#### THE

# "Plebs" Magazine

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## EDITORIAL

QUESTION of vital concern to the organized Labour Movement at the present time is that of the journalist "half-timers" The last few years recruited from the working-class organizations. have witnessed a rapid growth of the Labour leader journalist, a type that seems to devote less and less time to the study of Labour problems and an increasing amount of time to a disjointed criticism of the various proposals put forward by students of sociology among the rank and It may be put forward as a law, that the economic theory of the Law of Diminishing Returns is applicable to the increasing application of Press articles from Labour leaders. This law is, of course, stated from the same abstract point of view as that of the political economy quoted—with this difference however, the political economists arrive at the Law of Diminishing Returns from a study of individual motive, while here it is applied to social results. To put it another way: the articles supplied to the capitalist Press by Labour leaders insure Increasing Returns to the writers in proportion to their Diminishing Returns to the cause of organized Labour. amateur journalists are valued by the capitalist Press in the degree of their status in the Labour Movement. Needless to state the types favoured are (1) the industrial leader—usually also an M.P.—who belongs to the Old, Tried and Trusted section. (2) The political Socialist, usually of the lower middle class, who having received the usual training afforded by Secondary and Grammar Schools, unmodified, either by the practical knowledge the wage-worker gleans in the bitter school of proletarian experience, nor enriched by a training in

proletarian science, is totally unfitted to be guide, counsellor, and (real) friend of the working class. [It is not a question here of good or bad intent, honesty or dishonesty, financial gain or loss. We are content to leave it to be judged by results.] They invariably suffer from that deadliest of all complaints, the "Open Mind." The ravages wrought among the workers by this disease are, in their results, more terrible than those from sleeping sickness among the Africans—the latter means a comparatively painless Death, the former means a very painful Life.

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THE origin of the disease is two-fold: (1) compression of the skull brought on by atrophy of the mental organ. This chiefly results from too frequent indulgence in the drug habit in the shape of the tabloids,

"Enucleate." ["Enucleate" means: to lay bare, explain, to extract. It is derived from the Latin e, out, The Trouble nucleous, kernel. The literal meaning is therefore: to take the kernel out of the nut. This leads to the sagging of the roof, otherwise the compression of the skull above mentioned. It seems a contradiction to call it the "Open Mind" as the capitalist does, but as capitalist thought and expression are as meaningless as their "arguments," there is no real antagonism in the expression from their point of view. The Proletarian synonym is: the Vacant Mind: but Proletarian language is rightly looked down upon as being too precise and logical, for the requirements of capitalist interests. These tabloids are supplied in unlimited quantities by the "literary hod-carriers" of the capitalist class: the drug passes through the system without acting upon the nervous tissues which communicate Like all drugs they devitalize the patient, and finally produce a state of intellectual coma. (2) Frequent application of a particular form of congratulatory reference to the pronouncements of the Labour leader, such as "good citizen"; "sound argument; "sane leader"; "one of the old school of level-headed Leaders"; "the weighty words of a responsible," &c., &c. Our readers can supply the &c's from their own experience. The only effective treatment, we know of, for this dread disease is: complete rest from the cares (?) of office for the rest of the patient's natural life and openair Sanitoria, far removed from the places "within the meaning of the Act," where organized Labour foregathers. [We suggest a joint arrangement between Labour bodies and the Insurance Commissioners for the establishment of a Sanitoria at Criccieth. make this suggestion without any personal animus towards the dwellers there, who would appear to already suffer from an enormous infliction, and merely in the interests of the afflicted ones. personal preference would suffer least by closer connexion with "great David's greater son."]

THE Chinooks of America have a practice of producing artificial flat-headedness: Chinook also means according to the dictionary, "a trader's jargon," hence we have both etymological, ethnological,

and historical grounds for christening the writers, above referred to, as Chinooks. The usual procedure Troublers of the Chinooks is to read in the Capitalist Press of the rise of some new ideas among the workers, as to forms of organization or methods of political expression, take in a fresh stock of "Enucleates," then produce a column or more of Jeremiads. Experience would seem to prove that a knowledge of the subject written about is the only disqualification for the Chinook's activity. The ordinary member of an organized Labour body has limitations imposed on him in many ways—honesty is not the least of these. If, for example, as a member of a governing body of a Trade Union he is in knowledge of certain information which is held by that body to be private and confidential—the discussion on what course should be adopted towards certain specific proposals re the conduct of strikes and negotiations relating thereto: the attitude of an important organization towards legislative proposals, say—he may, and usually does, consider himself bound in honour to respect the wishes of the majority of the body by refraining from comment on the subject in public. Not so the Chinook: under an alias he refers freely to the subject, gives information of the stage reached by the body at the time of the adjournment of their meeting, discusses, (at so much per column) the arguments for the reactionary policy, the capitalist side, all backed up by frequent appeals to the social, political, industrial, and craft prejudices of his readers; or under his own name, indirectly deals in the same way with the issues involved.

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THE political field reproduces the same thing as the industrial. The Chinooks, devoid of knowledge of proletarian social science as they are, vainly try to square the circle of their two-fold characters—apologists for Capital and members and representatives of the Labour movement. When the growing dis-

Troublers content among their followers compels a show of activity on questions of direct concern to the mass of the workers, we are treated to displays of activity in the shape of demonstrations and frenzied platform orations—perhaps even a brief reference to the "Cause" in their Press articles. One thing they never do, that is, imperil their position either as writers or M.P.'s by a too pronounced effort to make the issue a question of "practical politics." It is quite possible that they themselves are not aware of the contradiction implied in their conduct. Where their own feelings lead them to the advocacy of a particular measure, which does not secure the support of the majority of their followers, they are



compelled by the nature of things to argue along anti-democratic lines; when the majority aim at a legislative measure not favoured by their own feelings, the same thing happens. Thus the idea of democrative control centres around their own outlook; since their own views are merely the results of successive doses and applications of capitalist arguments and flattery, the Chinook is developed—a Labour leader who neither leads nor follows.

