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TWOPENCE

The "Plebs" League

Object

To further the interests of the Central Labour College, for working men and women, at London, and to assist in the formation of similar institutions elsewhere, all of these institutions to be controlled by the organized Labour bodies.

Methods

The holding of an Annual Meet: the issuing of a monthly Magazine, the pages of which shall be open to any proposed application of reason to human problems: and the formation of Local Branches to promote the object of the League, and for the study of Social Questions, History, and Economics—from the working-class standpoint.

Membership

All Students (R. C. and C. L. C.), past and present (Resident and Corresponding) and Sympathizers are eligible for membership

Each Member shall pay 1/- a year towards the Central Fund for general expenses in connexion with the Annual Meet, &c.

Management

An Executive of five members elected annually, and the Editor of Magazine, who shall be responsible as to publication and meets, &c.

The Magazine shall be 2d. per copy, 2½d. post free.

Subscriptions payable in advance: Quarterly 7½d., Half Yearly 1/3, Yearly 2/6

✉ The Sixth Annual Meet will be held in London (Bank Holiday), August, 1914

G. SIMS, Secretary-Treasurer

To whom all P.O.'s should be made payable

13 Penywern Road, Earls Court,
London, S.W.

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Will You Help?

In May No. we wrote:

We invite all our readers, who are sufficiently interested to make a little sacrifice to save the Central Labour College, to obtain 4/- a month till July next, or pay £1 in the most convenient form.

We want £500 by July next! we should like it in monthly instalments of £100. If YOU cannot give it you can probably get it off your friends or workmates, or Union, or Society.

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Bügge, Miss	2 0	Collected: p.p. H. Slack—	
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EDITORIAL

THE report of the lecture given by Edward Bernstein at Budapest recently—a translation of which appears elsewhere in the Magazine—is of great interest and importance to the working-class movement, however little that fact may be

Fact and Theory generally appreciated. There has been, is, and will be, a number of people who imagine that Theory is of no account, of no importance, may indeed be a real danger to the progress of our movement. To such people Fact is the staff of life. There is a good deal of truth in both contentions, and also a great deal of nonsense. When we say that Theory is necessary to a movement, what else do we imply than that the Theory is correct—i.e., based on the facts? When we speak of "judging by the facts" we imply that *we understand* the facts—i.e., we theorise. The point is worth a little attention and consideration, more particularly in relation to the experience and proposed action of the workers. There is a mass of social experience which appears to be related solely to individuals, because its expression is denied all manifestation except in or through persons: e.g. great wealth and extreme poverty, non-employment and unemployment. All these manifestations of our social order demand explanation, and obtain it more or less. We have the type of "explanation" which aims at proving that "wealth" and "morality" mean the same thing, and that by "morality" are implied the ordinary bourgeois conceptions, viz. thrift, sobriety, honesty, &c. Such, for example, was the theory behind the famous declaration of the late Pierpont Morgan that no man without "character," no matter how wealthy, would be allowed to carry on business with the great American financial interests. There is also the "explanation" of the ever-green Mr. Mallock, that "wealth" and "ability" are interchangeable terms. On the other hand we have the Charles Booths and the Seebohm Rowntrees, who give us the facts of extreme poverty with the implication that this is more or less the nature of things, "always has been and always will be," and whose only hope is some mixture of State paternalism and private charity to remedy the most glaringly hideous details of this Providential dispensation. And so on, blatant or apologetic, the defenders of the existing order proceed by praising or blaming the individual. And their theories—they allege!—are based on the facts.



THE theorisers and defenders of labour proceed on quite different lines, though the only clear-cut Theory of "wealth and poverty" as

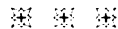
complementary, as necessary and dependent expressions of our relations of wealth production, is that which is known as **Marxism**: the theory which to-day has the most powerful party in the world behind it.

Whatever serious attempts have been made to deny the claims of Labour to a greater share of the social wealth, *as a right*, is practically confined to the exploding of the principal "Marxian fallacy" that labour alone creates value. This Theory is the basis of the Marxian concept of a new social order; it gives the key to past historical systems and struggles; it lays bare the framework of our present social system and explains immediate future developments in general outline; and, finally, it asserts the inevitability of a new social system where "wealth" and "poverty" as dependent expressions of material conditions will be unknown. It is not to be wondered at that this Theory already has raised, and continues to raise, a hornet's nest about the ears of its propagandists. The Theory merits this recognition of its revolutionary character by the supporters of the Capitalist System, and the more so as the evolution of the social order loudly proclaims its general truth.

The Marxian theory puts forward three principal propositions, viz. the class struggle, surplus value, and the materialist conception of history. The regular readers of our magazine are already familiar with the main points of these propositions, and new readers can obtain a concise statement of them from Engels' *Socialism Utopian Scientific* (Plebs 1½d. post free). The general Theory is the work of Marx and Engels; and their work is one of the most effective and glorious instances of literary collaboration ever known. Two conclusions drawn from the theory as to the future developments of the capitalist system have aroused great antagonism from the capitalist ranks, and much discussion and difference of opinion in the ranks of organized labour: viz., the concentration of capital into fewer and fewer hands; and the necessary and increasing disproportion of the returns to capital and labour. The first is known as the theory of the Concentration of Capital; the latter as the theory of increasing misery for the workers. The importance of the truth or otherwise of the points here mentioned can be readily observed. If the Marxists are right, there is no "community of interest" possible between capital and labour; on the contrary, instead of class antagonism being gradually toned down, and the interests of capital and labour becoming identical, the class struggle must become ever more acute, and labour must consciously set itself the task of creating a structure capable of taking over and administering the forces of production and distribution in opposition to the capitalist State. If Marxists are wrong, then there is no logical opposition to the theory of the "softening of class antagonisms" and the "gradual growth into Socialism" by way of a "political democracy controlling the State."

