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Environment

ACCORDING to the dictionary, environment is the condition influencing growth and development. For present purposes the term is confined to social man. We don't exactly say "amen" to the definition, but for the moment we may let it pass and pursue our iconoclastic ways.

It was said of old, "All roads lead to Rome." Today, all roads lead to—environment. As the philosophy of the ideal postulates the greatest good, through the instrumentality of the great intelligence, so the philosophy of environment postulates intelligence through adaptive selection. Consequently we have two philosophies struggling for the supremacy in human conduct, idealistically opposed and ideally irreconcilable. The one rests on the strained abstractions of the finite mind; the other is drawn from the intimate relations of the open world. With the former we are unconcerned. Anyone can play at guessing. But the latter is susceptible of proof, and stands or falls with the realities of human experience. And what is experience but the unfolding of environmental effects?

Our distant ancestors were wont to use a convenient stone in the daily tasks of existence—to crack nuts, open shells, and fling at their dangerous neighbors of the wild. But frequently the convenient stone would be absent; and having "shot their bolt" they would feel themselves in a clear and definite way, helpless for further aggression. In a vague and dim way, the idea would be borne in on them that it would be good both to have the stone always with them; and having thrown it, to have it again for another chance. Doubtless wooden clubs were always in use. But a stone had a natural cutting edge and was, therefore, more generally useful and more vitally effective. After countless generations they hit on the invention of tying the stone to the wooden handle; and by experience they would find—again in a clear and definite way—the benefits of the new idea. For it gave them at once three decisive advantages. It doubled the reach of the arm; they could hit harder and more certainly, and they were immediately ready for new attack, or further defence. It was plainly the 'vironing condition which made the fumbling mind to think; and the thinking mind in turn modified the old environing condition.

Modern ambition goes into business, and proceeds on stereotyped business lines. Only tentatively does it reach out to new experiment, or venture on untried methods. Only as it feels its way clearly and definitely does it go forth to conquer on the "initiative" paths of "success." But the continually unfolding conditions of competitive business force ambition to necessary thought; and conscious thought takes cognisance of every possible device to compass the objective interest. Clearly the mind effectually modifies its time condition. But as clearly the driving impulse of the motive is the invincible necessity of that time condition. What happens in one set of circumstances in one place happens in all circumstances, everywhere. As it is in one age or time, so it is in all ages and times. The principle of movement is necessary change. Movement and change is the substatum of the cosmic drama. They counterpoise and modify each other. They are inseparable as law and life; merciless as love and hunger. Between ancient and modern man there is a great gulf. But they are alike in this, that they exercised their ingenuity, of necessity, in the modification of contingent surroundings. And they differ principally in that the process of ideation has been accelerated.

But this acceleration is not primarily due to the greater quality of modern brain (except in so far as the exercise of any organ stimulates its power to activity), nor to the greater fertility of thought; but chiefly to the wider range of experience: the immemorial discipline of social usuage. Ancient man had to make his own experience; modern man possesses the accumulated heritage of time. Early man had to be an empirical pioneer; present man is but a traditional adventurer. Then progress was slow, and method dilatory, because everything had to be tested, in the shadow of death, in the haunted darkness of the unknown. Now it is previsedand decisive, because time has endowed us with new powers of knowledge, and its enhanced consequents of understanding. There, quantity was the rule of the necessary hour; here—potentially at least—quality is the dominating factor.

Quantity and quality are the two sides of the same fundament; and progress is the experience of their unification. The blossoming of their convertibility. And in that convertibility, and because of it, vitalistic man and, equally, vitalistic environment, interact in the intimate associations of communion. It is not the egotistic idea dominant over the unthrobbing mass. It is not the mind master of circumstance. Nor is it the converse. It is the common gravity of mutual interdependence. The ever changing, ever varying pressure and interplay of the reversed qualities of transmuted material, and the transmuting quality of evanescent force.

The convertibility of environment into experience, involved the progress of experience into definite knowledge, i.e., the defined relations of man and thing with man and mind. That man is subject to his environment—that "conditions influence development "requires no argument to prove. But it is not enough. To halt there is to admit miracles: is to yield to the tragedy of tradition. That man is the creation of the sum total of 'vironing conditions is equally obvious. But it is denied admission by the phantasies of yesterday. It is in those fancies that idealist abstractions are rooted; and that idealism, born of the distorted passions of ages, fanned by misunderstood desires and fed by the cherished images of the man—society baulks sharply and stubbornly against the massing onslaught of insistent reality.

Consequently, it is not the interplay of reason that determines the whole interplay of reaction. That is determined by the dual complex of social man and decisive time. The external conditions of life and being are but one set of circumstances, determinate and definitive. But they have their necessary nexus with the inner conditions of life and being, more potent because more complex. But neither set of circumstances is independent. They are mutually derivative, mutually causative and mutually decisive. So that the phantasies of yesterday are not to be destroyed by the subtleties of forensic skill. That reasoning is effective only as it reflects the mightier logic of time development. For in time development is implied, not alone the force of reasoning mind in conflict with the unreasoning yesterday: with it is involved the force of social necessity, instinct with new purpose; and experiencially antagonistic to the waning abstracts of social antiquity.

In the social world there is an infinite variety of social inertia; lines of force and unstable stability cris-crossing in all directions. Physical endurance; mental attainment; natural endowment; inherited temperament; acquired character; moral fibre and social degree are blended and interfused in the moving drama of determinate conduct. If one factor or one force is absent or abrogated, the resultant is radically changed. They are flying shuttles of life, time fashioned from social need; time-colored by human requirement; time-conditioned by progress. Here and now; there and then; right and wrong; concept and equivalent are the transient figures of epochal necessity. They become opposites; they intermingle; they form parallelisms of direction and intensity; they disappear in the infinite past; they overarch the fathomless future; they languish and die only in the absorbent amalgamations of changing generations.

"To be or not to be" is not the prerogative of man, but of conditioned man. The conduct of life is not the fostering of human volition, but of the compendious substantial of circumstance. The will, the mind, the man—they are but single factors in the wonderment of being and becoming. As the age has grown, so may the mind discern; as the time declares, so many the will decree; as the occasion offers, so may the man devise. Always man is mirrored in the plenitude of social attainment. The abstract of time shapes the law, not the abstracted individual. The experience of humanity invests and imposes; not the experience of man. Just as the cumulates of growth determine the reproduction of life, so the cumulates of time govern the impulse of reaction; and the reaction, in turn, motives—yet recedes into—the new cycle of progress. "As a man thinketh in his heart so he is." Yes. But the thoughts of his heart, are the thoughts of his time condition; and the thoughts of his heart change, only as plastic condition is remolded in the reconstruction of progress. Thought is focussed on now, and now is flashed into tomorrow, tutored with the traits of its transition and impregnated with the summaries of time. Thus time movement generates thought effect; thought effect vitalises new movement; and ultimately in the sequences of progress the unity of movement and thought is correllated in the higher unity of thought and movement, converting the quantity of mass environment into the quality of man created condition; changing the government of men into the ministry of material; the mastery of improperty into the dominion of mind: and vanquishing the crafty subterfuges of exigent polities as Aurora vanquishes the reluctant night.

So it comes about that the moulded creature becomes the directive power; and with advancing progress the inverted pyramid of idealism is confounded by the new idealism of altruistic reality. The idealism which began with the creative idea ends in

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The British Iron and Steel Industry and Franco-American Competition

BY H. P. RATHBONE.

TO understand the present position of the British Iron and Steel Industry, and to estimate its influence on the world capitalist economy, it is necessary to emphasize certain features with regard to it. As one of the basic industries it was, of course, one of the first to shake off the shackles of the competitive stage of capitalism. As early as 1860, there were many instances of a move towards amalgamation; between 1870 and 1900 the whole industry had become concentrated into about 10 or 20 main groups, some allied to large armament firms such as Vickers and Armstrong Whitworth, others depending for their markets on commercial shipbuilding, such as the Furness Group, and others developing a large business of their own, as for instance, Baldwin's and Dorman Long. But not one of them was completely independent of the import of iron ore. The chief sources of supply were Spain and Sweden. In the case of the former, many of the combines, though competing in the markets of the finished product, had recourse to combination for the purpose of insuring their supplies of the raw material. But all the combines had one great advantage. They were assured of a cheap and abundant supply of coal at the ports. This factor has been of the greatest importance in their development and in their ability to compete on the foreign markets of the world. It has ever been maintained that before the war, British steel made with Swedish ore could effectively compete on the world market with German steel, in spite of the fact that German steel had been made with German ore; and it was further alleged that this was due precisely to the fact that the fuel resources of Britain were geographically well situated at the ports.