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WHILE it is quite true, however, that the Chinook neither leads nor follows the organized workers, it is also true that he is a useful lieutenant to the capitalist class,—and, by the same reasoning, a

Negative

V.

Positive

danger to the progress of the Labour Movement.

The workers have most to fear to-day from those among them who knowingly or unknowingly obscure the issues raised by the present stage of capitalist development. Of such is the Chinook. How is

Of such is the Chinook. How is development. this reactionary force to be limited or scotched? The most successful way is to apply the proletarian theories of social science to the questions of organization, industrial and political, in a series of pamphlets dealing with industrial organization and political activities in general terms, and with separate industries in detail. By opposing the theory of "identity of interests" between owners of wealth and the propertyless proletariat, with the theory of the class struggle: sectional Conciliation Boards by industrial organization along the lines of industries: University Extension and kindred educational movements by real proletarian education among the rank and file along the lines followed at the Central Labour College. At the Annual Meet this year some of the League members were inclined to the view, that the organization of local League centres was not of importance. Well, here is work and to spare for all who acknowledge the power of education along these lines. is to do this work if the Plebs League fails? Great as is the influence of the Chinooks, the influence of the educational work of the League can be much greater and more effective still, if we will it. the force of negative criticism must be brought the forces of destructive facts and constructive organization. Exit the Chinooksenter the organized militant rank and file.

F. J. C.

Readers who have spare copies of the Magazine for the following months are asked to send them on to G. Sims, 13, Penywern Road. If in clean condition, full price will be allowed. Copies are wanted for February and May, 1909; July, 1910; September, 1911.

### The Workers and Science

CCORDING to the Comtean classification one is led to the conclusion that the Sciences, beginning at Mathematics and terminating at Sociology, whilst they decline in exactness, accuracy of definition, positivity, increase in the complexity of subject matter.

This point needs no elaboration. Yet having regard to the relativity of things there is a need for reasonably circumscribing the sphere of all Sciences. Referring particularly to Sociology, one may adopt the explanation of Lester F. Ward, that it is the synthesis of the Social Sciences. In the study of social sciences it soon becomes evident that rigid definition is practically impossible owing to the extreme nature of social phenomena, and at least one of the social sciences occupies such a large domain that it seriously imperils the synthetic sovereignity of Sociology, and invites confusion of thought if there be any excessive laxity of expression. That is the science of Anthropology.

To Pope we are indebted for the injunction that "The proper study of Mankind is Man," and it is some few years ago since I was drawn to consider and attempt a systematic study of that wonderfully perverse product, that Quixote of the Universe. The study has been and is as fascinating as Arabian Nights. The labours which it demanded have yielded satisfactory results in the way of a larger hope of the future. In the cool quiet of the Pitts Rivers Museum, within the pale of the Saurian's Shadow, gazing in the eyeless sockets of those who mayhap "mumbled the bones of the slain," or looking on a medley of bleached bones, one could at least draw as near to one's brother, may be nearer, than in the music-stirred incense-ladened air of the cathedral aisle.

Some lectures which I had the opportunity of hearing in the Examination Schools at Oxford, appear to be the basis of a book on Anthropology,\* by Mr. Marett, the perusal of which will repay any reader. The remark "Anthropology is the whole history of Man as fired and pervaded by the idea of Evolution," is backed up by 250 pp. of interesting matter. After affirming the necessity of the Darwinian outlook, a conception of the fundamental kinship, it is further indicated that whilst the sciences like Biology, Anthropology are recognized as departmental, Philosophy is understood to be the synthetic grasp of them all. There is a strong inducement to enter a controversy as to the relative merits of Sociology as a synthesis and Philosophy as a synthetic grasp.

The Gordian knot may be cut by saying Sociology is Working-Class Philosophy; to use simple conversion would be, leaving out the qualifying adjective, savouring to much of a logical and material

<sup>\*</sup> Anthropology, Marett, Home University Library, 1/-.

fallacy because academic classicism, the Philosophy of our public Schools and Universities, is obviously not identical with the concepts and practices of modern sociology.

The knowledge of mankind means power and appreciation, and the line of study to attain that, is to begin with the glamour and fascination of pre-historic man, and the types of human association, then through the forms of Society to their essential functions and the individual agent.

History depends on written records but in dealing with man in antiquity there is the pre-historic period for which such records are not available. The method then adopted is "stratigraphical," which depends mainly on geological research and its results, i.e. bones, animal and human, eoliths, paleoliths, neoliths, cave decorations and human handiwork, such as is given by Professor Alfred Hertig, of The Institute Pestalozzi, Zurich, from the caves of Le Moustier, near Les Eyzies, France.

The subject of Race offers an opportunity, not only for patient investigation and analysis, but conjecture. Race, of course, presupposes a biological continuity, a survival, not merely the existence of organisms, but a survival by breeding. This brings forward Heredity and Variation, which are more adequately dealt with in larger works, and at the same time clearly indicates that there is no such thing as an infallible race mark, physical or psychic, measurements of the body, colour or brain development, external or internal. The very absence of such a race mark, this negation of exclusive race traits serves to give credence, renders feasible and in that way substantiates the idea of a Universal Equality and Brotherhood of Man.

In the moulding of the human race, because race is a consequence rather than a cause, environment or as it is here termed "geographic control" has exercised powerful influence. This does not mean that certain geographical regions' always produce one type of man or culture. That is a narrow kind of geographic determinism which is often offered as an easy solution to matters anthropological. Nature's caresses, like her kicks, may render the recipient hors de combat.

Circumstances may enervate as well as stimulate human activity; some

go forward under pressure from nature whilst others lay down and die. Man has an accumulative faculty, a social memory, whereby he is able to carry on to the conquest of a new environment whatever has served him in the old. But this is to compound environments—a process that ends by making the environment coextensive with the world. Intelligent assimilations of the new by means of the old breaks down the provincial barriers one by one, until man, the cosmopolitan animal by reason of his hereditary constitution, developes a cosmopolitan culture.