SIXTEEN years ago Edward Bernstein, friend and literary executor of Marx and Engels, dropped a bombshell into the ranks of the Socialists by his criticisms of the soundness of the Marxian Theory in what is considered its basic conclusions.

Revisionism Precisely in what degree and for what reasons Bernstein criticised the Theory, the report of his speech indicates. The new movement became known as Revisionism. People who had neither aptitude, time, nor desire to enter upon a close study of Marxism seized upon this movement initiated by Bernstein. Socialists, Anarchists, Liberals, Tories, all have found a more or less easy way of disposing of Marxism by pointing out that Marx's "friend and fellow worker," Bernstein, had been compelled to revise Marx "owing to later and unforeseen [by Marx] developments." Since few of the speakers (and fewer of their hearers) were at all conversant with Bernstein's argument except in a general way, and still less conversant with Marxism, the main result has been to strengthen the status of Reformists and to discredit a vigorous and militant self-sufficing movement among the proletariat. More particularly in English-speaking countries it has produced insular, one-sided sorts of freak-movements, such as "English-Socialism" and "American-Socialism," whose capitalist-utopian outlooks have resulted in programmes which have been "pinched" by their capitalist opponents, e.g. Lloyd George in England and Roosevelt in America. We wish them both joy of their "captures."



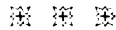
BERNSTEIN's latest pronouncement will lead to an urgent demand for the "Revision" of Anti-Marxist literature; and also a general fluttering in the dove-cotes of the Reformists, with the possible exception of the Fabians, who have never had any

Marx on theories to lose, or rather have too many to miss one.
Bernstein On the other hand it will give an impetus to the study of Marxism, and will strengthen the position of those who are not afraid to face the facts. We do not mean to imply that Revisionism is dead with the defection of Bernstein; for it is impossible to shut our eyes to the prevalence of a type of frankly "humanitarian reformists" who have nothing but a "spiritual impulse to do good." Our gratification lies in the fact that these people will be less able to shield themselves and their pseudo-socialism under the Red Flag of Internationalism.

The Bernstein position was answered in advance by Marx in his Preface to *Capital*. The "coming of Capitalism" to feudal Germany was bound to lead to all kinds of theoretical speculations. Already in the sixties of the last century the German pedagogues were busy telling Marx that his theories were all very well as an explanation of the course of capitalist development in England, but Germany was so different! Marx's answer was:—

Intrinsically it is not a question of the higher or lower degrees of development of the social organisms that result from the natural laws of capitalist production. It is a question of these laws themselves, of these tendencies working with iron necessity towards inevitable results. The country that is more developed industrially only shows, to the less developed, the image of its own future.

After sixteen years Bernstein acknowledges that in principle Marx was right, and he (Bernstein) was wrong—"iron necessity" has had its "inevitable results." And this admission of Bernstein's is the most important event in the International Movement for many years.



THAN Marx himself no one has been more insistent upon the principle that Theory must conform to Fact—not Fact to Theory. Early in his career as an agitator the necessity of having a clear understanding of the facts of economic science was brought home to him in the discussions which took place in the German movement of "the fighting forties" with regard to the laws of property and tariff questions. He set himself to master the theory of social science. Fate placed him in the classical country of capitalist development, England, and he set about his investigations with a thoroughness and application that has never been surpassed. In practical business detail he had the advice and assistance of his friend and fellow worker, Engels, then in business in Manchester. Monumental learning, a phenomenal capacity for work, and, allied to a capacity for mastery of detail, a genius for generalization, all these qualities resulted in the building-up of a Theory of social evolution which has emerged triumphantly after 50 years' of critical attacks, and to-day leaves its critics astounded at its range and foresight. In short, Fact has amply justified Marx's Theory in all its important conclusions. "Marxism has every reason to be satisfied." The puny attacks of our enemies and the mistaken zeal of our Revisionist friends—due to their emphasis of passing features of capitalism both in new and old countries—leaves Marxism more firmly grounded than ever. Concentration of capital everywhere—even Sidney Webb is able to see this!—and increasing disproportion of the division of wealth between capital and labour are everywhere evidenced by the growth of the militant class parties of labour the world over, leaving the Marxists the strongest party numerically in the world to-day. With the growing strength of the Marxist, and given a more general understanding of the "abiding things of Marxism" the future of the world's workers is anything but gloomy, for

BY THIS SIGN WE SHALL CONQUER.

The Principle of Authority

[This article was published in an Italian labour publication in 1873, in the midst of the Bakunin controversy. It was recently unearthed by Comrade N. Riasanoff and published in the *Neue Zeit*, from which this translation was made for the *New Review* by RICHARD PERTIN.]