How far this contention was true—and it may have been true in certain isolated cases—it was also true that German competition was becoming an altogether too serious matter for British steel capitalism as a whole. For instance, the relative percentage proportions of English and German participation in the International Rail Syndicate were being reduced against England and increased in favour of Germany. The English percentage proportion for instance, was decreased from 65% in 1884 to 34% in 1913. German competition invaded not only the old foreign preserves of British steel capitalism, but even the home market as well. British steel capitalists in consequence, entered on a further period of concentration in the five to ten years before the imperialist war. They combined in order better to withstand the price cutting of the German and other foreign capitalists. They combined to be able to retaliate in the home markets of their competitors. They formed associations to endeavour to extend foreign made manufactures, tried to compel British financial houses only to lend money on condition that the material was purchased in England, but all these expedients were not sufficient. The British steel capitalists were in consequence, one of the chief influences behind the diplomats of Britain in the manoeuvres which led to the imperialist war.

With the imperialist war, just as in every other country the demand for munitions meant an enormous development in the steel industry. With this development and in consequence of it, the steel industry embarked on a further period of concentration. Both by the formation of new associations and by direct amalgamation, the industry became controlled by five or ten predominant combines. Not only were these combines interested in the iron and steel industry, but they also branched out into branches of commercial engineering. Vickers Ltd. and Cammell Laird & Co. Ltd., for instance, absorbed and developed important heavy electrical undertakings capable of entirely supplying and equipping an electrical railway. Armstrong-Whitworth developed by means of absorption, a vast hydro-electrical branch while Baldwin's Ltd., besides immensely adding to their potential output of steel rails, branched out into the mass production of tinplates.

But to achieve this, immense sums had to be paid. Firms were absorbed at prices far exceeding their pre-war value. Plant was installed at a cost often three or four times its 1913 price and capital was obtained fully to cover the value of these inflated prices. Finally, existing capital was written up to the then prevailing prices and shares were distributed free to the fortunate shareholders. The result is that now, though the potential output of steel is estimated to be 50% more than pre-war output, the capital has increased 100%. The position which faces British steel capitalists today is described with the utmost candour in an article in the Manchester Guardian Commerical for April 26th, 1923. It says:—

> "The steel trade has been developed in excess of any likely demands for years to come unless the market improves very considerably. Some firms have even disposed of plant ordered and now found to be excessive, without erecting it, because they could see no return for it. Our total capacity is now 12,000,000 tons of steel a year, against 8,000,000 in 1913—itself a year of prosperity . . What has the increase from eight to twelve millions tons cost in money? Taking twenty-five of the largest firms as a basis of calculation, and including bonus shares which must rank with subscribed capital, there is at least twice as much capital in the industry as there was in 1913."

The article then proceeds to show the effect of this situation on prices. Pre-war prices of billets averaged, it says, about £9 a ton. With the present capitalization, to pay a dividend of 7% (which it maintains is equivalent to a 5% dividend before the war) prices on a 10,000,000 ton basis must be £14 a ton or £5 above pre-war prices. Yet, as the writer says, to sell today against continental competition prices must not exceed the £9 a ton figure. What is the remedy proposed? The writer suggests a reduction in capital. But that is an impossible one for one of capitalism's basic industries. There has never been a precedent for it and it can safely be said that every other remedy, from further attacks on the workers to another imperialist war, will be attempted before such a form of self-expropriation will be tried.

The old export markets for British steel capitalists are becoming rapidly less assured. India, through the Tata Iron and Steel Group, is developing a production of her own which threatens to absorb a portion of that till now unfailing market for British rails. South Africa and Anatolia too are rapidly developing a manufacturing plant of their own. Canada, owing to an increasing American influence, is practically becoming a closed market for British iron and steel goods. . . What else is there except South America, Europe, China and the near East? In South America, American influence has also obtained a considerable foothold. China too must be shared with America. There remains then the Near East and Europe. What will be the position of British steel capitalism if these markets too are attacked by the competition of a Franco-German trust plentifully supplied, as it will be, with cheap labour?

Lord Furness, head of the Furness iron and steel group of the north east coast, clearly defined the position of British iron and steel capitalism as long ago as November 6th, last. In a speech delivered at the meeting of shareholders of the South Durham Steel and Iron Co. Ltd., one of his constituent companies, he said:

> "With regard to a general revival in our trade, I think the prospects for steel orders are very uncertain for some time to come because the present productive capacity of existing steel works in this country, both actual and potential, is far too great for profitable absorption."

He then proceeded to draw a parallel with the position in which the American Steel industry found itself in 1900. He described how, after a disproportionate increase in productive capacity and a consequent period of price cutting, 50% of the important steel firms united and formed the United States Steel Corporation, and thus "stabilized prices at reasonable figures." The situation in England demanded, he said, a similar remedy. In advocating such an amalgamation he concluded by affirming that:

> "I am taking a long view of the situation, because I feel that our British units are too small and, individually, may lack the strength to combat with success the international competition of the future, and it is imperative that this country should increase its exports if we wish to regain our former prominent position among the industrial nations of the world."

Such is the feeling of British Steel Groups. They see a period of international competition ahead. They, therefore, combine at home in order to try to meet it. "Exports," said one of them in an interview with "The Financier" of January 11th, 1923, "must be increased by 100% if the present productive capacity is to be fully employed." But competition, if temporary international agreements are possible must be eliminated. It is significant, for instance, that the Secretary of the National Federation of Iron and Steel Manufacturers, who is now editor of the Economist, should think it necessary to contribute to the Nation (9th, June, 1923) in which he is now interested, an article advocating an international Trust of French, German, Belgian, English and United States steel capitalists. He first scouts the idea that the English have been endeavouring to prevent the foundation of a Franco-German trust, though all the world knows that it was Lloyd George who, at the Versailles Treaty Conference, insisted on the artificial division of the Ruhr coalfield from the Lorraine iron-field. He refers to the fact that before the war, Lorraine iron was combined with German coke but he does not say that the imperialist war and the Versailles Treaty tried to separate them. He says:

> "British steel masters during the last two years have been in touch with Continental metallurgists, and the discussions have made it clear, that both the German and French industrialists recognize the difficulty for political, personal and economic reasons, in coming to any agreement unless the British Steel makers are a party to it. Lorraine and Westphalia will not exchange coke and ore unless they are certain of their products."

The true meaning of this rush to negotiate a combine at home and an international agreement abroad, is seen in the fact of a 50% increase in the capital and the necessity for a 100% increase in exports to employ the output fully. Capitalists do not negotiate unless they want a share of the swag, or, as that excellent book of quotations the Bible puts it, make haste to agree with their enemy while it is not too late, lest a worse time befall them. But in this case the agreement can only be but temporary, can only vary according to the strength of the national units and will break down again when further variation is impossible without a further war.

Meanwhile to obtain a profit from the present production, the workers have been reduced to starvation level, while the capital and therefore the real profits of the undertakings have remained not only intact, but ever increase their burden on the workers.

Geographical Footnotes to Current History

Singapore

THE main sea road of the British Empire is the road to "the Indies"—through the Mediterranean Sea, the Suez Canal, the Red Sea, and so to the Indian Ocean. That ocean is today a British lake; and over each of the "gates" to it there floats the Union Jack. Aden guards the short (Red Sea) way to Europe. The Cape commands the longer ocean way round Africa. The key to the eastern gate, which connects the Indian Ocean with the Pacific, is Singapore.