To those who are interested in the gift of tongues, of language, the section under the latter heading is a reasonably fair examination, under the circumstances, of linguistic evolution. In the commencement one reads "The differentia of man is the power of articulate speech," which makes possible what one may designate the articulate mind which subdues environment and heredity. The origin of language, and the history and source of words are often sought in imitative, interjectional and rudimentary sounds, or in affinities of certain Asiatic languages, Turkish, Hungarian and Finnish,

And it was hoped that sooner or later, by working back to some linguistic parting of the ways, the central problem would be solved of the dispersal of the worlds races. These painted bubbles have burst.

Philology has fallen back on the analytic and formal. A new point of view is desirable in which the philologist "must treat language as a function of social life;" must be conscious of historical methods and settings, must be able to correlate with his own expert knowledge anthropological data, must be able to appreciate to the full, social evolution. It is a popular, but evidently a mistaken idea to suppose that the lower races possess only small vocabularies. As an example the Fuegians who have a culture which is the rudest extant, are credited with a language of more than 30,000 words. Quite enough Several examples are given to show how for a Revolution! language has progressed from the holophrase, "a portmanteau word," i.e. "I cut-bear's-leg-at-the-joint-with-a-flint-now," towards the analytic "when verbal bricks can be dealt with separately." Clear and concise thinking is conditioned by words, and "ideally, words should be individual and atomic." The crystalization of thoughts in words is yet desirable and until the stage of wordless thinking and telepathic communications be reached, that method of transmission The process of change is evident when a word will be relied upon. becomes fossilized, obsolete, then follows the creative phase in a language which has for its object better word-representatives in order to express more adequately the higher degrees of thought. also a general reference to numbers. Following hard upon the heels of this discussion, matter dealing with the social organization of peoples low in the scale of culture is submitted.

In endeavouring to elucidate the origins and the factors in the formation of social organizations we are urged to recognize physical necessity and spiritual freedom, the force of circumstances and intellectual purpose.

As a simplification of the historical problem, which is given provisionally, one reads:

Culture depends on social organization; social organization on numbers; numbers on food; and food on invention. Here both ends of the series are represented by spiritual factors—namely, culture at the one end and invention at the other.

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Endogamy and Exogamy come in for a brief treatment, and a distinction is pointed out between kinship and consanguinity. The inevitable consideration that Totemism demands is here introduced and occupies the larger portion of the space allotted for this chapter, and because of a further limitation of space in these pages the more extensive quotations must be omitted. Sufficient may have been said to show how social morphology, static social institutions, are dealt with, and we see in subsequent chapters the physiology of social life, the functions, the social movement in Law, Religion and Morality. At this juncture there is a justification for, in order to avoid misunderstandings, the following quotation:

Regarded however, in the purely external way which the study of its mere structure involves, society appears as a machine—that it appears as the work of intelligence indeed, but not as itself instinct with intelligence. In what follows we shall set the social machine moving. We shall then have a better chance of obtaining an inner view of the driving power. We shall find that we have to abandon the notion that societ? is a machine. It is more even than an organism. It is a communion of souls—souls that, as so many independent, yet inter-dependent, manifestations of the life-force are pressing in the search of individuality and freedom.

The immediately following remarks may be adjudged bad literary form, irrelevant, but the inclination is irrestible. A Shakespearean character speaks of calling spirits "from the vasty deep," and the questioner says, "Aye, but if you call them will they come?" Lamb, too, I think, talks of calling up the illustrious writers and speakers by conning his books, but what a rare treat if one could only witness a conference and hear the talk of Spencer, Shaw, Nietzsche, Ibsen, Emerson, McDonald, and all, they who have belaboured the "organism," "life force," over soul, "over man." Should we get clear upon these matters? Maybe we should be reduced to the fisherman's plight of earnestly asking the Genii to return to the bottle.

The reason given by the writer for taking Law first is:

There is more sheer constraint to be discerned in Law than in Religion, whilst religion, in the historical sense which identifies it with organized cult, is more coercive in its mode of regulating life than moral reason which compels by force of persuasion.

In defining Law we are told "there is law wherever there is punishment on the part of human society"; the breaking of a social rule is followed by punishment; when the social rule is broken, when the risk of pain is run, when that risk can be made a reality by a common authority, there is law as understood by anthropology. Although to us moderns, the law appears to be fearfully and wonder-



fully made, yet when stripped of its trappings, institutions and "dinners," it is generally to be admitted that custom is the keystone of the legal arch, "Custom is king in primitive society." A general survey is given of the several offences, violations of the communal rule, omissions and commissions, which are prejudical to the public safety, backed up by argument and historical examples. In approaching the question of Religion one feels to be in exactly the same predicament as if Art had to be clearly defined. The author of the book takes a firm stand when he says:

Religion is in evolution. The best form of religion that we can attain to is inevitably the best for us; but as a worse form preceded it, so a better form we must allow and even desire may follow.

Although this may be a helpful generalization yet the obvious difficulty is the basis; the common denomination of all religions, whether they be Christianity, Confucianism, Islamism, Mormonism, Christian Science or Theosophy. Magic and witchcraft are deemed to be the bad side of dealing with things beyond the human ken, whilst religion is considered to be the better way of restoring men's confidence in the super-normal, in "the facing of the unknown." Dr. Frazer says "The history of religion is a long attempt to reconcile old custom with new reason, to find a sound theory for absurd practice."

Hence custom with all its labours, rites, rituals and "luck," are all constituents of religious belief, and the reconcilation of religion and science is an ever pressing problem, bristling with psychical and physical difficulties. There is a very excellent summary of Dr. Rivers's description of the Todas with their curious dairy rituals.

In a small book of this kind there are many phases which come in for scant treatment, and so it happens in the treatment of morality.

Let us assume there are two main stages in the historical evolution of Society, as considered from the standpoint of psychology of conduct. I propose to term them the synomic and the syntelic phases of society. "Synomic" means that customs are shared. "Syntelic" means that ends are shared. The synomic phase is, from the psychological point of view, a kingdom of habit; the syntelic phase is the kingdom of reflection. The former is governed by its subconscious selection of its standards of good and bad; the latter by conscious selection of its standards.

