirely against the United States. No military base on any of them could be used against any important nation but the United States. No military or naval base on any of them could be used by the United States against England.

Why, then, should England decline to assign them to us in part payment of her debt incurred in obtaining ten times their area of new land in other sections of the world? The situation is remindful of the story of the monkey with hand trapped in the jar, because he would not open his fist to drop the nuts inside the jar which he had seized."

We haven't heard yet what Mr. McKenna said in reply to this, but no doubt it's all contained in his dictionary of swear words.

Socialist Party of Canada PROPAGANDA MEETINGS

STAR THEATRE, 300 Block, Main Street
April 16th W. A. Pritchard
April 23rd T. O'Connor
April 30th J. D. Harrington

AT NORTH VANCOUVER.

126-2nd Street West.
April 16th C. Stephenson
April 23rd R. Kirk
April 30th S. Earp

All meetings at 8 p.m.
Questions. Discussion.

Book Review

THE PHILOSOPHY OF MARX. By Harry Waton. New York, The Marx Institute. 268 pp.

IN the entire field of proletarian thought there is no more interesting phenomenon than that perversion which induces the most shameless reformers to claim Marx as their father and their God. It would not surprise us to find his name chanted in the Litany, or included in the convocation of the saints.

The book before us has a foreword by the publishers which does not mince matters—"The perversions and misconceptions of the misinterpreters of Marx—the Kautskys, the Plechanoffs and the Hillquits—gave birth only to the cowardice of the Second International."

It is somewhat disconcerting to find the first sentence of the book announce that the "cowardice" of an entire class should be attributed to a few men.

Particularly when the first two were, ten years at least before the outbreak of war, in the forefront of revolutionary activity, (see Lenin's "Left Wing Communism," and "Lessons of the Russian Revolution") and, further, that Trotsky has particularized the reasons for the failure of the working class to hinder, much less prevent, the cataclysm—"The Bolsheviks and World Peace," pages 172-182, of which we take but a few sentences): "It would be futile to seek these causes in the mistakes of individuals, in the narrowness of the leaders and party committees. They must be sought in the conditions of the epoch in which the Socialist International first came into being and developed."

"Comrade Waton," the publishers tell us, "has in this book rendered an inestimable service to the Socialist movement by crystallizing the differences between revolutionary Socialism and the opportunism of the Second International." We cannot too highly commend the considerateness which prompted a policy contrary to the practice of our school book problems, by getting the solution at the beginning instead of the end of the book. To us it is a sword and buckle, as we pass through the valley of the shadow of Bergson, Jesus, Kant, and Spinoza.

The introduction and the first chapter serve as a test—if the reader survives—the rest is simple. It is a teleological interpretation of life. Life uses the earth and particularly uses man to express itself.

Dr. Waton's estimation of our intelligence is more modest than our own, and this may be of great value, because we do often, to our harm, overlook the most obvious fact; but surely it is superfluous to inform us that "in order to live and multiply their kind, living things must have the means of life." (p. 21.)

However, between life and the means of life a struggle arises. Life increases faster than the means of life. "Professor Huxley," we read, "tells us that if a protozoa—a mere microscopic creature—be given the opportunity to increase and multiply according to its capacity and tendency and a like opportunity be given to its progeny, in the course of six months the aggregate mass of their bodies would equal in size the mass of the earth—so infinitely great is their power and tendency to increase and multiply." But this is nothing to the "power and tendency" of some people to "increase and multiply" words needlessly. And while Huxley viewed "the ravages of the terrible monster over-multiplication as the greatest of all riddles, we can say, as he says of the philosophers, why should our souls be greatly vexed! The majesty of the fact is on our side and the elemental forces of nature are working for us.

The fact is, neither the prolific protozoa nor the slow breeding elephant, which Darwin instances as capable of covering the world, will do so. Nor does life increase faster than the means of life, except in a schoolroom lesson, to impress the unsophisticated with the tremendous fecundity of nature. All life is the means of life to some other life form. Thus the limit is set to overpopulation, for practicable purposes at any rate.

Excuse all this "Life" because the book before

us carries the word in almost every line, for the first few chapters.

And such sentences as this appear page after page: "Life transcends not only the means of life, but also the living beings themselves." At last, breaking loose from this whirlpool of transcending life our author scolds with vigor those who charge Socialists with irreligion—"Can these impudent blasphemers and conceited fools charge the Socialists with being irreligious? Does it lie in their mouths to charge the Socialists with the desire to dethrone God, repudiate religion?" etc.

But, as Dr. Waton says, "more of this anon."