The most cursory study of the map is sufficient to indicate the vital importance of Singapore to Britain. The British Empire, scattered almost haphazard over all the Seven Seas, can be held together only by ocean power; and ocean power means control of key positions on vital routes. Singapore is such a key position. It is important to Britain whether considered as guarding India and the whole Indian ocean against any enemies coming from the east; or as the gateway leading from the Indian or East African bases to the lands and the commerce of the Pacific.

It was just under a century ago that a distinguished empire-builder bearing the not inappropriate name of Raffles*—"anticipated" the Dutch, then the chief commercial power in the Malay regions, and seized it for His Majesty King George IV. This was in 1824. So were established the Straits Settlements. The Straits Settlements led to China. And a few years after the Union Jack first floated over Singapore it floated over Hong-Kong also.

China, and the way thither, is even more important in 1923 then it was in the mid-19th century. As the "Morning Post" put it (June 16th):—

> At Hong Kong is focussed all the trade from Europe to China and Japan, a large Western-owned China coasting trade, the Australian trade, and the trans-Pacific trade with Canada and America, either direct or via Chinese and Japanese ports. But Hong Kong, without the backing of Singapore, is so isolated that her tenure of possession against an aggressor from the north would merely be a matter of hours.

"An aggressor from the north," note. Who is this likely to be? Look at the map—at the possible starters. It will not be China; for China is quite fully occupied in resisting aggression, and is not likely, on her own account, to become an aggressor. It will not be Russia, for similar reasons. What of the United States, firmly established in the Philippines? No—the "Morning Post" has no fear of America; is indeed only too anxious to oblige her:—

> . . . Those responsible for American rule in the Philippines will feel half their burden lightened if they know that their greatest friends are in a strong enough position to stem the Asiatic tide on the spot. No such opportunity for the protection of the Philippines is possible to America herself, and she would be far more likely to work in harmony with British trade interests if she was thus sure of their mutual protection.

You can see for yourself the only other name on the map. . . . . The Anglo-Japanese alliance is very dead!

The Anglo-American one, on the other hand, is very much alive. And America's position in the Philippines is "isolated." The Washington Conference "solved" the Pacific Problem by a status quo arrangement which precludes the building of new naval bases in the Pacific. Singapore is a mile or two outside the Pacific. Praise be to God for Singapore!

One other point the Morning Post is candid enough to mention:—

> Another aspect of the Singapore scheme is that it must add renewed strength to the British position in India, since whatever untoward events might occur in the big Indian ports as the result of mutiny or revolution, a strong naval force could quickly be flung northwards, irrespective of what reinforcements were hurried out by the Suez Canal. To the Indian, as to other Asiatics, this very tangible reminder of our strength would not be without its effect.

Yes. It would seem that that far-seeing man, Sir Stamford Raffles, builded even better than he knew.

J. F. HORRABIN—The Plebs (London)

* Explanatory note for non-playgoers:—Raffles is a gentleman-cracksman, hero of the play of the same name.

ENVIRONMENT

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the absurdity of freewill individualsim; negating itself by its developed negation of society. It is a mirage, woven from the wavery cloud-wraiths of emotion; distorted by the procession of social change; and crumbling before the gathering brilliance of human achievement. While the idealism, kindled by the union of time condition and sentient reaction, finds its function in the harmony of monistic reality. Beginning with the concept of a vital material, inert and circumscribed, it ends with the necessity of a material vitality whose circumference is as wide as the horizon of sentience.

In the play of mass on mind, thought is appalled by its own feebleness. But in the reacting play of mind on mass, it is inspired by the wondrous manifests of its own creative forces. With man, it has come trembling through the darkness of torn, yet tutoring, ages, groping, fear-haunted through the tangling wilderness of inexperience. Now, grown greater than mortal man, it stars the firmament of futurity with the grandeur of its regnant ascendency. From the cogency of necessity there has developed the cogency of mind. And from the man, kneeling with curtained eyes under the vine and fig tree of anthropomorphic fear, has been created the man of the symbolic sheaf and sickle, who "dares to tell the omnipotent tyrant to his everlasting face, that his evil is not good." R.

Paris--London via Ruhr

BY J. T. WALTON NEWBOLD.

THE situation presented to the British people, both the supporters and the opponents of capitalism, by the occupation of the Ruhr valley is serious in the extreme. The very fact that it affects alike the exploiters and the exploited renders it very difficult for a member of the Communist party of Great Britain to adopt a correct attitude. The German comrades naturally expect that the British worker should oppose with might and main the action of the French. They see it as an act of predatory capitalism, of imperialism in its most blatant form. The British worker, in so far as he is class conscious and intelligently informed concerning the situation, regards it similarly, but he requires to keep clearly in his mind the fact that the offensive of French imperialism reacts most immediately and most severely upon the equally predatory capitalism of Great Britain. In the conference at Essen the difficulty that presented itself to the British delegation was that it feared, in declaring itself strongly against the French action, it might seem to assist the propaganda of the British interests which, rightly, see in the occupation of the Ruhr the death-knell of British supremacy in the heavy industries. To the Germans of all classes and to the French outside of the official and metallurgical circles, the advance of the French army to Essen and Bochum appears only to be directed against Germany. This, however, is not the gravamen of the whole affair. In reality, France, capitalist France, bankrupt but imperialist France, is attacking not so much Germany as, through Germany, striking a deadly blow at her age-long antagonist and competitor for world power, Great Britain.

If it were not for the fact, that Great Britain is dependent for its corn supply, for its metal, for its cotton and for many other essential raw materials either upon the U. S. A. or upon countries in South America from which ships must come along sea-routes easily to be menaced by the submarines and commerce-destroyers of the U. S. navy; were it not for the fact that Brtiain has been compelled by its creditor the U. S. government to reduce the size of its fleet and that the world commitments of Empire defence are such that the British government cannot afford to maintain so many squadrons of fighting aeroplanes, as are at the disposal of Monsieur Poincare, war between Britain and France would be a matter not of years or of months but of days and of hours.

The situation presented by the French advance into the coking coalfield of Germany is infinitely more menacing to Britain's economic and political position than was the advance of Major Marchand to Fashoda in 1898. Then, only an outpost of the Empire was threatened, though Egypt and the Soudan had a great value to Britain, lying as they do on the flank of that road to India which is the spinal column of the British Empire, but the Soudan is removed from the Suez Canal and it was "Honour" and "Prestige" rather than any more material safeguard that was threatened at the time of the Fashoda incident. Now, however, France is making her greatest effort finally to checkmate that cunning policy by means of which Britain has for centuries made it utterly impossible for any Power or combinations of Power so to co-ordinate the resources of Western Europe as to make them financially, industrially and politically stronger than Great Britain.

It has, for centuries, been a first principle of British statecraft to prevent either Holland, Spain, Austria, France or Germany getting control of that region known as Belgium. A study of the map will show, whether you examine it as it is drawn at the present time or any time since the seventeenth century, that the rich manufacturing and agrarian territory of northern France and of southern Belgium, geographically and geologically one, has been cut across by an arbitrary frontier delimited by order of and in conformity with the interests of British commercialism. Again ever since the Congress of Vienna in 1814, when the British merchants had already begun to appreciate the value to industry of coal, British statescraft has taken care to prevent the whole of the Saar coalfield belonging completely either to France or to Germany. Cunning Old England took very good care that these rich deposits should be divided between two hostile states. Again when in 1830 Belgium revolted from Holland with the approval of the English Liberals the enthusiasm of the latter for their new protege, "free" Belgium would not go so far as to permit the bourgeoisie of Brussels making common cause with that of Paris and attaching Belgium to France. Britain has ever stood for the self determination of "poor little Belgium," well knowing that in this case justice right and liberty consort with the interests of the London Stock Exchange and the Manchester Cotton Market.

Prior to the industrial revolution, France was much more populous and economically much more

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MUTUAL ENTERTAINMENT.

NOT every day do we have the opportunity to entertain a president of the great United States of America, and now that President Harding has departed from us it is hard to determine exactly whether we Vancouverites have given him more entertainment than he has given us. The President appears to be just a big scale politician who pronounces his platitudes with a comic seriousness, and who knows that the traditions of his office will secure for him listeners, if not believers.