If everyone imitates, progress comes by "cross fertilization of imitations" according to Tarde, and often times this cross fertilization is brought to fruition in the individual which makes the conception of the great man theory possible.



When progress comes, it comes by stealth, through imitating the letter, but refusing to imitate the spirit; until by means of legal fiction, ritual substitutions and so on, the new takes the place of the old without anyone noticing the fact.

Freedom, intellectual, political, industrial, although yet limited, has paved the way to moral freedom; the will to repay social education with interest; the will to take thought for the morrow, "of the meaning and end of human life," and assist in the "evolution creatrice," creative evolution. Savage morality is collective impressionism, yet primitive society is not a dull mono-It has its individual with pronounced individuality, the man of exceptional ability, take for example the medicine man. His knowledge is acquired by revelation, mainly hereditary. He is subject to elaborate preparatory and tribal initiation ceremonies. By means of the quartz crystal, illusions, hypnotism, stupor are He is shown the Totem, he accepts the tribal Gods. Numerous strange experiences he undergoes to fit him for his posi-He is The Individual par excellence of primitive society. He embodies Gods and Spirits, Magic and Religion. He has faith in his own ability and power. He is guardian and keeper of the Tribe, "guide, philosopher and friend." Then he loses power, loses capacity for supernormal experience, loses confidence. His power of suggestion and divination wane. All his wonder working for the public good is at an end and he yields his place to another. How intensely individual, yet how distinctly social is the personality and the rule of the Medicine Man. Yet it takes faith to make a man as well as a Labour Daily.

The faith that will make a man good, is good whether the Host be a quartz crystal or the Priest has a hole in his tongue.

When will the workers have faith in themselves?

MEREDITH F. TITTERINGTON.

We have a few sets left of the plaster-cast busts, 6½ inches high, of Dennis Hird, Darwin, Huxley, Spencer and Ruskin—to clear stock we will supply them at 1/3 each, or 5/- the set, carriage paid. Address:—

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# Evening Classes at the College

N Wednesday evenings Mr. Dennis Hird lectures on Biography and Literature. The Course is one of nine lectures. So far two lectures have been given, the first on Swift, the second on Sterne.

The object of these lectures is to present a brief view of the life and times and works of some of our best writers. By these lectures it is hoped that an interest may be aroused in literary art, apart from the daily grind of "facts." This does not depreciate the value of science in its most practical character. But, however valuable this latter may be as "the literature of knowledge," there is also the second branch, "the literature of art," which is found only in our great masters. These lectures are an attempt to plant the permanent serenity of art in the midst of our most violent collisions of facts, and they are thus one step towards sanity. The great literary artists have done not a little to laugh away the hideous carnage of economic conditions, which rages in social, ethical, and religious life, where men burn bodies and poison ideas with the solemn gravity of reformed saints.

Swift was never able to cross the barrier raised by his own satire and become a bishop. His tremendous honesty and force had carried him too far. He was the monarch of the Political writers of his time, but he lives as the ruthless satirist for all ages, in his Tale of the Tub, Gullivers' Travels and The Modest Proposal. He was not mad, but suffered from a disease in the ear, which finally dethroned his reason. He was first a Whig and then joined the Tories, so he had a twofold evidence of the rottenness of politics.

His relationship with Stella and Vanessa was pathetic, and to some extent remains an insoluble problem. Perhaps the truth lies in the commonplace fact that *their* romantic devotion dashed against the barrier of necessity.

Sterne had not the sheer force of intellect which made Swift so wonderful a power. There is a great gulf between the two men. Sterne has been twitted for his sentimentality and coarseness. Yet probably he was a man of most delicate feeling, and as he suffered all his life from "lung trouble," he showed a dangerous originality in finding only the comic in what to others was sensuality. He seems to have met but two good women, in all that gallery of women gathered around his brilliance, one of these was married to another, and the other was insane (Maria).

Sterne's "Uncle Toby" remains an immortal character in his great work, *Tristram Shandy*, among many other immortalities in that realm of banter and burlesque. His *Sentimental Journey*, because it is shorter, sweeter, and simpler is probably more frequently read and cannot die.

Both these dignitaries of the Church began as Whigs, became Tories, but effaced their politics in literature. Both were giants and no successor has approached either of them in his own sphere.



### Central Labour College Lectures

W. CRAIK opened his course of twenty-two lectures on Industrial History, on Thursday evening, the 10th Under the head of Theory and Practice, the lecturer showed the necessity of first grasping the general nature of theory, before grappling with any particularly theory on any particular field of investigation such as History. Theory was a form of thinking, and thinking a form of being. Thinking could no more take place without material than any other activity. Ideas were not the pureborn children of the mind, but rather were they begotten by the contact of the brain with the material of the senses. material, the mind formed concepts or generalizations. A theory was Theory found its criterion in practice. a generalization. theories arose through the mind putting into its pictures more or less than the senses dictated. To think truly, one should To know that the first premise of thinking know what thinking is. was the sense-perceptible material, was to make us conscious of what we were doing when we thought, and to make us recognize that sound theories depended upon our consciously sticking to the material of experience.

It was inevitable, however, that mankind should have blundered for so long, that the specultative and unscientific should have preceded the analytic and scientific, just as it was inevitable that a child should be childlike. The childish notions of the individual and of the race had alike their basis in the limited experience of childhood. The mind was as much an evolution as the body. Neither had stepped upon the worlds stage ready made: the mind was in the making.

The second lecture of the course dealt with the Evolution of Historical Literature and Method. Man had made his own History. The great point was HOW had he made it? Certainly he had not made it in a straight line. Neither had he made it with wisdom aforethought. True, man had the power of building up ideals. He could aim to do certain things. But rarely, thus far, had the results of his actions been in agreement with his aims. Very often the effect had been quite opposite to the end desired. So true had this been, that it had appeared to the actors in history, that some mysterious force existed which thwarted all their plans. "Man proposes but God disposes." This theory of supernatural interference was the oldest theory of historical development. Another theory of society's evolution was that which sought for the cause of change, in the ideas and magnetic personality of some great man, e.g. Luther or Napoleon.