SOME time ago a number of Socialists commenced a veritable crusade against that which they call the principle of authority. To condemn any action, they believe it to be sufficient to represent it as being authoritative. This summary method leads to so many absurdities that it is necessary to make a closer study of the matter. Authority in the sense in which it is used here means the subjection of the will of another to our will. Hence, authority pre-supposes subordination on the part of the other. Now, from the fact that these two words have an evil sound and that the relationship expressed thereby is dis-pleasing to the subordinated factor, the question arises whether there is any means to abolish this relationship, whether—under the given social conditions—we can create another social order in which there will be no occasion for this authority, in which it will consequently vanish. If we study the economic, industrial and agrarian conditions that form the basis of the present bourgeois society, we find that they have a tendency to replace the isolated action of an individual by the combined action of several individuals. For the small enterprises of isolated producers modern industry substitutes the great factories and workshops where hundreds of workers attend complicated machines driven by steam, in place of the waggon and cart we have railway trains, and steamers in place of rowing boats and sailing vessels. Even agriculture is gradually coming under the dominion of the machine and of steam, which slowly but relentlessly is displacing the small farmer by the great capitalist, who cultivates immense estates by the aid of wage-workers.

Wherever we may look, the independent action of separate individuals is being displaced by a combined action, by a complication of processes each of which is dependent upon the other. But when we say combined action we also say organization. Now, is it possible to have an organization without authority?

Let us suppose that a social revolution has dethroned the capitalists, whose authority now conducts the entire production and distribution of wealth. In order to place ourselves squarely upon the standpoint of the anti-authoritarians, let us suppose that the

earth and the means of production have become the collective property of the workers who use them. In this case will authority vanish or will it merely alter its form? Let us see.

As an example we shall take a cotton spinning plant. In order that the cotton may be transformed into yarn, it must pass through at least six successive operations, which usually take place in different rooms. In order to drive the machines we need an engineer to care for the engine, some mechanics for daily repairs, and many other unskilled workers to pass the product from one room to another, &c. All these workers, men, women and children, must begin and end their work at an hour that is determined by the authority of the steam, which is little concerned over individual autonomy. Hence from the very beginning it is necessary for the workers to agree upon the hours of labour, and as soon as these hours are fixed they must all keep to them without exception.

Then in every room and at every moment there arise questions of detail relative to the method of production, the distribution of the material, &c., which, if it is not desired to risk a sudden cessation of production, must be settled immediately. Now, whether they are settled by the decision of a delegate conducting one branch of the industry or by the decision of the majority, the will of the individual must comply, that is, these questions are authoritatively settled. The automatic mechanism of a great factory is tyrannical to a higher degree than are the small capitalists who exploit the workers. In regard to the working hours, at least, we might well inscribe over the doors of these factories: *Lasciate ogni autonomia, voi che entrate* (All autonomy abandon, ye who enter here). When man, by the aid of science and the inventive faculty, subdues the forces of nature, they avenge themselves by subjecting him who exploits them to a real despotism, which is independent of the social conditions. To do away with authority in the great industries would mean to abolish industry itself, to destroy the steam spinning plant in order to return to the spindle.

Let us take another example, a railway. Here the co-operation of an immense number of men is absolutely necessary, a co-operation that must take place at exactly specified hours if a terrible accident is to be avoided. Here the first necessity of the entire system is a dominating will that decides all subordinate questions, and it is immaterial whether this will is represented by a delegated person or by a committee that is elected to execute the decisions of the majority of the interested parties. We have to deal with an

authority in both cases. And more than that. What would happen to the very first train sent out if we were to abolish the authority of the railway officials over the persons travelling on it ?

But nowhere is the necessity of authority, and an absolute authority at that, so obvious as on a ship at sea. There the life and death of all on board depend at every moment upon the absolute and instantaneous subjection of all to the will of a single individual.

If I were to use this argument against the most rabid of the anti-authoritarians, they could give me the following reply : "Oh, that is true, but here it is not a question of authority that we confer upon a delegate, but of a commission." These people believe that they can change a thing by altering its name. And thus these deep thinkers make fun of the whole world.

Hence we see that on the one hand a certain authority, by whomsoever delegated, and on the other hand a certain subordination are things that, independently of the social organization, are forced upon us simultaneously with the material conditions under which we produce and distribute goods.

We also see that the material conditions of production and distribution are inevitably and to an increasing degree subjected to the influence of large industry and agriculture on a large scale, that hence the extent of this authority is becoming greater and greater. Therefore it is ridiculous to represent the principle of authority as absolutely bad and the principle of autonomy as absolutely good. Authority and autonomy are relative conceptions, and their range of validity alters with the various phases of social evolution.

Had the autonomists contented themselves with saying that the social organization of the future will admit of authority only within the unavoidable limits drawn by the conditions of production, then we would have been obliged to agree with them. But they are blind to all facts that make authority necessary, and fight passionately against the word itself.

Why do the anti-authoritarians not confine themselves to declaiming against political authority, against the State? All Socialists are agreed that the State and with it political authority will vanish as the result of the future social revolution; that is to say, that public functions will lose their political character and will be resolved into simple administrative functions supervising the social interests. But the anti-authoritarians demand that the

political State shall be abolished at one blow, even before the abolition of the social conditions that created it. They demand that the first act of the social revolution shall be the abolition of authority.

Have you ever witnessed a revolution, gentlemen? A revolution is certainly the most authoritative thing that there is, an act by which a portion of the population forces its will upon the other portion by rifles, bayonets and cannon, all very authoritative means. And the victorious party must maintain its rule by the terror that its weapons inspire in the reactionaries. And if the Paris Commune had not made use of the authority of an armed people against the bourgeoisie, would it have lasted longer than a day? Conversely, can we not reproach it for having used too little of this authority? Hence we face an inevitable alternative: either the anti-authoritarians do not themselves know what they are talking about, and in that case they are only creating confusion, or they do know, and in that case they are betraying the cause of the proletariat. In either case they are only serving the reaction.

FREDERICK ENGELS.