It cannot be that in this day and age any first class politician can be found who really believes himself as he speaks. Mr. Harding spoke of Canadian-American relations in the usual platitudinous way of the politician, by which everything on earth moves on moral impulse, directed from on high. His talk of United States interest in world welfare reminds us that the U. S. is the creditor nation nowadays and requires a common meeting place with debtors and partners in international finance, something in the nature of an international, legal clearing house. His chatter about the eternal liberty of all men recalls his easy conscience at Centralia where he spoke the word required by the local lawbreakers, representative of local money power. His letters exchanged with Judge Gary of the U. S. Steel Corporation in which the abolition of the twelve hour day is promised, if possible, sometime, remind us that Judge Gary insists upon a revision of the three per cent Immigration Law and has to have Presidential help in that direction, and they remind us also that Gary, Morgan & Co., with their connections "bossed" the Republican Convention of 1920 and financed the campaign which elected Harding. "Who pays the piper calls the tune."

However, there appears no valid reason why we should not open the door to the President any more than to ordinary American citizens, since he appears to represent their hopes, and it is fitting enough that a populace who manage to tolerate the Mackenzie King and Meighan variety of administrators should register pleasure at the sight of another of like kind. And so we erect our bunting—by contract—two "Jacks" to one "Glory"—maintaining the two-power standard in dry goods even if we cannot hold our own nowadays in industry and finance, for Canada's State and municipal bonds appear to be in pawn to the U. S. A. Politically we are tied to Great Britain, to the great grief of the Native Sons, but economically we are being absorbed by American capital. So we become important enough to be visited, and supervised if necessary. And we all know it.

The citizens of the United States glory in the possession, if not in the excercise, of a Constitution, plus sundry Amendments. It would appear to be the present temper of those people that they have more concern in the eighteenth Amendment than in all the others, plus the Constitution, put together. While they and their President rejoice every celebration day over their inalienable rights, they stock their jails with as many men as dare voice opinions after the pattern of the Jeffersonian 18th. century liberalism. Criminal syndicalism is the interpretation now placed upon the Constitutional Amendments guaranteeing free speech and open assembly to the people. Those who, with Lincoln, hold that, "This country with its institutions belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government they can exercise their constitutional right of amendment, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it,"—have to carefully hedge their utterances in face of a well subsidized secret service, organized under what is euphoniously described as the Department of Justice.

The "Criminal Aggression" of George III, denounced in the Declaration of Independence, broke itself over the annexation of Texas by the United States in 1846. The acquisition of Hawaii, the Philippines and Panama, and American domination of Costa Rica, Haiti and San Domingo,—all with a display of force in support of the undermining power of American finance, measure the stride of the United States in the direction of imperialism. It is their great boast that they acquired no territory out of the great war, yet while the other nations were parcelling out the enemies' acreage among themselves the United States managed to secure approbation and affirmation of the Monroe "doctrine," including recognition of their own recent acquisitions. These acquisitions have been made in the interests of good business and if, in proving the venture, the fictitious character of cherished constitutional equal rights has been brought to light, who shall say it is without benefit, even to the oppressed, at home and abroad?

Mr. Harding apparently went to but little trouble to polish up very much argument in his Vancouver address, an address which might very well have been made by any confident schoolboy not very well versed in history. There are no elections to carry here and the unfortified boundary line between Canada and the U. S. does very well as a talking point and does no harm. And so we let him go his way without further ado. Our little merchants are very well pleased at the advertising their market place has had. All the world will now know that prairie grain can be shipped through this port half a cent a bushel cheaper than through the eastern route and that our harbour dues are now down ten cents a ton. Our admiration for the industry of the great republic to the South of us is equalled only by our envy of her profitable returns. Our little business men hope that some day like fortune will come this way—business for the business man and work for the workers! This is the note current in Vancouver's "welcome" to anybody who may happen this way. We are passably rich as it is,—in scenery.

HERE AND NOW.

ANY enthusiastic pessimist who has chanced to glance with any sort of regularity at this mirror of our habitual financial sorrows will glean further encouragement in persistency by a glance at our slender record this issue, from which it will be seen that every day in every way we are getting poorer and poorer—er, Here and Now.

This may be considered to be an inversion of the proper Cone order but we find the other way wont work right, not in finance anyway, for a creditor is not so very easy to deceive as he ought to be. The horrible accuracy of the ordinary schooling in arithmetic enables our printer to clearly see that he will derive small comfort from this:—

Following $1 each: D. McTavish, S. Clements, J. W. Grayson, A. J. Bell, A. Beaton, G. R. Williams, P. M. Friesen, I. Benson.

Following $2 each: P. J. Hunt, Dave Watt, F. Neale, R. Inglis.

Gust Varga $1.50; Wm. Ayres $13.85.

Above, Clarion subscriptions received from 12th to 26th July, inclusive, total $31.35.

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Above, C. M. F. donations received from 12th. to 26th. July, inclusive, total $13.

PARIS-LONDON VIA RUHR

(Continued from page 3)

powerful than Great Britain. It was only by a policy of encirclement that the money merchants of London and Amsterdam, employing as condottiere the hired soldiery of Prussia, Hesse and other German states, as well as the declining naval and military power of Spain, contrived to keep France from gaining and maintaining the hegemony of Europe and adding to it a great colonial domain. A century of class struggles and of war with the states of Central Europe has entangled France in complications which have made it impossible for her seriously to challenge Great Britain's world supremacy. Added to this, France, with a soil much richer than that of Britain, has been handicapped by the fact that nearly all her coal fields lie on the frontier or far removed from the sea coast, harbours and great rivers. This has meant that, in an age when economic supremacy is built on coal and iron in juxtaposition, France has suffered something akin to political eclipse. When, in 1871, Bismarck took from France the only part of the Lorraine orefield then being developed, it seemed as if France must sink to the status of a second rate power.

When, however, in the last decade of the nineteenth century it became commercially profitable to open up the populously rich areas of Lorraine and prospectors began to put forward great expectations of even richer iron fields in Anjou and Normandy, the French metallurgical and banking interests found new hope. They learnt from the incident of Fashoda that as long as Britain and Germany remained economically intact and comparatively friendly that there was no hope of France securing control of the great resources of tropical Africa or of any other unexploited part of the world. They noted in the very same year as Fashoda that the Germans were commencing to build a navy upon a plan which was alarming to the British governing class. Immediately, they saw and made use of this heaven ordained opportunity to make bad blood between two empires traditionally in alliance or, at any rate, favorably inclined towards each other. A mysterious change came over certain jingoistic newspapers in London. The "Daily Mail" ceased to cry that France "must be rolled in blood and mud" and commenced to shriek against the menace of the German navy. Next, the Unionists, the party of the successful industrial and commercial capitalists, took up the cry of protection for the British steel industry against the competition of the German steel industry. Meanwhile there had ascended the throne of Great Britain an ancient roue, notoriously in the pocket of Sir Ernest Cassel and a group of Franco-Belgian moneylenders. Edward the Peacemaker—architect of the bloodiest slaughter in human history—the present Lord Balfour and sundry other British politicians made an alliance, secret in character, which was the diplomatic reflection of a financial community of interests already existing for some time between coteries of moneylenders around one or two houses in Paris, Brussels, Antwerp and London. This dirty gang set themselves—just like the equally unscrupulous rascals associated with the Deutsche Bank and the Bleichroeders their antagonists—to corrupt the mercenary politicians both, reactionary and reformist, of the Balkans, Italy Spain and Russia. Ten years of this intrigue and the French capitalists were able to hurl a combination of powers against the blustering might of German and Austrian Kaiserism. The result of the war is well known to everybody. When it came to making peace, Britain and France alike held their hands up to heaven, swearing eternal allegiance to the divine principle of the self determination of small nationalities. This new policy of radical republican roguery consorted much more with the in-

terests of France than those of Britain. The latter had no particular desire to see Austro-Hungary divided up into a jigsaw puzzle of tiny states drawing their financial and military support from Paris, but had to agree to it for, as we English say "needs must when the devil drives." France and Britain have spent four years in reducing Central Europe to chaos and its currency to ruin. The real reason for all this seeming lunacy has been a struggle, not between two ideas or between two empires, but between two groups of financiers, one of which rose to power in the early 19th century and held the Hapsburgs in the hollow of its hand, the other which has risen to prominence within the last quarter of a century and has become immensely rich in "promises to pay" since the beginning of the World War.