But the two main modern schools of Historical interpretation, were the Idealists on the one hand, and the Historical Materialists on the other hand.

The Idealists held that all social changes were due in the ultimate, to changes in the ideas of men. The idealists were divided only as to which particular ideas were the most potent for change. There were those who laid the greatest stress upon Political ideas, others who favoured the Legal ideas, others again who favoured the Religious ideas as being the most important.

The school of Historical Materialism did not deny that social changes were preceded by changes in the heads of men, but it did deny that these changes in ideas were the ultimate causes.

The last causes of these changes in the heads of men, were to be found in the changes taking place in the relations within which men carry on production, i.e. economic changes. Those forces which had hitherto appeared to men as Providence or Chance, were none other than the so far uncontrolled forces of social production. until now these forces had grown up "behind the backs of the producers," their reality had, in the heads of men, been concealed behind the ideological forms of religion, morality, law, and politics. In other words, the social antagonisms had been translated in the consciousness, as departures from certain religious principles, moral tenets, or "just" laws. The higher the stage reached in the development of society, the more did it lay bare the mode of its development, the more did it yield up a scientific answer to the question, HOW has man made his History? That answer was given in the theory of Historical Materialism, the proof of which was in History itself, just in the same way, as the proof of the theory of gravitation was to be found in the movement of falling bodies.

# C.L.C. Classes Report

(continued)

#### BRIGHTON

As a result of a largely attended Conference of delegates from the local Trades Union branches, the Brighton Central Labour College Classes have been formed. The constitution and control is on similar lines to the other C.L.C. Provincial classes. At the moment, six Labour bodies have affiliated—including the Brighton Trades and Labour Council—each sending one student, and it is hoped that the number will be doubled when the returns are completed.



Industrial History is the subject of study, the lecturer being Mr. W. W. Craik. The Class will commence early in November. Over 30 students have given in their names, and a successful winter's work is anticipated.

#### NORTH EAST LANCASHIRE AREA

Classes have been opened at Colne, Padiham, Accrington, Burnley, and Nelson. Students enrolled in each of these classes are as follows:—Colne, 23; Padiham, 27; Accrington, 32; Burnley, 45; Nelson, 34; total for the area 161. Mr. Barton, the General Secretary, writes:—"We have now finished our third week and the impression created by the Lecturer, Comrade Archbold, is a very favourable one. Each class seems as though before long there will be a further increase in the numbers attending." Mr. Barton is himself lecturing for the Great Harwood Co-operative Society's class on the subject of Industrial History. Considerable progress is also being made in the way of securing the affiliation of the local Labour organizations.

All communications respecting the movement in this area should be sent to Mr. W. H. Barton, General Secretary, 38 Scott Street, Burnley.

#### RHONDDA VALLEY

The classes which have been established in this district give promise of every success. The district includes classes at Treherbert, Treorchy, Ystrad, Tonypandy, and Porth. By the time this appears, a class will have commenced operations at Ferndale.

The Labour and Plebs' Clubs in the valley exercise a fatherly interest in the wellbeing of the Treherbert, Ystrad, and Tonypandy classes. All the classes are run under the auspices of the Rhondda No. 1 District of the South Wales Miners' Federation, and it is intended to circularize the Lodges in the District, with a view of obtaining their direct interest and support.

A Central Committee administer these classes on similar lines to those in operation in the Rochdale District.

Number of students attending are as follows:—Treherbert 15, Treorchy, 18, Ystrad, 12, Porth, 22, Tonypandy, 35 in Economics, and 32 in Industrial History.

Application has been made for a class at Tonyrefail, but as there are but seven days in a week, the supply is not equal to the demand. The lecturer is Mr. W. F. Hay, who spares no effort to drive home those truths so essential to the advancement of working-class interests.

The services of Mr. Hay have already been utilized by the Ystrad Labour Club, for a series of lectures on the History of the Class Struggle.

The Rhondda is going to give a good account of itself in the educational work of the movement.



The classes in this district are in full swing. The attendance of students is as follows:—

Manchester	•••	•••	45	students
Rochdale	•••	•••	28	,,
Radcliffe	•••	•••	15	11
Oldham	•••	•••	12	"
Bury	•••	•••	18	"
Waterfoot	•••	•••	10	,,
		-		
			128	

The lecturer is Mr. C. L. Gibbon, who has created an excellent impression.

The classes are composed largely of new students.

#### TONDU. GLAMORGAN

A very promising class has been opened here. Students enrolled number between 55 and 60. Subject, Industrial History. The Lecturer is Mr. Frank Hodges, a Central Labour College student, and now the Miners' Agent of the Garw District. It is highly probable that he is the only Miners' Agent who combines the work of teaching with that of representing Coming events cast their shadows before. the Miners as an Agent. When every Trade Union representative is a teacher, then will the hour of our redemption be at hand. The members of this class are chiefly employed in the mines and on the railways, and as a result of this intellectual activity, there should be a considerable progress made in the conscious uniting of these two forces in and around Tondu.

[Further reports will be given next month.—ED.]

### The Temple Echo

The natives are proud of their institutions, their wealth, and their religion. For six days each week they measure their religion by their success in trade, and on one day they measure their success in trade by their religion. They are a devout race, and some travellers affirm that, notwithstanding their skill in ship-building, they are slightly superstitious. At any rate they are sufficiently undeveloped to be the victims of ancient theories and customs. Their priests hold that all men are born atheists, that religion should guide the whole of life, and that priests are necessary to restore the godidea to the blank mind—due tax having been levied for this purpose.



Hoca-poca therefore boasts the most powerful hierarchy which man has yet provided to shelter himself from the blaze of heaven.

After centuries of toil, the priests have made amazing provisions to expel that atheism which they allege is born in every man. They have a vast temple, like a Catholic Church, around which cluster a nursery, schools, colleges, shrines, gods, and all things necessary for the good of man's soul. This thronging centre of sacred life is supported by power and embellished with wealth.