"The Shewing-up of Blanco Posnet"

A VERY successful (private) performance of Bernard Shaw's censored play, "The Shewing-up of Blanco Posnet," in which students of the College and members of the Women's League took part, was given at the College on Sunday evening, May 17th. The full-page photograph reproduced overleaf shows the scene when the woman is brought into the court-house during Blanco's trial for horse-stealing. On the left is the jury (R. Holder, Jack Williams, G. J. Maddocks, J. H. Pratt, J. S. Chaytor, B. Jonsson and C. Pendroy). At the back are the Elder (W. H. Mainwaring), and the Sheriff (H. O. Batho). In the foreground are Waggoner Joe (H. Booth), and Feemy Evans (Winifred Horrabin). On the right are Lottie (Ida Chaytor), Jessie (Mary Howarth), Babsy (Dorothy Horrabin), Hannah (Alice Smith), the Woman (Myfanwy Westrope), two of the Vigilance Committee (Ted Williams and Fred Murman), Strapper Kemp (F. G. Westrope), and Blanco Posnet (J. E. Horrabin). A special invitation performance for members of N.U.R. branches in London is to be given at the College on June 7th. Original Prints (10 ins. by 8 ins.) of all the photos reproduced can be obtained from *The Plebs*, price 2/3 each.

We regret that owing to want of space, the Second Series of *Letters on Logic* is unavoidably held over.



THE WOMAN (Myfanwy Westrope)—“I put the child in his arms . . . He said it was a little Judas kid, and that it was betraying him with a kiss, and that he'd swing for it.”



ELDER DANIELS (W. H. MAINWARING) to LABNCO POSNET (J. F. HERRIN):—

"It was drink that saved my character when I was a young man ; and it was the want of it that spoiled yours."



The FOREMAN of the JURY (R. HOLDER).

The SHERIFF (H. O. BATHO).

A Member of the Vigilance Committee (TED J. WILLIAMS).

COSTUME DESIGNER: JAMES H. HARRIS. STYLING: JANE BROWN. HAIR: MARY WHITE. MAKEUP: ANNE GREEN. PROP STYLING: JOHN BLACK. SET DESIGNER: ROBERT GOLD. LIGHTING: MICHAEL BLUE. SOUND: DAVID RED. EDITOR: SARAH PINK. EXECUTIVE PRODUCERS: JAMES HARRIS AND JANE BROWN. PRODUCED BY JANE BROWN. WRITTEN BY JANE BROWN. DIRECTED BY JANE BROWN.

Theory as a Social Force

THE other day the *Call* published an editorial article on "Theory as a Social Bogeyman." The author of the article points out the curious fact that there is a vast difference to the mind of the "average bourgeois" between a "crime" committed for its own sake, so to say, and the same action committed in pursuance of a "theory" which requires or justifies its commission. Our author further observes that:

You can do about what you darn please in the way of sabotage or divorce or gambling or blackmail or a hundred other things, provided you don't publicly proclaim that you have a theory that justifies them. When you do that the action that never took place becomes infinitely more terrifying than a thousand that actually occur, but which the perpetrators disclaim to hold any theories about. They do them and say nothing, and nobody ever gets very excited. The law punishes them, to be sure, when caught, but if they told the judge that they did so because of a "theory" they hold, their punishment would be increased tenfold.

He then proves his thesis from our every-day experience:

Every week or so some alleged "black-hander" throws a bomb into an Italian store or tenement hallway for purpose of blackmail. The matter is disposed of in a short item of half a dozen lines, perhaps a dozen, if somebody is killed. The wretched little Silverstein, who some years ago threw his pretty little bomb in Union Square and killed himself and a bystander, got column upon column of space because he was described as an "anarchist," and therefore was popularly accredited with a "theory" of bomb-throwing.

The other day, according to the press, a bunch of striking waiters through some bricks through the plate glass windows of the Hotel Astor. Whether this is true or not, nobody got excited about it. It could be disposed of in one short paragraph, and it was so disposed of. But let someone march up Broadway with one solitary brick in his hand and heave it through the hotel window, get arrested and use a "theory" to defend himself when before the magistrate, and what would happen? Why, the *Sun* and its contemporaries would use columns to describe the fearsome social menace of man with a "theory" throwing a brick.

And then our author proceeds to poke some rather clever fun at the expense of the stupid "average bourgeois" and his editorial mouth-pieces for being frightened at the bogeyman, Theory, while regarding with comparative equanimity actual Fact.

The phenomenon observed is undoubtedly true and interesting. But are the "average bourgeois" and his editorial mouth-pieces really so stupid? Is the laugh really on them?

Let us see.

First of all: are the "average bourgeois" and his editorial mouth-pieces the only ones who are afraid of that bogeyman, Theory? How about the intelligent, class-conscious, proletariat and its editorial and other mouth-pieces?

In May, 1912, the representatives of the intelligent class-conscious part of the working class of this country met in convention at Indianapolis. The convention was confronted with two important facts of the labour movement: One a live, actual one; and one of the bogeyman variety. The confession of the McNamaras and the revelations which preceded and followed it showed an alarming prevalence of the use of violence and the "criminal" destruction of life and property by organized labour in its struggle against organized capital. At the same time appeared that a certain portion of the working class was beginning to incline to a theory which justified the use of violence and the destruction of property in labour disputes, although not in quite as reprehensible a form as that actually practiced by the McNamaras and their associates.

What did the convention do?