The old group may be summed up in one name—Rothschild. The new group in three names—The Banque de Paris et des Pays Bas, the Societie Generale de Belgique and the Banque de l'Union Parisienne.

This is the problem, the whole mighty problem of the Ruhr, the Ruhr with its mighty river, the Rhine, with its efficient canals, with its stupendous steelworks, with its wonderful cokeovens, with its gigantic collieries; the Ruhr, which if its coking coal and its machinery, are allied with the mighty iron fields of Lorraine and Normandy and the finely equipped harbors of Antwerp and Rotterdam, will be a producer and a vendor of steel, the basic material of capitalist production, at a price and in a volume with which British capitalism can in no way hope to compete.

Sooner or later, somehow or other the proud, unbending British bourgeoisie whose flag "has braved a thousand years the battle and the breeze" will find a way to break the chains with which French imperialism is trying to bind Britannia. The issue can, in my opinion, only be—WAR.

What the British workers think at the present time scarcely matters. They are thinking very little at all about the Ruhr. Even if they were thinking, the Trade Unions have been so hammered by the capitalist offensive (which has, however, seemed only to make their leaders more pudding-headed than before) that they could, in the circumstances of the moment, do little to help the German workers. It is for them a terrible danger, regardless of whether French capitalism enters the Ruhr alone or whether it comes accompanied—for the purpose of keeping an eye cocked upon it—by its fellow bandit, the capitalism of Great Britain.

In my constituency of Motherwell in Scotland where, in normal times, more steel is produced than anywhere else in Britain with the possible exception of Middlesborough, the works, considered according to our standards to be relatively efficient, are like toys in comparison with the works at Bochum, Rheinhausen and Essen. For two years some of them have been virtually closed down. For two years there have been from ten to twentythousand workers unemployed in an area whose population does not exceed 80,000. These men received in unemployment pay, inadequate to maintain them in decency and productive efficiency 15s. a week each, 5s. for the wife and 1s. for each child from the Labor Exchange, supplemented, in some cases, by parish relief. This payment is, whilst utterly inadequate, yet greater than the weekly pay of a German steelworker. This means that our employers, some of whom, to my certain knowledge, are financially interested in Krupp, can use and are actually using the German workers as blacklegs to beat down to yet lower levels of degradation and misery the men and women of this country.

The British workers, though not the workers in Motherwell, Barrow and certain other centres where the communist propaganda is intense and our influence strong, do not understand the significance of the occupation of the Ruhr. It is our business in Britain to point this out and to draw the only conclusion possible, that within capitalism only three things are possible—slavery, starvation and then slaughter.

"Count Your Blessings"

HEGELIAN philosophy, to which Marx owed so much, was recently treated in considerable detail in the "Clarion," and so the following Hegelian principles are offered as throwing some light on the enternal Problem of Evil, as well as serving to arouse to awakeness to what advantages (if any) we do, and ultimately will, possess.

Thirty years ago Wm. Minto, professor of logic in Aberdeen (Scotland) University, died in the same year as his logic book was published, in which he mentions "An all pervading Law of Thought which has not yet been named, but which may be called, tentatively, the law of Homogeneous Counter-relativity."

He explained this by stating—Every positive in thought has a contrapositive; and the positive, and the contrapositive, are homogeneous; that is, of the same nature. Nothing, he says, is known absolutely or in isolation; the various items of our knowledge are inter-relative; everything is known by distinction from other things. Light stands opposed to darkness, freedom to slavery, poverty to riches, in to out, etc. This is based on the law of our sensibility that change of impression is necessary for consciousnes; as the proverb has it: "We never miss the water till the well runs dry." A long continuance of any unvaried impression results in insensibility to it; custom blunts sensibility. Hence, every positive thought demands its opposite or contrapositive.

So much for the element of difference, or counter-relativity. But this is not the whole of the inter-relativity. The Hegelians, says Minto, rightly lay stress on the common likeness (or co-relativity) that connects the opposed items of knowledge. Therefore, he continues, "It is with a view to taking both forms of relation into account, that I name our law the Law of Homogeneous Counter-relativity." And, quoting Dr. Caird on Hegel,: "If, then, the world, as an intelligible world, is a world of distinction, differentiation, individuality; it is equally true that in it as an intelligible world, there are no absolute separations or oppositions, no antagonisms which cannot be reconciled."

The professor refers in confirmation, to an author who had pointed out that in Egyptian hierogyyphics, the oldest extant language, we find a large number of symbols with each two meanings, the one the exact opposite of the other. Thus the same symbol represents strong and weak; above—below; with—without; for—against. This, says Minto, is what the Hegelians mean by the reconciliation of antagonisms in higher unities. They do not mean that black is white; but only that black and white have something in common—they are both colors.

"Let us," he continued, "surprise ourselves in the act of thinking and we shall find that our thoughts obey this law. We take note, say, of the color of the book before us: we differentiate it against some other color actually before us in our field of vision, or imagined in our minds. Let us think of the blackboard as black: the blackness is defined against the whiteness of the figures chalked or chalkable upon it; or against the color of the adjacent wall. Let us think of a man as a soldier; the opposite thought in our minds is, not the color of his hair, or his height, or his birthplace, or his nationality; but some other profession—soldier, sailor, tinker, tailor. It is always by means of some contrapositive that we make the object of our thoughts definite; it is not necessarily always the same opposite; but against whatever opposite it is, they are always homogeneous."

This is quite a load of philosophy to remind us of what is known already by the proverbial meanest intelligence, such as the Henry and Harriet Dubbs, who frequent vaudeville shows; otherwise, a joke of the comedian, Sir Harry Lauder, would have been—what it never was—entirely wasted on them! The genial Scot, in one of his songs relates how he and a friend, McKay, spent a glorious summer holiday at a Highland Scottish seaside resort " 'mangst the bonnie lassies up at Tobermory." During the visit one of the natives asked McKay if he were a tourist , and received the answer "No, Ah'm a plumber!" The humor, of course, consists in the fact that the contrapositives to the term "tourist" are either a native or a more or less permaent business resident of any place; and the reply that Mac was a burst-pipe artist, being a breach of Minto's law, was entirely irrelevant.

When we apply this law in considering the problem of evil, it is at once evident that humanity have always noticed its contrapositive character. God and the Devil, Ormuzd and Ahriman, Osiris and Typhon, Vishnu and Siva, and so forth; each of the foregoing pairs in their various world religions, respectively typifying the opposing principles of Good and Evil. Either phenomenon implies the existence of the other, and proves their inseparable connection. The evil, we are told, follows the light. The obvious remedy, therefore, is more and wider light. Thus, if it is impossible to altogether banish the darkness, we may at least reduce it to an irreducible minimum! For us Socialists, that amounts to an obligation that we put all our strength, means and energy into spreading the Light of Socialism for the ultimate material and mental salvation of mankind.

Besides, as Minto's foregoing book and blackboard examples indicate, contrapositives may take the form, not of actually existing things, but only of possible or potential phenomena. In an oldish illustrated dictionary of his, the writer could show to a modern boy a weird picture of a certain object; and if the rest of the page were covered and the boy asked what that object were, a correct answer would likely not be received. The picture represents the old-style neck-breaking high bicycle or "boneshaker," which was then the contrapositive of the low, solid-tired "safety" bicycle. Today, the contrapositive of the pneumatic or the motor cycle, exists only in a legendary or potential form, and not in actuality. So, in the future, will it be with most of the evils that are now so painfully obvious; for they, too, will vanish into mere misty and forgotten potentialities!