About a century ago there arrived in the nursery a limb of a boy called Georgie. How he came there, or in fact into the island, is not clearly known, but as every child in the island was taken into the nursery to have "the atheist" extracted, either by kicks or blandishments, Georgie was taken with the rest. He was a fine, romping specimen of an animal, as ever was reared in the wilds of a prairie, but he entered the sacred precincts under one great disadvantage; no one knew the name of his father. It was a very old custom in Hoca-poca to keep a body of men to enter the names of the fathers of all children before the children were born, because after the child was born it availed not to enter the father's name; the spell was broken, the name of the mother was of no account in the island, rather the reverse; for the virgins, who served day and night in the temple, shrank from the coarse mothers. The priests attached great importance to the registering of fathers, and had caused a law to be passed which rendered it illegal for any child, who had unceremoniously entered the world, to take the name of his father This was done that all men might know at once the sin, of which the child had been guilty—wherever he went he was without a name and was entered thus Georgie ——.

In addition to this unfortunate start, the guilty lad had a boisterous nature, which got him into many scrapes before he left the nursery, for this institution was managed on the principle of a theological In order to mould the natural spirits into true Kindergarten. worshippers, their toys all represented sacred subjects. Georgie had been there a week, a boy showed him his pet toy, which was a cardboard tower of Babel, and the boy in his young enthusiasm incautiously stated that it would reach to heaven. Georgie doubted and then disputed, and finally to demonstrate his view he sat on the tower of Babel. Great was the fall of tower and Georgie. Sister in charge declared in her report that he had rolled about the floor in quite an indecent manner. Georgie was therefore shut in a dark cupboard for the rest of the day, with no company, save the large lump at the back of his head. At sunset he received a piece of dry bread, old enough to be venerable.

For a few days the lad was not so buoyant, and he listened in silence to the Sisters, as they spoke of the wonders of the early world. He was rewarded by a new Noah's ark of large dimensions.



He first sought for a pail of water to see if it were true that the ark would swim, but failing in this, he took out all the animals and pestered the Sisters to tell him the names of them, for some of the creatures were antediluvian—at least in form. When he had mastered their names he placed them all in a row, in charge of Noah, and shook the empty ark violently. He was looking for the animals he They were not there. Then Georgie concluded that Noah was a wicked man, for he had not taken all the animals, as God told Now Georgie took a deep interest in God. His ideas were not very clear about Him, and he recalled the fact with a sigh, that somehow He always seemed to be on the side of the Sisters in matters of discipline, still he remembered with pride that He had put a stop to that tower of Babel business as promptly as he himself had. So his little mind thought if only he could be "gooder" he might yet come into Divine favour. In a minute he broke the ark to pieces, made a rude cross, and fixed the splintered Noah upon it, then he thought what a good boy am I! But a sweet little fellow, who bore the names of many ancestors and was called Arthur Cuningsby De Vere Goodenough, ran and told. Then the flood came. The first Sister stood in blanched helplessness and could only shriek "Holy Noah. Holy Noah!" The second Sister fainted; the third ran for some, cold water and cried for the chaplain. Fortunately that holy Father was just opening the door for six priests, who were conducting an archbishop in state through the nursery that he might bless their There stood Georgie amid the ruins of good intentions. pious work. Presently he was cut off from the world by a circle of priests. accusation was brief, and the recovered Sisters were perturbed into loveliness, so that they could lend new charms to truth. The sentence was given, and the august visitors passed on, and their consciences soothed them like a caudle. Georgie had three days in the dark cupboard and the dry solace of ancient bread—he did not attempt to sit down for strict physiological reasons.

As Georgie seemed to have more atheism in his nature than mos children, he was sent to a reformatory on board ship. Here every night and morning the chaplain made roll-call and read aloud Georgie —— and all the boys knew his father had not been registered, and they told him this interesting news on many occasions, in their own sweet way.

There were no toys here, so when they wanted sport a strong boy used to crucify a weak boy, and on festive occasions the powers would crucify both. Some people would have pitied Georgie, had they known. It was indeed a sad experience, for those three days in the dark cupboard and the strokes of the chaplain, while the Sisters laughed at his yells, had cast a gloom over his religious life.

He pondered much about the God of Noah, but he failed to discover any system upon which rewards and punishments were allotted, so in the silence of the night he used to turn to the heaving



billows and the shimmer of moonbeams for consolation, and vowed that he would settle all about Noah, when he was a man and free.

Thus was his youth stolen.

II.

When Georgie was free and had settled to his trade in Hoca-poca, he regularly went to the Temple, according to the custom of the islanders. He knew only by hearsay of the schools and colleges, in which the more favoured youth fought their way back from atheism to the respectable gloss of a smiling faith. He determined to rival the best of them; he devoted many hours each day to reading, prayer, and worship. To his inexperienced gaze the Temple seemed infinite; its gorgeous side-chapels were numerous, on one side were the countless schools of the priests, on the other those of the Sisters; the art and music of the world seemed no less to have made this their shrine than religion herself; the high altar with its venerable antiquity and its colossal magnificence fascinated him for hours. Such beauty, such music, such hoary mystery seemed lovelier than dreams of truth. He was enchanted. He resolved to be a priest.

But to one who has not passed through the regular schools and colleges, it is not easy to prove that atheism has been quite eradicated, and it is almost impossible for him to become a priest. Still he thought that years of toil and devotion would open the way into that mystic life. He applied for the post of Temple doorkeeper, but years ago a priest had discovered that his deity would be offended and blight the corn crops if a man were made door-keeper whose father had not been registered, so Georgie was promptly refused. Some months after, however, he was appointed as junior floor-washer in the Temple, and never had the Temple floors been so clean, for the work was done with the energy of a fanatic. Devout worshippers, who could enjoy the best of both worlds, praised Georgie's work. It was well they did so, for somehow he could not quite subdue the animal vigour within him, and one day he burst out singing the national anthem, which he had learnt on board the ship :-

Hoca-poca makes the waves, Hoca-poca kills the slaves, Hoca-poca ever, ever, ever kills the slaves.

