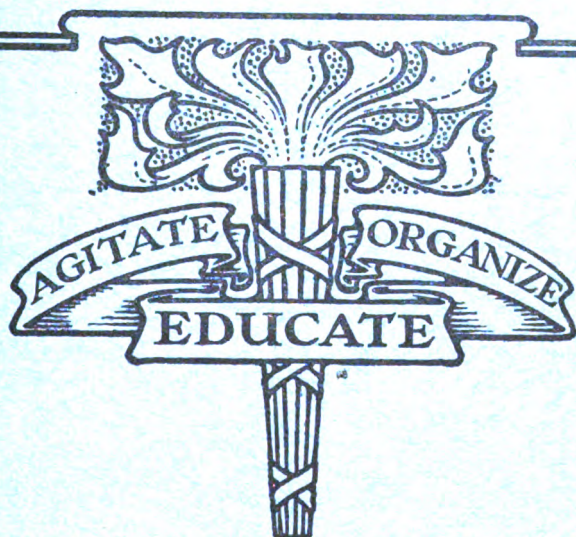


Vol. VII, No. 11

December, 1915

*The*  
**PLEBS**  
MAGAZINE

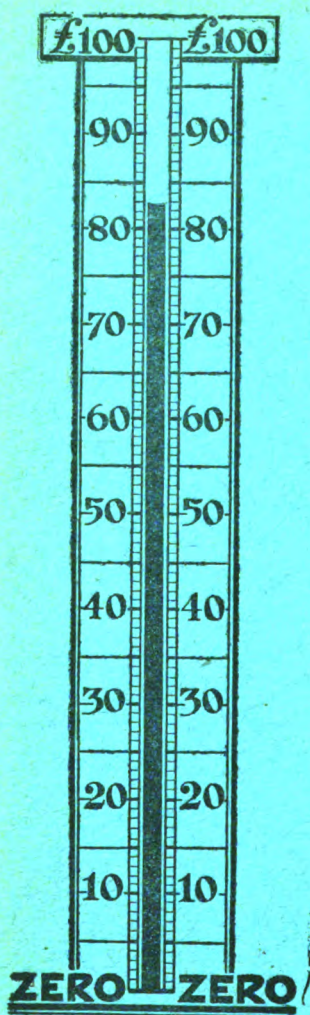


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**MONTHLY**

**TWOPENCE**



We have to  
get this  
down  
to

Zero

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Doing Your Bit?

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# THE PLEBS MAGAZINE

"I can promise to be candid but not impartial."

Vol. VII

December, 1915

No. 11

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## On "Educating" the "Democracy"

THERE appeared in the *Christian Commonwealth* of October 13th., under the title, "Making an Educated Democracy," an interview (by A Special Commissioner) with the Rev. Wm. Temple, M. A., President of the Workers' Educational Association. So brimful of points of interest was this article that I strongly recommend *Plebs* readers to procure a copy and ponder over it for themselves; in the space at my disposal I can only comment briefly on a point here and there.

The Special Commissioner introduces his subject by quoting one of those sonorous platitudes for which Burke is so justly admired—"a great empire and little minds go ill together." He proceeds to explain to us that what Burke had in mind was

the large-mindedness and magnanimity of thought of which political liberty is the secular expression. To Burke, imperial responsibilities . . . gave an opportunity for the practising of that *greater citizenship*\* which he himself so splendidly embodied.

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\* Italics, here and hereafter, are mine.

Which tempts one to remark that if the *Christian Commonwealth*, "the organ of the Progressive Movement in Religion and Social Ethics," has progressed no further in its political philosophy than Burke—the "impassioned advocate" of "helpless inaction," the abject worshipper of "social order"—then one need not be surprised at its enthusiasm for the W. E. A. Burke, one feels certain, would have been a whole-hearted supporter of that organization. The soothing vagueness of its aims, its uplifting atmosphere, its preference for words and phrases (such as "democracy") which have long since lost all sharpness of meaning and are now warranted quite safe for everyday use—all these would have been balm to Burke's rhetorical soul. But this is by the way.

Our interviewer, having created the necessary atmosphere of intellectuality and earnest endeavour, goes on to remark that the war

has given a strong impetus to all those movements which exist for the purpose of educating the democracy up to the level of its responsibilities.

He informs us that

several articles have already appeared in the *Christian Commonwealth* describing various phases of this educational movement, from the lately formed Council for the Study of International Relations to the University Extension Movement.

(Needless to remark, the C. L. C. is a "phase" which has not as yet been dealt with—except, as we shall see, that it crops up, like King Charles' head, in the course of this interview.)

Of all this activity, perhaps that of the W. E. A. is the most fundamental and direct. Its aims are clearly defined (!) It exists to stimulate and to satisfy the demand of working men and women for education. It does not seek to educate the leaders of the industrial movement only, or to manufacture a particular set of opinions and views, either political or economic; &c., &c.

But Plebeians know all this heart . . . . We are introduced, at last, to the actual presence of the President of the W. E. A., "in his study at St. James' Rectory, in Piccadilly." (The Piccadilly Rectory seems to have caused a momentary qualm in the heart of the Special Commissioner; but he hastens to assure us that there is no incongruity, ladies and gentlemen, "between the subject we were discussing and Mr. Temple's position as Rector of St. James'." It is indeed, "rather symbolical of the spirit of the W. E. A. that its President should be a man of his type and training." *Rather symbolical*. Dear excellent friend, we thank thee for that word. There follows brief biography and pen-portrait of the Rector—"says most revolutionary things in swift, headlong way

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**Have YOU sent your Shilling ?**

. . . . sobriety of mind . . . . modern in spirit and outlook . . . .” And just at this point, when the Plebeian, may be, is beginning to yawn a little, his eye will catch sight of two or three words with capital initials a line or two further down, and he will instantly sit up and take notice.