But when those happy Socialist days arrive, will they be appreciated as much as they will deserve? No! The numbers whom capitalist-bred misery and revolutionary ardor have impelled to study past history are, even today very small. How will it be when a long, calm, uninterrupted period of well-being and happiness has been prevalent? Change of impression, as before stated, being necessary to full consciousness, the future instructors will have quite a job trying to make contemporary pupils understand and take an interest in their immense advantages. There will then, far more than now, be considerable reason in the famous adjuration of the hymn to "Count your blessings, count them one by one."

However, the fact that posterity shall largely accept their advantages as a matter of course, will no more depreciate the benefits thereof, than does the unconsciousness of his complete and unbroken health and strength on the part of a perfectly sound man, make his daily condition and life any the less enjoyable or desirable.

So, fellow Socialists, on with the good work; and you other prospective Socialists, come amongst us!

"PROGRESS."

Revolutions : Political and Social

BY J. HARRINGTON

Article Ten.

THE June battle in Paris had excited the fears of the middle class throughout Europe, while actually the proletariat of Paris was being crucified on such a scale as to cause apprehension in the minds of the master class for their labor supply. And with such bestiality "as may not be without much shame retold or spoken of" the European press, pulpit and platform, (Holy Trinity) carried on a campaign of lies concerning "the Paris mob." It is quite needless to particularise. We know what followed the Russian revolution.

The aim in each country was to turn the middle class against the proletariat. But this was hardly necessary. The author of "The German Parliament in 1848," written in September of that year, gives an account of the terror inspired by the June days in the minds of the amateur politicals at Frankfort. And while he himself is evidently suffering extreme nausea from the odor of saeurkraut and fat pork with which he was regaled at a reunion banquet with his professor and class mates, we can regard his estimate as substantially fair. The bewildered terror of his old teacher during the six hours' fight which followed the Frankfort Assembly's betrayal of the Holstein revolt, is an excellent example.

That they should revolt against the tyranny of Kings and Princes was not only natural, it was "their right and duty," and if a little blood was spilled it was to be deplored, though not condemned. When this zeal for freedom expressed itself in an armed revolt against the literatti, pedagogs and artists who had undertaken to lead Germany into the promised land,—that was different.

But it is not in Germany that we find the next and final defeat of the revolutionary movement. There had been some feeble attempts to establish a republic, particularly in the southern duchies. Gustav Struve lead a Republican movement in Baden after the abortive attempt on the Frankfort Assembly. An appeal was made on the grounds that "the chattering constitutional Parliament" had attacked the people with grape shot. The Provisional government with Struve as president decreed—abolition of all feudal burdens, services, tithes, rents, labor "or any other name they bear." All dues to "aristocratic land lords," church or state, were abolished, and a progressive income tax imposed. All lands of the church, state, or any one in arms against the Republic, went to the parish in which they lay. Nothing very alarming to the bourgeois in this, but June and its four days' battle in the streets of Paris was but a few months past, and Frankfort told the tale again; so Struve's proclamations had scarcely been kissed by the September sun when his provisional authority was at an end.

Thus the German bourgeoisie definitely renounced all claim to the governmental forces of that country, and in their terror of the proletariat, resigned the task of creating a nation out of the many duchies, principalities and kingdoms, into the hands of three Junkers who knew that—"not by speeches and the resolutions of majorities but by blood and iron" could it be accomplished. Bismarck, Moltke, and Roon proved an excellent substitute for "freedom, bread and justice," and singularly enough, forced upon the German middle class what they most desired, but were too bewildered and panic stricken to take. However, let us deal with the matter immediately to hand; when we take up Social Revolutions we shall have something to say of these three gentry—that is if you are not getting fed up with this drim and drull, and evidently endless narrative.

In a very interesting and instructive book, "An Englishman in Paris," written on the spot, between 1830 and 1871, (notes not intended for publication and, so far as our knowledge goes, anonymous), there is recorded a conversation between a pickpocket and a politician. The former declares for the monarchy because, at the street demonstrations of the Republic, he could scarcely pinch enough to provide a decent meal, while in monarchical ceremonial days, his picking would keep him for months; whatever truth might be in this particular instance, the merchants of Vienna were in full sympathy with his political philosophy.

The flight of the Court had deprived them of the best of their trade. The June days of Paris had inspired them with terror. So, in July the Emperor and his gang of chicken eaters and good spenders returned to their duties. They or rather the wise men of their staff at once commenced one of those conspiracies which we have dealt with.

The National Guard was reviewed by the Court and slobbered over with unctious flattery. Then Schwarzer, a very popular member of the Government, was induced to sign a proclamation withdrawing the doles to idle workers. The revolutionary bodies resorted to a demonstration, peaceful and unarmed. What more was necessary? Was not the Government their friend? All they had to do was show their displeasure. But times had changed; the National Guard turned out and on the 23rd of August drove them from the streets; the shooting was conducted with such vigor that no doubt remained in the minds of the workers as to the friendliness of their friends. The breach between the various revolutionary groups in Vienna was evidently complete; the next problem for the Court to settle was the Hungarian revolt.

We have seen the Slav Ocean threaten to swamp the Magyar Island, and we have seen the Slav Ocean somewhat dried out at Prague. Let us now glance over the sequel.

Jellachich, the leader of the Slav movement, had been approached by the Court and had been appointed Bem of Croatia; this had been heralded by the Slavs as an indication that they were to be reorganised as a nation.

Jellachich lost no time therefore in forwarding his position and was on Hungarian soil when an attempt was made to reconcile the various forces. When at Buda-Pest, to which the Hungarian Parliament had moved from Presburg, a misunderstanding arose and Lamberg, the Magyar, acting for Latour, the Austrian Minister of War, was murdered. A few days later, October 3, the Hungarian Parliament was dissolved and the Slav Jellachich made dictator of Hungary. The Magyars, however, were not so easily disposed of, and Jellachich was forced from Hungarian soil. These intrigues on the part of the court did not escape the revolutionists, and activity again enlivened the Vienna streets. Charges were made, and threats against Latour. One handbill suggested that lamp posts were convenient and ministers handy. No idle threat either, as we shall see. A Committee of Safety was formed, which undertook to find work for all the unemployed, among other enterprises, entirely beyond its power. The court had now a return of the epidemic, the end of which it had hoped was at hand. Latour deemed it necessary to support Jellachich, and ordered the regiments in Vienna to work against the Magyar parliament.

Now, however strongly the economic requirement of their daily life influenced their conduct, there still remained, dimly indeed, but none the less definite, certain concepts of revolutionary rectitude, which brought all the revolutionary elements of the city back into one camp, notwithstanding August 23rd. Vienna considered the order as treason to the revolution.

The students undertook to induce the regiments not to leave the city; and here again we come to that impersonal act, totally unimportant in itself, and certainly unintentional, which marks the point where systems of government are shattered or saved.

In the struggle which arose when the students invaded the soldiers' quarters, an officer was wounded; one of the soldiers who had also been hurt was confined to his barracks; the men of his regiment presumed he was under arrest, and demanded his release. Thus, through a misunderstanding in the confusion which followed, **for a few hours a regiment refused to move.** The National Guard fell in line and soon sufficient regiments were in revolt to cause General Aversperg to attempt to move with those who were still reliable. These were met by the National Guard and a large body of students on the Labor bridge; unwilling to put his troops to the test Aversperg returned to the city.

The revolt was successful at every turn; the troops were thoroughly demoralized, and where they did fight it was with but little heart. The mob was again in command, and it was not satisfied until Latour, the Minister of War, dangled from a lamp post, which every historian finds space to weep and wail over. For our part, when we count the victims of working class hatred after a successful revolution, and place them against the victims of master class hatred after an unsuccessful revolt, whatever emotions we experience are concerned not with the dastardly events, but with the dastardly recorder.

The Emperor and his good spenders did care greatly about viewing Vienna from a lamp post, so, without so much as "by your leave" they departed.

Strange, is it not, that when the workers were successful, the fight did not last more than a few days, and very few people died? Strange also is the fact that the army always knew which side would win, that is the armed forces, because we always find that they have lined up with the victors.