Why, it did nothing about the crime and violence that were actually committed by the McNamaras and their associates. But it got terribly excited about the alleged theories of Haywood and his associates. To use our author's own phrasology, Haywood's "action that never took place became infinitely more terrifying" than the McNamara's "thousand that actually did occur," because the latter acts belonged to the class about which "the perpetrators disclaimed to hold any theories." The excitement into which the convention was thrown by that bogeyman, Theory, resulted in the adoption of some very stringent regulations—against the bogeyman, not against the actual fact.

Art. II, Sec. 6 of the national constitution of the Socialist party strictly prohibits and penalizes the "advocacy" of crime, violence and sabotage. According to the supreme law of the Socialist party if a striking waiter or sympathizer heaves a brick through the plate glass window of the Hotel Astor he goes scot free, provided he holds no theories about it. But if he should attempt to justify his action by a theory, or even leave the brick alone but hold the theory, dire punishment will overtake him. "For"—says the national constitution of the Socialist party—"when you have a theory that justifies such actions, the action that never took place becomes infinitely more terrifying than a thousand that actually occur, but which the perpetrators disclaim to hold any theories about."

Was the Socialist party convention simply stupid when it adopted "Section Six"? By no means. It may have been wrong—we believe it *was* wrong—but it was far from stupid. And even less so are the capitalist when they look with unruffled countenance upon thousands of actual infractions of its laws and its morality, but "view with alarm" the advent of any theory that justifies such infractions. The fact is that a social theory is not a mere "bogeyman" but a tremendous social force. That is why the bourgeoisie spends such enormous amounts of money and energy to combat all Socialist theories, particularly that body of theory known as Marxism. That is why it supports innumerable institutions of learning and other organs of public opinion whose chief function is to expose the "fallacies" of the Marxian theory. That is why the discovery of any alleged "contradiction" in that body of theory, and every negation thereof or departure therefrom by any portion of working class are hailed with so much delight by the capitalist class, particularly its more intelligent spokesmen. And that is also why many of its cleverest spokesmen have taken to scientific nihilism, attempting to shield themselves against the menacing theories by the denial of all theory.

But the menace of certain theories does not consist merely in their power as a weapon in the social struggle, but even more so in the symptomatic relation which they bear toward that struggle. The appearance and spread of a certain social theory is the expression of certain social and economic changes which are taking place in the body politic. Notwithstanding the fact that its apologists are constantly endeavoring to disprove the correctness of the Materialistic Conception of History, the capitalist class feels instinctively that this menacing theory is correct. It feels in its bones that these menacing theories are the translation into ideas of very substantial and material changes of social relations, consequent upon deep-seated economic changes, and foreshadowing revolutionary shifts of social power.

Far from being stupid, the capitalist class displays remarkable sagacity in appraising "crime" and theories justifying "crime" at their true respective worth. "Crime" as "crime," that is, the infraction of laws the binding force of which is not denied by the infractors, has no social significance whatever, except in so far that a multiplicity of "crime" shows a diseased condition of the social organism. But a theory justifying certain "crimes," or rather denying the binding force of the laws declaring certain acts to be "crimes," shows the advent of a new morality, the rise of a lower class in revolt. "Crime" in the ordinary acceptation of the word, is always an individual act. Even the so-called McNamara "conspiracy" was the act of the individual conspirators notwithstanding the great number of persons involved and even the greater number of persons who, although not directly involved, were privy to it by shutting one eye upon the doings of the "conspirators." This crime did not, therefore, in any way menace the existence of the capi-

talist social order. The capitalist system can take care of its criminals through the regular channels—courts, sheriffs, jails. The McNamara affair therefore, notwithstanding its magnitude, caused only a ripple of excitement in the organs of capitalist public opinion, some demands for a strict enforcement of the "criminal laws" here, and some sad reflections and searchings of heart there. The latter were due to the fact that the magnitude of the affair showed to the capitalist class the diseased condition of its system, in this country at least. Many a reformer and progressive must have thought that the powers that be in this country must have driven things too far when so many conservative trade-unionist, thorough believers in our system of law and order, were driven to commit such serious infractions of its rules and regulations. This was clearly a case for reformation of abuses. But there was no cause for serious alarm.

But it is quite different when instead of a widespread "conspiracy" for the secret individual infraction of "law and order," there is a widespread open defiance of our whole social system in the name of a Theory. A Theory, and particularly a widespread theory, is the offspring of the intellect and moral consciousness of masses in their mass-capacity. A theory which denies the accepted canons of morality and runs counter to the established principles of "law and order" is the accompaniment of a class revolt. Its mere appearance shows the inception of that revolt. Its spread shows the growth of that revolt.

Surely, here is "menace" enough.

L.L.B., [oudin] in the *New Review*

"The Survival of Marxism"

ON the 15th of March last Edward Bernstein gave a lecture, the significance of which was made evident by its title: "The Survival of Marxism." With this lecture, the Revisionist movement, which began sixteen years ago with Bernstein's series of articles, "The Problems of Socialism," may be regarded as ended. Examination of the Marxian theories in the light of newly-discovered facts must, of course, always continue. Bernstein adheres to certain of his own independent conclusions, as for example, his opinion about economic crises, and the further progress of the accumulation of capital. But his estimate of the significance of Marx's scientific work has been completely changed. When Bernstein began his campaign sixteen years ago, not only were the bourgeoisie exultant that the Marxist doctrine had been attacked in its basis, but genuine socialists also believed that they had entered into an era of a newer theoretical basis of social science. In his

lecture at Budapest, Bernstein arrives at this final conclusion—that Marxism to-day needs to be modified in certain details, but that all the developments have fully corroborated its fundamental principles and prophecies.