In the meanwhile we are told ere we discuss idealism, that "We must distinguish between the moral nature of man, that is, between his capacity and desire to attain an ideal, and the object of that ideal. This will reveal to us the significant fact, that, though striving after an ideal is not materialistic, the object of an ideal is always a material reality. This will require consideration." We should say so. But the present reviewer is not "game" for that consideration, so let us proceed to Marx; (page 44) "Therefore human history can be understood and rationally interpreted only when read in the light of the history of human efforts to acquire the means of life—and in this manner Marx interpreted the past history of the human race and in accordance with this interpretation he formulated the future development and history of the human race. And to understand this interpretation is the task before us." Following this we have the famous passage from the Preface to the "Critique."

It is somewhat remarkable that anyone should have read that Preface and conceive that the history of man can be read in "the light of the history of human efforts to acquire the means of life." It is the means whereby he produces his sustenance to which Marx attaches so much importance.

However, nothing daunted, Dr. Waton proceeds to go to the root of the matter, so in order to understand Marx we must start with Herbert Spencer. Hardly are we introduced to the synthetic philosopher, when Kant invades the chamber, and argument ensues as to how we acquire knowledge; after much juggling with the terms a priori and a posteriori, we are told Kant was right and Spencer was wrong.

Spencer maintains all knowledge is the result of experience, but after twenty pages, almost half a thousand words of chinwagging, between Spencer and Kant, we find they are both wrong. "That both views are fundamentally wrong and false, we shall adequately show later on. For the present we must proceed with the immediate task before us—to find an adequate theory of knowledge" (page 78.)

There now! It reminds us of the stage Irishman's direction: "Do you see you church? Well, you turn south from there, walk a mile till you come to the river, and if you follow the river a mile east you won't find the place you're looking for!"

Having escaped from Spencer and Kant, no not quite, page 75, we find they are both right and both wrong, but if we take what is right from each we would have a philosophy which would be the philosophy of Marx. This "would be a tremendous and indispensable task." Fortunately, such philosophy was already formulated by no less competent a man than Spinoza. The next step, therefore, is to consider Spinoza's philosophy.

"Spinoza contemplates the universe as the manifestation of God—a being infinite in attributes each of which manifests itself in infinite modes."

Thus we arrive at an understanding of knowledge. How? Ask of the winds that blow, etc. Or—read the book. We must however understand Spinoza (page 104). We have tried, and the pains we have suffered we are loth to inflict upon the readers of our Family Journal. But we are now within sight of Marx, so, courage! Quoting from "Capital," "Poverty of Philosophy" and "Feuerbach," Dr. Waton places before us views which he considers as proof that Marx and Engels regarded man as an active agent, influencing his environment, and not the poor creature that many so called Marxists would have him appear. The remarkable feature is that Engels' words are actually quoted which prove

exactly the opposite to that which Dr. Waton tries to prove—"But on the one hand we have seen in history that the results of many individual wills produce effects, for the most part quite other than wished for—often in fact the very opposite—their motives of action, likewise, are only of subordinate significance with regard to universal results."

This is the fact, that mankind always achieves something other than he strives for. And the explanation of that fact is to be found in the Marxian philosophy, that it is not man's consciousness that determines his existence, but his existence that determines his consciousness. Dr. Watson considers this too abstract and comprehensive to be grasped readily, and this is the reason for the current misinterpretation of the theory of Marx. So to make it quite simple we are treated to a fanciful and poetic description of Marx and his family life, and this family life of Marx is then compared to Nature. As Marx treats his family and friends so Nature treats mankind. Nature now takes the place of life, and appears in every line. Some of this is to say the least peculiar—"Nature is not a perfect blank, upon which man can write what he pleases. Nature has a character of her own—a character which springs from her nature. And, in the material action between man and Nature, man must reckon with this character of Nature. Man therefore can use Nature for his purposes only as Nature can be used; in accordance with her ways and in accordance with the duration of time. It is for this reason that we call Marx's philosophy, the historical materialism: It is the philosophy that takes cognizance of the historical order of Nature."

Thus do we simplify Marx!

We have yet a few more doors to pass through ere we arrive at the Master's Feet. Schopenhauer and his "will to live" for one, so "will" takes the place of Nature and again we refuse to drag ourselves over the barrens of idealism in the name of Marx. But behold, look whom we have here, Jesus Christ; actually our Lord and Savior, He comes to elucidate the Class Struggle. "It is easier for a rope to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of God." Therefore the propertyless alone can achieve the revolution. We won't quarrel with that, nor quibble about the "rope."