However, Vienna was again free. And now Jellachich, with his army of Slavs retreating before the Magyars, turned toward Vienna. An appeal was made to Aversperg, who was still in town with his army, the very army which had been induced to refuse to fight against the Magyars. He refused, and in spite of all that had occurred, was allowed to leave the city with his troops. When he joined forces with Jellachich, Count Windischgratz, the butcher of the Slavs at Prague, declared war against Vienna and, placing himself at the head of the various armies became the head of this entirely unofficial Pan-Slavic Congress. The Viennese appealed to the Frankfort Assembly, who with characteristic energy dispatched Robert Blum and Froebel to add to the general din. In the meantime, all Vienna was debating the advisability of inviting Kussuth and his army, the victors over the Slav army, and but a few hours distance, to assist them.

The Hungarians were equally at a loss as to what was the proper course to follow, but as our space is full, we will have to leave them "wrestling" with the rules of etiquette. To be sure, Windischgratz, Jellachich, and Aversperg had never a doubt, nor (angels and ministers of grace defend us), had their soldiers.

The Story of the Evolution of Life

BY T. F. PALMER.

(Continued from last issue)

Similar modifications have occurred in the structure and arrangement of the tails of birds. An extinct bird, betraying its close relationship with the reptiles, possessed a long reptilian tail, each of the twenty-one joints of this appendage bearing a feather on each side. This is the famous toothed bird, the Archaeopteryx, which is so reptilian in character, that it was first regarded as a reptile, and then as a transition form between reptiles and birds. At a later date than that of the Archaeopteryx there lived toothed birds whose remains show that they more closely approached modern forms. Now, in present-day birds, the tail points have been reduced in number and broadened in shape, and at their termination carry a shaft of feathers. And it is highly instructive that the young of living birds, as they develop in the egg, pass through the tail stage shown in the Archaeopteryx, and then through that of the more recent toothed birds, until they reach the condition in which we find the tail in extant forms. Again is illustrated the truth that animals in the course of their development travel through the stages their ancestors have experienced in their onward advance. Indeed, the same generalisation holds good for all tailless animals, and thus we conclude that they have arisen from tailed ancestral forms. And not only does the Archaeopteryx plaintly proclaim its reptilian descent in its tail and teeth—and no living bird possesses teeth—but its limb bones, both of the wings and feet, are markedly reptilian in charter.

Until recently nothing was known of the pedigree of the modern elephants, but the evolutionary history of these animals is now remarkably complete. Dr. Andrews and others have shown that from a big-footed, five-toed, short-snouted, swine-like animal, the various extinct and contemporary elephants have been evolved. Various other animals have slowly yielded the secrets of their ancestral history. Among these are the camel and the horse. The evolution of the latter through the Tertiary Period, on Era of Mammals, furnishes a splendid illustration of the transformations which have gradually led to the horse as it exists today. The ancestry of the equine family has been traced back to an early stage of the Tertiary Period without a single important break. Beginning with the Eohippus, an animal smaller than a fox, with four toes on its fore foot, and a mere splint representing the dwindled fifth toe, twelve evolving stages have been determind in the line of the horse's ascent. Each succeeding stratum yields evidence of the steady evolution of the race until it attained its present form. Commencing then with the Eohippus, which walked on several toes, there has been developed an animal which is distinguished from all others by the possession of one toe only on each foot. Anatomists are agreed that this toe is the third or middle digit of the foot. The horse's "hoof corresponds to the nail of a man, or the claw of a dog or a cat, and is broadened out to afford a firm, strong support on which the whole weight of the animal rests. . . . . So it may be said that the horse is an animal that walks on its middle finger nail, all the other fingers having disappeared."

During the period which witnessed the rise of the horse, elephant, and indeed all other mammals, the camel was coming into being. The history of this animal's evolution is almost as completely established as that of the horse. The camels are now restricted to Africa and Asia, and their relatives the llamas, to South America, and their fossil remains in their present range are not very ancient. But in the Tertiary rocks of North America has been discovered a series of animals which represents the ancestors of the Camel group, and connects them with earlier hoofed quadrupeds from which many other forms are also descended. In the Lower Eocene deposits occurs the extinct Trigonolestes, a camel-like creature smaller than a cotton-tail rabbit, with teeth of a primitive pattern, and provided with four complete toes, the side toes being very slender. It will be observed that one toe of an earlier five had already disappeared. In Upper Eocene Times, Protylopus, an animal as big as a jack rabbit succeeded whose side toes had dwindled to splints, and whose molar teeth were formed like those in modern camels. In the following Period an animal the size of a gazelle appeared, while in the later Miocene Period, in the shape of the skull and the form of the teeth, in the Procamelus and other related animals, the living camels are foreshadowed. The camels of the next stage, the Pliocene, are still nearer to modern forms, while in the final period, that which went before our own, the camels became extinct in their original habitat, but have persisted in the new lands to which they have migrated.

Man is a mammal, one of those creatures that suckle their young at the breast, and the evidences of the changes which the limbs of mammals have undergone in the course of ages are profoundly important. The changes which have taken place in the structure of hands and feet are mainly of two kinds. These chiefly consist in the dwindling of some parts and the great enlargement of others. Professor Romanes selects the skeleton of a bear in order to illustrate the fact that the fore limbs and hind limbs of mammals, all in their origin four-footed creatures, including man himself, are made up of the same bones, just as we find the identical bones in the hands and feet of monkeys and men. Like ourselves, the bears walk on the soles of their feet. This means that the bones of the fingers, toes, feet and ankles rest on the ground. The bear, then, like man, is a plantigrade animal, and plants his feet firmly on the earth. But most mammals move on their fingers and toes. They walk on their digits, and are termed digitigrade animals. One has merely to watch a cat or dog to notice that such animals progress exclusively on their fingers and toes, the remaining bones on the fore and hind limbs, including the ankle and wrist, being raised above the ground. Fortunately we possess a complete record of the changes which have led to the development of the modern mammalian limb. Reptiles long since extinct, possessed a very primitive type of limb. These creatures were water-dwellers, and their hind limbs resemble the fin of a fish almost as closely as they resemble the limbs of a mammal. For as Romanes pointed out: "Not only are there six rows of bones, instead of five, suggestive of the numerous rays which characterize the fin of a fish, but the structure as a whole having been covered over with blubber and skin, was throughout flexible and unjointed—thus in function, even more than in structure, resembling a fin."

This type of limb was eminently serviceable to an animal living in water, but when backboned (vertebrated) animals began to seek a home in the land, the limbs had to be adapted to terrestrial movement. Limbs more firmly set were now required, and more solid structures were developed. Moreover, the loosely formed limbs of the aquatic reptiles now became more specialized, and began to approach the later purely mammalian type. The kind of limb evolved in these early land reptiles was favorable to sluggish movement over marshy soil. And when reptiles first emerged from the river, lake, or sea, they were restricted to the near neighborhood of the aquatic environment of their ancestors. Further progress was now necessary, and organs were evolved which enabled quadrupeds to wander over harder and less even land. The earlier types of land animals were plantigrade, but the digitigrade forms were developed from them. These last, which, instead of progressing on the whole foot, move on their toes, evolved on two separate lines. Some mammals such as the elephant and cow all walk on their toes, and these quadripeds are arranged into two classes —the even-toed and odd-toed. This apparently trivial distinction is in reality very important. For in the struggle for existence an odd-toed animal with five toes has in various instances secured considerable advantages by gradually sacrificing its fifth toe, thus gaining greater stability with the remaining four. Probably all ancient mammals were five-toed, but as heavier and heavier demands were made on certain of the digits, these became larger and stronger, while those less in use slowly dwindled away.