A passing priest gave him a sharp box on the ear, imposed a severe penance upon Georgie for intruding his patriotism on the gods, and then reported him to his superior. Georgie grew more sober by slow degrees and in course of time he was promoted to be the Duster of the gods. In the island of Hoca-poca it was said that a god was never allowed to disappear from among men, because the priests taught that it would be unlucky, consequently their temple was well stored with images of the divine of many generations. To have charge of the gods, and dust them, and oil them, was an office of some



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rank and inspired Georgie still to dream of becoming a priest. The official Duster was appointed by a service of dedication, he wore always a long flowing robe of blue, girded at the waist with a purple cincture and on his shoulders was a small cape of black and white rabbit skin. No vain savage ever felt greater delight at the first dab of paint which clothed his nakedness, than Georgie experienced in his robes of office, as, armed with duster and feather-brush, he proceeded to duty in the silence and solemnity of the early morning But this occupation led him into dangers which he had not foreseen. As day by day he dusted the gods, his old desire to solve the god-mystery took possession of him. He longed to know why they were so hideous; why their faces were clothed in bestiality and cruelty; why the dead generations had been able to force their monsters among the new gods; why all gods were the same and yet there were no two alike. He did not venture to ask these questions aloud, but as he stood behind a giant deity, and listened in ecstasy to the throbbing of the organ, he felt his whole frame shake with a mighty passion of yearning to solve that secret, which he knew the gods held in a divine conspiracy.

Sometimes after one of his despondent trances, Georgie would break out in a spirit of mocking defiance, as he carefully wiped the tearless eyes of some stone she-god, or with his feather brush he would tickle the nose of some ancient deity, and then would laugh as the old god failed to sneeze. One of his favourite images was a battered three-headed, three-horned monster, whom he called the devilpa; sometimes he tried to tickle his three noses all at once, but there was no result.

It chanced on a morning of a high festival, as Georgie was busy oiling devilpa's colossal neck, that he observed a priest approach the high altar and draw out something from behind which he reverently placed on the altar, with many genuflexions. Till that moment the high altar had always seemed to him the centre and throne of all power and effulgence. Now there was a new mystery, for clearly there was something behind the altar. He was consumed with longing to learn this secret. Again he resolved he would be a priest, and he fell on his knees and vowed to the stone gods if they would but aid him in his design, that never should they lack oil or know decay. For some days he scarcely tasted food, he whispered secret prayers to every god and asked what was behind the altar. ceiving no answer, he read, and prayed, and worshipped with redoubled diligence.

He rose in the dawn of the summer mornings, and long before the jarring sounds of the outer profane world could make an echo in that holy silence, our young enthusiast might be seen dusting the gods with tender zeal. One of these mornings, as he approached a goddess of matronly loveliness, he saw one of the Sisters bow in



silent worship. So still was she, that he thought she must have fallen asleep, wearied with her midnight devotions. He touched her gently and as she turned her rapt gaze upon him, he recognized Paulina, one of the youngest and loveliest of the Sisters.

They knew each other well. He had always oiled and polished Paulina's pet god with extra care, and she had more than once warned him of the approach of a priest, when he was tickling the gods noses. She it was too who had tried to teach him not to ask questions about the gods, for she had been taught that to ask questions would bring death to him in this world and in the next. So they were friends. Now there are few things so favourable to young love, as that melancholy of the ideal and that belief in the impossible, which are found in the higher religions. No wonder then, as he raised her from her prostration and she leaned on his powerful arm, that she saw in his eyes the blaze of a new light. Tender with the ardour of her devotions and flushed with the dawn-light, she was indeed lovely. She lingered in his arms and thrilled at the touch of his warm lips.

But not too long. The chances of discovery were many; and discovery meant death. If any Sister loved, she was doomed to be walled up alive in one of the temple cells; and the man, devoted to temple worship, who should stoop to love, was placed in darkness and fed on bread and water to the end of his days; for the laws of religion in Hoca-poca are as the laws of nature in this respect: that they always punish the woman more severely than the man.

Paulina fled to her cell, her rapture throbbing as if it would break her heart.

As for Georgie, he felt the vast temple, thick with the shrines of the gods, to be a wilderness strewn with monstrosities. He had clasped the panting loveliness of life, and now, the gods seemed hard, cold and hideous.

He sought the most beautiful of the goddesses, he anointed their marble eyes with oil, that he might see again that melting light of Paulina's love. He left them all for the matronly goddess, and he knelt before it, that he might touch the marble which her body had warmed.

Life's ecstasy was taking possession of him and even the mystery behind the gorgeous altar was forgotten.

To be continued.

DENNIS HIRD.

Every one being permitted to learn to read—that ruineth in the long run not only writing but also thinking.—NIETZSCHE.



### Proletarian Monism

THE arrogant claim of ruling-class champions that natural superiority has determined the existing social and economic gradations received a tremendous "upper cut" when the German working man, Joseph Dietzgen, demonstrated the insufficiency of formal logic, and convicted even natural science of inadequate treatment of great world problems.

His trenchant exposure of the arid nature of the philosophic heath, and of the absence of monistic thought in materialist and idealist alike, made it quite clear that the organ of thought is indeed "the organ of the general." Important though this analysis of the thought-process, and his demonstration of the positive outcome of philosophic barrenness, undoubtedly is, however, still more important to the working-class student is the clarification of historical vision that his research has rendered possible.

The work of Marx in portraying the basic line of social development has been re-vitalized by the unfolding of the universal interrelation. The materialist conception of history indicated that as the modes of production, distribution, and exchange, were basic, the superstructures arising therefrom—political, social, and religious—necessarily reflected their general character.

The forms of consciousness reflected the nature of the economic development, or the degree of technical development to which humanity had attained. This seemed conclusive, but the first edition of Dietzgen's—The Nature of Human Brain Work, which appeared in 1869, undoubtedly threw added light upon an hitherto involved question.