Bernstein's great virtue,—his intellectual integrity,—which sixteen years back caused him to make public the doubts which harassed him before he had come to a clear understanding, is now revealed afresh. Free from dogmatism, he declares again with manly frankness the point of view he has attained to-day with respect to Marxism. He thinks otherwise to-day than sixteen years ago; the centre of gravity has shifted; it lies no more in Revisionism, but in the abiding things of Marxism.

The episode of Revisionism, which has long since been outgrown, is definitely ended by Bernstein's lecture. The causes of its rise—and decline—are perfectly clear on the basis of the Marxian doctrine. A period of good conditions had encouraged the superstition that a "forward development into socialism" was possible. The sharp storms of recent years have swept these dreams away, and led back to the abiding principles of Marxism all those who would be honest, and who are able to exercise self-criticism.—*The Kampf* (Vienna).

Bernstein began his lecture with an analysis of Marxism. To define Marxism was no easy task, since different schools of socialists conceive it in different ways. Some see in Marxism a revolutionary outlook upon society; others an evolutionary tendency. Marx himself once said that "he was no Marxist." And one found these different views about Marxism existing in any single country, as well as in different countries. This was quite natural as Marx himself had shown that the conditions and possibilities of evolution differed in differing states. Marxism was not a handbook to political tactics; on the contrary, it was in relation to politics what biology was to medical science.

Marxism was based on three main principles: a philosophy of history; a theory of the evolution of capital; and the doctrine of the class struggle. The Marxist philosophy of history was historical materialism.

The Marxian theory has survived because it explained, from the economic development of society, the laws of the evolution of human society. Historical materialism taught that the tool formed the foundation of human culture. On the development of the technique of the tool depended the lordship of man over

Nature. Technique also determined the form of the mode of production ; and, further, the manner of the organization of society, justice, morality, modes of thought, and culture in general.

The Marxian philosophy of history was of the greatest significance. Marx signified in Sociology what Darwin signified in Biology. It was interesting to note that both of these scientific theories saw the light of day in one and the same year, 1859. Historical materialism had emerged triumphant from all attacks, and all attempts to discredit it had left it uninjured.

At the second part of the Marxian theory, however—the analysis of capitalist production—the attacks were most frequently directed. In particular Marx's theory of value and surplus-value threatened to put all previous political economy on the scrap-heap. The attacks on the theory of value filled volumes. Marx determined the value of commodities by the labour-time socially necessary at any given period. This definition was, however, not quite complete. Value had a composite character and the Marxian theory did not sufficiently emphasize this. One thing, however, could not be denied, that labour ranks first of all as a determinant of value. The significance of the Marxian theory of value was, however, over-estimated. Much more significant was the theory of surplus-value. It was an undoubted fact that the worker created more by his labour than he received in wages, and the capitalist who obtained the surplus-value from the workers had to distribute it as profit, rent, interest, &c. The struggle between employer and worker over surplus-value led to an increasing concentration of businesses. The great businesses became ever greater, the small, smaller, less. The theory of surplus-value, as also the theory of concentration, had remained unshaken. The concentration was apparent through life itself: the great weaving industries and the gigantic warehouses bore witness to it. Only in the land-industry was the tendency different. The reason for this was: in the weaving industry production was mechanical; in the land-industry, organic. In spite of the machinery applied to land-industry the small holding had persisted, and the small-holder had been able, in some respects, to make headway against the capitalist farmer. On the other hand, it could not be denied that in all civilized states the numbers of those engaged in land industry, as opposed to those of the mechanical industries and trades had diminished continuously. The population of Germany had risen in a relatively short time from 40 millions to 67 millions, and this additional 27 millions had been applied to the development of the mechanical trades and industries.

Then Bernstein passed on to the theory of accumulation. His view on this question was that the Marxian theory was faulty. According to him, gigantic capitals accumulated into fewer hands, millionaires increase, but the average incomes mount in still greater proportion. Statistics showed that the greater incomes had not risen in the same ratio as smaller incomes. The famous giant fortunes of America must be judged from other points of view. The originating causes of these great fortunes was not the accumulations of capital, but the giving and distributing of enormous landed properties to the railway companies. Further the joint stock companies and other collective, state and municipal undertakings had made for the greater distribution of capital. To-day capital is already in the hands of a thousand shareholders. Accumulation progresses therefore but not in the manner that Marx predicted ; the concentration of production does not keep pace with the accumulation of capital.

Bernstein then dealt with the theory of crisis in industry and was of the opinion that the Marxian theory of crisis had been confirmed, with some slight modifications. Industrial crises became ever more frequent up to 1890. From this period there had been a change, the crises generally passed in two years and then ensued three or four years of a quiet condition of industry. A decisive factor of the first importance, which is influential here, is the price of the necessaries of life, and these have become ever dearer lately. This much is certain, the regulation of crisis, their extent and frequency, had not moved along the lines suggested by Marx. As a consequence the prophecy of Marx as to coming industrial collapse must be revised. Still the fundamental thought of this theory of Marx was right. In the hands of the great American trusts, for example, such an immense power was concentrated to-day, that it depended merely on their will or caprice to crush millions of values and of lives. The possibility of economic breakdown is, therefore present, if indeed in another form from what Marx himself expected it. Over against the industrial collapse there stands indeed the alternative of State ownership.