Something of greater interest awaits us. The proletariat are the bearers of virtue, and only with them can it come.

"Take the case of the Jews and Judaism," mentally the equal, morally the superior of all nations. If you doubt it ye gentiles, bring forward your Moses, Jesus, Spinoza and Marx. "No matter what one may think about religion generally, he will have to admit—that Judaism is the most rational, the most humane, and the most free from superstition, than any religion that the human race produced. Only Judaism and among Jews could bring out a Jesus and a St. Paul." (page 169-70.)

Here we have a fine disregard for grammar and historical fact that bespeaks genius. However, all these things are so "because both the Jews and Judaism were born out of the revolution of the Jewish proletarians against their masters." We have not heard of this revolution, but then we are past quarreling with past or future history as laid down by Dr. Waton, past or future tense either. Neither will we quarrel with his opinion that no matter how one hates religion "nevertheless everyone cannot help perceive that Christianity is an ideal religion embodying a sublime conception of the universal brotherhood of man—a religion which can realize itself only in a state of Communism."

Two hundred pages of this kind of stuff in a book dealing with The Philosophy of Marx, makes us long for the day—

"When the worm shall have writhed its last, and its last brother worm will have fled
From the dead fossil skull that is left in the rocks of an earth that is dead."

The remaining fifty pages or so are devoted to proving that misery is decreasing, that the historic function of capitalism is not to concentrate wealth
(Continued on page 8)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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BOOK REVIEW

(Continued from page 7)

into fewer hands, but to dissolve private property—and god knows what else. Economic determinism, crude materialism and such monstrous doctrines are duly castigated. But here and there we find an elegant "bull": "As this leads, as it were, into a blind alley, the working class will have to cut the Gordian knot, rise against the master class, overthrow its power, and abolish the basis for classes and class struggles," (p. 240); or "The Son of Man, the proletariat, who, unlike the foxes that have holes and the birds that have nests, has nowhere to lay his head, will, spite of all opposition and difficulty, attain to the right hand of power and will rise to the clouds of heaven and enjoy economic security and supreme happiness." (p. 267).

These are excellent and in a world of conferences and programmes without end we cannot have too many of them. The book is a credit to the printer. Clear print, good paper, few typographical errors, tastily bound in red, with gold title-piece.

May we hope, in the future, to see the Marx Institute devote so much excellence to a worthier object?

J. HARRINGTON.

CAPITALISM THE ENEMY.

THE explanation of the secret diplomacy, armament outlay, militarist preparation, wanton aggression, and heroic defence, which fill the bloody and costly calendar of the last twenty years of human history, and which have culminated in this world-wide shambles is, to the writer's mind, to be found in the workings of the capitalist system of production, and in the conflicting ambitions and desperate fears of the governing and possessive classes of all the belligerent nations. The war is not an event apart, a thing in itself, a sudden irruption of intangible forces, but a more intense development of the competitive struggle, waged by States essentially capitalist in their composition and outlook, by syndicates of national capitalist economies which now contend for markets with diplomacy instead of advertisement, expeditionary forces and invading hordes, instead of commercial travellers and selling agencies, with the bayonets and hand grenades of militarised workers instead of the pikes and mandrils of the soldiers of profit.

The capitalists of the different countries have conquered their home markets and gone forth to exploit other lands. They have encountered each other on the world market and, gradually abandoning their attitude of laissez-faire, have become imperialists, protectionists, militarists, and sought to recruit their several state systems to obtain for them concessions for trade and investment, spheres of influence and protectorates. Capitalist-dominated states, like capitalist companies, have formed "cartels" and syndicates to more vigorously to prosecute their business, to monopolise reserves of cheap raw material, and to engage in cut-throat competition. In pursuit of cheapness and profit they have augmented their output, increased their available capital, and jostled each other on the borders of civilisation. Their very political institutions, their laws, their ideas reflect their capitalist nature. Their armaments are but the channels through which they hurl at one another the maximum output of their machine production. Their armed forces are but specialised and departmentalised sections of their wage and salary-earning proletariats, equipped with tools of destruction, and serving the automatic machines and heavy engines of frantic competition with the munitions of countless workshops. The capitalist economies are all of a piece, and their politics are but their organized will-power, modified according to the standard of their development, the clearness of their vision, and the solidarity of the various interests within their governing class.

J. T. W. NEWBOLD.

The Rivals.—A plot to kill Trotzky has just been discovered. It is said that the ringleader was told that he must not do it, as Trotzky was already two assassinations ahead of Lenin, and jealousy would be caused.—Punch (London).

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