As we have seen, this aspect of evolution is vividly portrayed in the fossil pedigree of the modern horse. And the history of the changes undergone in even-toed mammals is also instructive. The outer digits of the foot of the pig, camel, and deer display successive stages of dwindling. In the deer, the aborted digits are smaller than those of the pig, although two only in each animal are truly functional, while in the case of the camel, the two exterior toes have completely vanished. In the pig, the separate bones of the two outer toes are still plainly visible. In the deer, the smaller digits are more closely united to the larger ones, while in the camel they have become part of the surviving toes, although they still retain slight indications of their previous independence. In these examples, as in so many others, too numerous to be cited, a study of the unborn young supplements the testimony furnished by anatomical inquiry, for we discover that in the embryo, the two bones in question are distinctly separate, and thus preserve in the living, if unborn animal, those identical features which were once the normal characters of the adult forms of several long extinct species of hoofed mammals.

Other parts of the animal framework present quite conclusive proofs of evolution. Alike in the vertebral column, and the structure of the teeth, are to be found overwhelming evidences of the truth of the theory. A survey of a comparative series of brains again, reveals the verity that the brain of the fish is comparatively simple in structure, that of the higher reptile less simple, that of the yet higher bird less simple still, while although the brain of the most primitive mammals was small, it was far better organized than that of its reptilian ancestors. As the mammals developed, their brains increased in size and in complexity, until we reach the highly elaborated cranial contents of the most intelligent mammals such as the dog, elephant, ape, and man.

Fossil shells have provided powerful proof of modified descent. To select two instances out of scores, there are the mollusk shells of Steinheim and those of Slavonia. In Wurtemburg, near the hamlet of Steinheim, there lies a dried-up lake, the deposits of which are crowded with shells, largely of the several species of Planorbis. Professors Hyatt and Hilgendorf made a very careful examination of this deposit which had remained undisturbed for many thousands of years. Their results as stated by Prof. Le Conte were as follows:—"In passing from the lowest to the highest strata the species change greatly and many times, the extreme forms being so different that, were it not for the intermediate forms, they would be called not only different species, but different genera. And yet the gradations are so insensible that the whole series is nothing less than a demonstration, in this case at least, of origin of species by derivation with modifications."

The Paludina fossil shells from the lake basins of Slavonia present another striking proof of evolution. Professor Neumayr arranged a complete series of seventeen forms, each of which provides ocular demonstration of progressive change. Yet as Romanes remarked "Before the series was completed, some six or eight of the then disconnected forms were described as distinct species; but as soon as the connecting forms were found—showing a progressive modification from the older to the newer beds—the whole were included as varieties of one species."

The evidence that the Italian, French, Spanish, Portuguese, and in large measure the English language, have been evolved out of a dead or fossil tongue—Latin—no one dreams of disputing. Were the documentary and other evidences of this devel-

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THE STORY OF THE EVOLUTION OF LIFE

(Continued from page 7)

opment of living languages from a dead tongue lost, philologists would detect the roots of contemporary speech in the language of the ancient Romans. A philologist who attributed modern forms of speech to an act of special creation would justly be regarded as a lunatic, even if, in addition to the absence of historical testimony as to their natural evolution, a few words and phrases found in modern languages were missing in the original but defunct tongue from which these were derived. Yet, astounding as it may appear to the philosophical mind, there still linger in secluded places a few old fashioned people who still refuse to admit the unquestionable evidences of the descent of modern plants and animals from earlier and more generalised ancestors, merely because some links of the fossil chain in special places have so far eluded discovery. But it is thought that there lurks no danger to the current religious creed in conceding the established truth concerning the natural growth of language; while, it is uneasily felt that to acknowledge the verity of the purely natural evolution of organic forms is to assist in the shattering of the old time faiths of mankind.

Generations prior to the enunciation of the doctrine of descent naturalists had been compelled to classify plants and animals into groups and subgroups owing to their resemblances. Fishes were seen to resemble one another so closely in anatomical structure that however much they differed in outward appearance they were undoubtedly fish, and for this reason they, like reptiles, birds, and mammals, were classified, and necessarily classified, because of their obvious similarity.

All mammals, including man, are built on a common plan. Even mammals like the whale that look so much like fish that before the dawn of science, they were universally regarded as such comply with this condition. In their bony structure not only mammals, but birds, reptiles, and fishes are fundamentally alike. All these animals however much they differ in detail, show in their common structure plain indications of their common origin. Heredity binds all creatures to the past, but out of the earlier, simpler, and more generalised forms, the more specialized have slowly arisen, and as they have multiplied they have grown more unlike their far-off ancestors. All the backboned animals from fishes to man display a common structural system, and the wide differences we witness in the ascending orders of life are to be attributed to the dissimilar surroundings to which each has been driven to adapt itself in the conflict of existence.

Evolution teaches that the characters we inherit from our parents admit of gradual modification wherever such modification is serviceable in the battle of life. Examples of this are legion but a few may be submitted. Whales and porpoises swim in the sea and present the appearance of fish, while as a matter of fact, they are the modified descendents of terrestrial quadrupeds. When they adopted an aquatic medium great changes both in the structure and function of their organs occurred. The limbs with which they walked have been modified into swimming organs, and are now outwardly invisible. Another land animal is the seal, which has also taken to the water, but in this creature the changes have not proceeded so far, and the hind limbs, although each bone may still be detected, have become smaller and are directed backwards. These limbs are now useless for walking purposes, but give a fish like outline to the posterior end of the body. In the whales, the transformation of the hind limbs has become much more complete. No sign of these limbs appears on the surface of the body, and internally the limb bones survive in a very abortive state, while the skull and body together have assumed a fish-like form. Obviously the changes set up in the whale since it returned to the sea are very marked. But it is significant that the transformations which have occurred are most pronounced in those organs which were necessarily modified in order to enable this aquatic creature to dwell most conveniently in its new home. The whale's arm or fore limb has been far less modified than its legs. The fore limb has been transformed into a fin, but the bones of the arm, wrists, and fingers still lie concealed under the integument of the fin, and are now quite useless for their original purpose of locomotion on land, and serve only as parts of the swimming organ. And an anatomical examination of the head discloses all the bones of an ordinary mammal's skull, and the whale head has simply become shapen in such a manner as to present the least resistance to movement through the water. In fine, all the changes which have arisen in the whale's body are precisely those that are essential to a successful career in the sea.

Another mammal affords similar evidence of adaptation to a changed mode of life. The arm of the bat has been modified into a wing through an immense lengthening of the fingers, which have become enclosed in a membrane. A further example is afforded by the birds whose fingers have shortened and consolidated, the modified shoulder and forearm providing the bony support of the flying organ. One of the most remarkable adaptations of this character is to be seen in the extinct Pterodactyl, a flying reptile whose wing was formed by an extraordinary elongation of a single finger with a membrane embracing this digit, as well as the remainder of the hand. Serpents are descended from four-footed ancestors, and with them the limbs have completely dwindled away. In these few instances of a single organ, out of scores that could be cited, we possess overwhelming testimony to the truth that organs are transformed to meet the requirements of new functions. In other cases where an animal bearing wings is found, as with the insects, the flying apparatus is modelled in quite a different manner, because the line of ancestral development has been different.

In both the animal and vegetable kingdoms, organisms abound which retain in an aborted or dwarfed condition the relics of organs which are entirely useless to them, while these same organs exist on a larger and efficient scale in plants and animals to which they are serviceable. The unborn whale possesses teeth which never cut the gums, and would be useless to the adult whale if they did. And the whale carries with it through life various organs which are utterly valueless to any but a land quadruped. Even the structure of this animal's ear is far better adapted for receiving sounds in air than through water. Although nearly all the snakes have long since lost their limbs, and no vestiges survive, the Python still retains slight relics of hind limbs, although these are functionless. External limbs to such creatures as snakes would prove a hindrance to animals gliding through the forest, and they have been lost, among other causes, probably through disuse. The wingless birds of New Zealand present a similar example. As these birds seldom had occasion to employ their wings owing to the absence of land enemies, they appear to have declined to the merest vestiges through lack of use. The logger-header duck of South America merely flaps over the water, but noteworthy is the fact that the young birds fly extremely well. This again indicates descent from ancestors of normal flight.

(To be continued)

PLATFORM

Socialist Party of Canada

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

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

So long as the capitalist class remains in possession of the reins of government all the powers of the State will be used to protect and defend its property rights in th emeans 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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