Bernstein next spoke of the theory of the ever-increasing misery of the proletariat. The manner of living of the proletariat being taken as a test it was an established fact that the lot of the working class had become neither more consolidated, nor surer and better. The working men received indeed a higher wage, still the needs of a higher wage of the working class had grown ; conformably with the rise of culture on all sides the need for culture of the proletariat had also risen. An increase of poverty, of distress had not

ensured; on the contrary the disparity between the individual classes had increased. There was to-day in the existence level and in the social position of the workers and the capitalists a much greater difference than formerly. Hence followed the need for the organization of the working class and its struggle for culture.

Bernstein went on to speak of the third part of the Marxian theory, the class struggle. He held that just because the cleavage between the workers and the remaining strata of society had become ever greater, because the class struggle had become more and more accentuated, it was not to be doubted that human society faced a gigantic transformation. This great transformation would completely alter the politico-judicial views of mankind in general. The mightiest mainspring of this transformation to-day was the working class.

As a result of his survey Bernstein arrived at the final decision: that Marxism must be modified in some points, but that developments had established its deepest content and its greatest thoughts. He ended with an historical anecdote: when the rebels besieged King Charles of England they sent out two regiments of soldiers to arrest him: The King asked the commander of the soldiers "Where is your warrant?" The commander opened the window of the room and showed outside the serried ranks of the waiting armed soldiery "Here!" The King surrendered forthwith to this argument, and said, resignedly, "A very evident signature!" If the spirit of Marx were summoned forth and asked, what evidences he could furnish for his theory, then would he point to the hosts of the millions of organized workers, and say: "See, these are my evidences!"

The numerous audience listened to the lecture with marked interest and frequently applauded.

Volksstimme (Budapest) March 19th, 1914.

Translated for the "Plebs" by Mr. A. J. Hacking, M.A.

In response to a request for his opinion on the Bernstein lecture Comrade Karl Kautsky writes: Bernstein acknowledges that all the important doctrines of Marxism are true, the Materialist Conception of History, the Theory of Surplus Value, the Concentration of Capitals, of the coming breakdown of capitalism, of the Class War and its growing intensity. The Class War of Labour will modify humanity and bring Socialism.

All these doctrines, declined, by revisionism, are acknowledged by Bernstein. Marxism has every reason to be satisfied.

Canadian History

FOREWORD.—Gustavus Myers might well lay claim to the title: Historian of the American Continent. His latest essay to the earning of this title—*The History of Canadian Wealth*—has just been published by Messrs. Kerr and Co., of Chicago, U.S.A. (2 vols., 4.6 each, from *Plebs*). Myers does not view the writing of history as a light task, as will be seen from his Preface to the work reproduced herewith, but he has the true investigator's love and respect for the task in hand and the necessary capacity and application to adequately fill the bill. Thus we get an immense amount of material from dull official documents, by judicious selection and a genius for the things that count, transformed into a history that is a romance, equal in its grip to any of the wonder-tales of the Spanish Main—with the additional advantage of a substantial increase to one's store of knowledge.

Primitive accumulation as here, and elsewhere, set forth by Myers is really a case of "self-help," if not exactly according to the formula of that old puritan, Samuel Smiles. The personal virtues of these primitive capitalists are shown to have consisted of an ability to cheat, lie, thief and murder the simple natives. That was in the 16th and 17th centuries. In the 18th and 19th centuries the more civilized methods and practices of robbing the public treasury, selling concessions and bribing officials, and forced labour, replaced the old heathenist practices of the early patriots. Every "patriotic citizen," and certainly every socialist should read these volumes, and the latter especially will find this material useful in dealing with the "foundation of our glorious Empire." Plebeians should interest themselves in getting the whole of the Myers histories' placed in public and club libraries.

THE rapid concentration of wealth in Canada is no mere fancy. Already, it is estimated, less than fifty men control £800,000,000, or more than one-third of Canada's wealth as expressed in railways, banks, factories, mines, land and other properties and resources.

To say that this small group of individuals control so vast a wealth and the agencies of its production does not imply that they own it all. Between ownership and control there is a difference, yet the reverse of that commonly supposed. By means of their control of financial markets and distributive systems, a small number of men may effectively control sources of wealth which

still may remain under individual ownership, as witness the case of the farms, of which control farmers throughout Canada are bitterly complaining. Also it is not necessary for magnates to own all of the stock of railroads, banks, factories, and mines; much of that ownership may be distributed among small shareholders, yet by their predominantly large holdings of stock, and through their power of directorship, those magnates can and do control those diversified, and often financially interconnected, sources of wealth.

The process of centralization of wealth has been steadily going on for nearly thirty-five years. The removal of unrestricted competition was first evidenced in the case of the railways of Canada. Beginning in about the year 1879, a considerable number of smaller and formerly independent railways (some of which had already amalgamated) were absorbed by the large systems such as the Grand Trunk Railway, and later by the Canadian Pacific Railway, and other railways. Of more than 140 separate and privately owned railways chartered and constructed at different times, a large number are now integral parts, either by purchase or by lease, of the main and great railway systems in Canada.

The highly centralized character of the Canadian banks is well known; the branches of the important banks extend over an immense territory; twenty-six of these institutions have 2,888 branches; the Royal Bank alone has 338 branches, and the Bank of Commerce 367.

Perhaps nowhere in the world can be found so intensive a degree of close organization as among the bank interests in Canada. In the United States there are no less than 18,000 banking institutions, of which about 6,000 are under Federal charters, the remainder under State Laws. While a small group of financial industrial magnates exercise a preponderating control over the large banks, and in turn practically sway many of the small banks in the United States, and thereby concentrate in themselves the powers of a financial Trust, still the control there is nothing like, in compact centralization, that existing in Canada. The immense capacity of this concentration in controlling the finances and every sphere of activity dependent upon finance, is so obvious that it requires no explanation. To these ramifications of power is added another huge power possessed by the Canadian banks. This is their privilege, allowed by law, of putting out enormous quantities of their privately-issued money, or in other words, bank notes—a power far exceeding even the great power held by banks in other countries.