Dietzgen's keynote may be said to be contained in his monistic expression:—"The world is a series of endless, inter-twining processes." The static is a quantity unknown to the universe, save to those microscopic "parts," who, clinging to the old metaphysical straws, ludicrously label themselves philosophers. "There is nothing constant but change."

It follows naturally, that as the world is a series of endless, intertwining processes, there is a relativity between man's mental and his technical or tool development. The quack sociologist, therefore, who would read into the expression of change embodied in social evolution, merely a greater indirection between man and nature as a consequence of brain development, is obviously off the track of scientific research. He overlooks the inter-relation between mind and matter, the basic fact that mind as a bodily function only exists because of the relation of the brain-organ to material outside of it. As the brain-organ can only receive impressions that are a reflex of



human experience, it follows that the expansion of the objects of thought—due to man's ever existent organic need of adapting himself to his conditions—will create a similar expansion in thought itself. The technical development involved in the expansion of the objects of thought, thus casts its reflex upon brain-development.

As thought cannot be perceived alone, but only in connexion with material to be thought of, ideas can only expand in the degree allowed by the technical or material evolution.

If wisdom is not conditioned by circumstances in this way, then the development of philosophy through its successive stages—from the traditional notion of the soul as a very thin or subtle form of matter, incapable of being grasped by the intellect, to the views respectively of Plato and Aristotle, and onwards again to Descartes, Kant, Hegel, and Bergson—is an insoluble enigma.

Reflection upon that development, however, and comparison with the development of the view as to historic causation, indicates the sociological fact, that a restricted experience necessarily meaning a restricted consciousness, every stage of technical progress casts off its own mental reflex. Man adapts himself to his condition, and in the process of adaptation the material conditions are reflected in his mental development. As Dr. Anton Pannekoek says:—"In times of primitive communism, social ideas could not help being simple There being no clash between personal and social interests, men had 'no conception of a deep chasm between good and bad." In primitive communist society, the commodity form of production had not yet been reached, and so its mental expression lay as yet hidden in the womb of time. With the development of the social labour process, and thus of the mysterious contradiction between the individual and the social, the social and economic cleavage in society, although unrecognized, was bound to cast off a corresponding mental expression.

Only upon the basis of the Marxist conception of history, blended with the proletarian science of Dietzgen, can that development be The reader who still finds an ecstatic joy in the cold. clammy embrace of idealism may very profitably wrestle with the following sociological phenomena:—(1) The dualism in mental development, that great and profound discoveries frequently indicate. Priestley and Cavendish, Kant and Laplace—with the Nebula hypothesis, Darwin and Wallace, and Marx and Engels—with the materialist conception of history are but a few instances.

These men by patient, independent experience, arrived at the same conclusions at much the same time. Query—if it was not the material conditions reflecting themselves in the mental expression that produced this result. What was it?

(2)—"Out of the immensity of humanity individuals, families, and races spring up which tend to raise themselves above the common level. Painfully they climb abrupt heights, reach the summit of power, of wealth, of intelligence, of talent, and once having attained, are precipitated below and disappear in the abysses of madness and degeneracy. Death is the great leveller; whilst annihilating all that rise, it democratizes humanity" (Jacoby).

Lombroso in his Man of Genius developed this law, but it may be interesting to quote Ferri: "Everything which is too much above or too much below the human average, an average which is raised with time, but which is of absolute value for each historic period—dies out and disappears. The cretin, the man of genius, the pauper and the millionaire, the dwarf and the giant, are so many natural and social monstrosities, and nature strikes them inexorably with degeneracy or sterility, whether they be the product of organic life or the effect of the social organization. It is also an inevitable destiny for all families that possess any sort of monopoly—monopoly of power, wealth or talent—to see their last offspring become mad or sterile or commit suicide, and finally be extinguished."

Query—What was the mental condition of Neitzsche, Schopenhauer, Poe, and Wilde, when they stepped "off this mortal coil?"

The relativity, which is Dietzgen's main theme is well illustrated by the working of this law. Only the universe is absolute, all else is Genius is no more absolute than is the scent of a rose, or the concept pain that follows the impact of a well delivered boot with your body. Just as consciousness develops from unconsciousness, and so is related to it, so is genius and its opposite, insanity, The seemingly absolute is always conditioned. likewise allied. The inter-relation between comprehension and matter that can be comprehended, between the stage of economic development, and its mental reflex can alone furnish the clue to this and similar sociological mysteries. "Ye are of the earth, earthy." enter Marx, Engels, Dietzgen: exit Descartes, Kant and Hegel.

1 6 E. ARCHBOLD.



### Press Cuttings

#### What about the C.L.C.?

"Labour has not really thought about education. It has no philosophy of education, and it has nothing like adequate knowledge of the philosophy which is actually being applied by those administering education, a philosophy which labour would never approve if it understood. A real working-class interest in education and a working-class educational point of view are essential to a progressive democracy."

—Daily News and Leader, September 5th.

#### The "Star" is Sarcastic!

"Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's remark (at the Newport Congress) that 'all their doctrines were not handed down to them somewhere in 1860 by somebody who wrote a few phrases' (sic) will be appreciated by the Marxist fanatics who insist on regarding Das Kapital as a work of inspiration."—The Star, September 6th.

#### Mr. Garvin Speaks

"The working classes have grievances, many and serious, but they will not be assuaged by an application of the theories of Marx and Lassalle, or the more recent panaceas of the French Syndicalist school. . . . The best cure for labour troubles is higher wages. The only party which now presents that cure to the working men of Great Britain is the party of Tariff Reform."—The Observer, Sept. 8th.

#### Good Advice from our Betters

"We do not for a moment urge that the wage-earner should be passively content with the advance he has secured mainly thro' the exertions of other people. His duty is to work for a still further advance, and the line he has to follow is neither Syndicalism nor Socialism, but the development of his own skill and intelligence and trustworthiness, so that he may be able to give MORE to the world and therefore [?] claim more from it."—The Daily Graphic, Sept. 9th

F. J. H.