Of the rapidity of concentration of industrial concerns in Canada much less is generally known. From January, 1909, to January, 1913, there were 56 industrial mergers or amalgamations which absorbed 248 individual companies. The total capitalization of 206 of these individual companies was about £33,400,000; this amount was increased with the amalgamating process. The authorized capitalization, including bonds, of these 56 industrial mergers was almost £91,400,000, or to be precise, £91,387,653. Many of the large individual companies thus absorbed were themselves the outgrowth of previous combinations.

Aside from the consideration of native Canadian capital, the amount of British capital put in Canada has been stupendous. In 1911, Sir George Paish, one of the editors of the *London Statist*, estimated that £372,541,000 of British capital had gone to Canada, chiefly in the form of investments; of that sum £223,740,000 was represented by investments in Canadian railways. Since 1911, at least £120,000,000 more of British capital has been placed in Canada.

The total of British capital in Canada is, therefore, more than £400,000,000. Capital in Canada from various Continental countries of Europe is computed at £28,000,000. Of the £100,000,000 of United States' capital active in Canada, £36,000,000 is represented in 300 factories which, to a great extent, are branches of the American Trusts.

The process of centralization is, it is needless to say, still continuing and has by no means reached its culmination. Economic forces are more powerful than statute laws, particularly so seeing that what is called the machinery of Government is administered at all times either directly by the beneficiaries or by the representatives of those ruling forces, no matter by what political name they may be pleased to call themselves.

In such an era, with fundamental economic questions—that is to say, problems of existence itself—pressing harder and harder upon the attention of those that produce the wealth, such a work as this is essential as a means of diffusing information. Since the control of so vast an aggregation of wealth is centred in so few hands, the questions of whence came these overawingly great private fortunes and of the evolution of this centralized wealth become of paramount interest. What was the origin of much of these mighty masses of capital? What their particular sources? By what means was this immense material wealth extracted, by what methods possessed?

To give a vital survey of these developments is the purpose of this work. Necessarily, the investigation takes us back to remote

times, for the aggregations of wealth that we see to-day are not in essence a sudden appearance, but are the result of cumulative methods, processes and transactions extending through centuries.

It will be seen that from the earliest searchings for wealth in Canada to the present time there has been a vital, definite connexion, the developments of each successive period bearing a close relevancy to those preceding. From primitive powers conferred, and from fortunes amassed in fur trading, land and commerce, came the wealth often invested later in mercantile establishments, land companies, banks, railway projects, mines and factories; and all of these pyramidically reproduced still other accumulations of wealth progressively invested and reinvested. Did we not trace this wealth to its primary sources, and give a continuous depiction of its development, the narrative would be headless, unfinished and disconnected, and leave some of the most important facts enshrouded in mystery. Although long ago it was recognized that they who control the means by which a dependent class must live, control the livelihood and condition of that class, yet it is not inordinately astonishing that thus far no economic work tracing the sources of these accumulations of private wealth in Canada has preceded these present volumes.

The reasons for this deficiency are not obscure. One reason is that the general attention has hitherto been focussed on other subjects and issues, ignoring the economic factors, the all-important significance of which was not adequately understood. With the growth of general intelligence and the accompanying great pressure of economic considerations, this understanding has been intensified, and is becoming still more so.

Another reason has been that sources of information, such as histories, upon which the general public has had to depend for knowledge, have been absurdly and erroneously made to revolve around personalities instead of social and economic forces. Various arid volumes have come bulkily from the presses, but they either give no account of the currents of these successive economic forces, or they but incidentally mention only a few vague, isolated facts. In the mistaken aim to present personalities as the determiners of events, these writers have far subordinated or ignored the realities, unconscious of the fact that such personalities are but the creatures of distinct, and often sharply contesting, economic forces.

Hence it is that to get the underlying, authentic facts—as much as possible, at least, from the available original sources—the author

of these present volumes has had to dig laboriously into the Canadian archives, and tediously explore great numbers of official documents. Great as is the mass of facts here related, it can be well understood that the entire range of facts covering all the multitude of transactions of centuries can never be given in full. Many of them never found their way into official documents, and in other cases important governmental papers and returns, embodying certain definite valuable facts and connecting links, were never published.

Nevertheless a myriad of documents have been accessible to anyone animated by an aim to make a sincere quest for the facts. That many, if not most of them, have never heretofore been consulted is a striking commentary upon the character of conventional, so called history. Studiously or misinformingly avoiding the basic facts, and interpreting human progress and activities by the light of such superficialities, these products (whatever their motive) had the result of conserving outworn traditions and perpetuating fallacious conceptions.

Expanding intelligence, however, is not content with narratives obsolete in treatment, misleading in substance and spiritless in character. No longer is the diverting, obscuring or glozing of the facts accepted; actualities, not appearances, are demanded. Having a knowledge of the fundamental facts we can be prepared to reject old standards and forms and unsatisfactory systems. We can then also rightly comprehend the nature of the processes that have resulted in conditions as we know them, and can directly apply that knowledge toward the obliteration of all that stands in the way of the full, unshackled social, industrial and intellectual development of mankind.

GUSTAVUS MYERS.

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