He (the Rector) is also, though temperamentally a fighter, capable of the most *judicious detachment* in a fight, as he proved when he acted as peacemaker in the dissensions at Ruskin college in 1909, which led to some of the more revolutionary spirits breaking away and founding the Central Labour College, which has since become the nursery of the most defiant and intransigent type of labour leader.

(Unsolicited testimonial from the organ of the Progressive Movement.)

We touched upon this divergence of view regarding the sort of education the workers need . . . . I suggested that probably the revolutionary teaching current in the Labour Movement proceeds from the conviction that education, *like everything else*, is conditioned by the economic status of the workers, and that the teaching they need is the kind that deepens their class-consciousness and strengthens the revolutionary impulse.

(After all, he *must* have read somebody later than Burke.)

Mr. Temple agreed that this is probably the fact. “ My only objection to it (he said) is that *it is not education*. They are fairly entitled to take that line. . . . but let us recognize that it is propaganda. They are definitely out to train propagandist speakers, and it is a legitimate thing to do. But it is not educating the workers ; it is manufacturing a certain kind of opinion, not encouraging them to study matters for themselves, but offering them a particular interpretation of working-class questions . . . . The ideal of our movement is the only one that is *permanently valuable*.”

World without end, Amen. We have all listened to those well-worn phrases before.

What *is* education ? Let me answer the question by way of a digression. I have just come away from an Exhibition of Design and Workmanship in Printing organized by the Design and Industries Association at the Whitechapel Art Gallery. One or two sentences from the preface to the Exhibition Catalogue seem to me to be worth quoting here. “ Fitness for its function is the first principle of good design . . . . This one essential principle ; that good design is tested first and chiefly by fitness. . . . ‘ Fitness ’ is a matter that can be demonstrated.” A teapot, that is to say, which will not pour properly is bad in design—no matter how covered it be with “ artistic ” decoration. A chair on which it is impossible

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**The Plebs depends on its friends.**

to sit comfortably is bad in design—carve the wood-carver never so “artistically”. An inkpot which cannot be easily cleaned or which overturns easily is bad in design—though it have enamelling on its base which vies in gorgeousness with Solomon in all his glory. Fitness for purpose, once more, is the first principle of good design. And as Mr. Clutton Brock points out, in one of the best of recent Fabian Tracts, *Socialism and the Arts of use*, nine-tenths of our bad modern design is due (Capitalism apart) to the designer having thought more about *ornament* than about *functional beauty*, i.e. perfect adaptation to purpose.

Now is not fitness for purpose the first principle of right education, as it is of right design? Is it any argument against a particular kind of education—is it not rather a commendation of it—to allege that it definitely aims at turning out a particular sort of educated individual? Would even Mr. Temple defend an education which was aimless? Does not the W. E. A. aim at turning out a particular type—some sort of a “broad” minded “citizen,” capable of “judicious detachment” in any conflict in which the interests of himself or his class are involved? . . . There is no need to labour the point.

The W. E. A. may supply pretty ornamentation—all the pretty, piffling frills and furbelows which hide the structural weakness of a design. But what *is* the purpose for which it aims at fitting men and women? Is it of any practical value? “The W. E. A.,” Mr. Temple told the C.C. man, “does not exist to give practical interpretation to economic facts.” Of course not—and it boasts of it. You remember Mr. Gilbey in *Fanny’s First Play*, and his account of his father’s wise advice:—

“My father used to say to me: Rob, he says, don’t you ever have a weakness. If you find one getting a hold on you, make a merit of it, he says. Your Uncle Phil doesn’t like spirits; and he makes a merit of it, and is chairman of the Blue Ribbon Committee. I do like spirits; and I make a merit of it, and I’m the King Cockatoo of the Convivial Cockatoos.”

So, the C. L. C. having pointed out that the W. E. A. does not give practical interpretation to economic facts, the W. E. A. makes a merit of it, and proceeds loftily to declare that “it does not exist to give practical interpretation, &c.” It aims at “educating” the “democracy.” What does it mean by “education”? Nothing practical, anyway. What does it mean by the “democracy”? Its reply would doubtless savour of the days of Burke. We live in the 20th. century. The C. L. C. means by education, fitness for a specific purpose. And it is not out to educate the “democracy.” It is out to educate the proletariat.

J. F. HORRABIN.

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**What about that Silver Bullet for the Plebs?**

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## Letters on Logic

THIRTEENTH LETTER OF THE SECOND SERIES—(*Continued*)

Henry George did not understand the universal process, and therefore he failed in his answer to the question why, despite the enormous productivity of our modern economy, the working-class must be satisfied with a wage which barely supports life itself. He makes private property in land responsible for this state of things, whilst we see that it grows out of the capitalist system of wage labour, and this latter again out of progressive necessity. Henry George would abolish scanty wages by doing away with private property in land, whilst we recognize that all private property, in so far as it compels the non-possessing class to work for a wage, is a passing institution. We see how the world spirit, which is becoming more and more conscious in the human mind, can only remove existing evils by changing the economic system of capitalism, the economy of the selfish brother, into a human communistic economy.

I have followed Henry George chapter by chapter. Now it seems to me we have proceeded far enough to attack *Progress and Poverty* in its essential point—the question whether capital is *justified* in sharing the fruits of labour. Justified?! That is no question at all. The written right is on the side of the capitalists, and the mystical right abiding in the conscience of men is a far-off matter with which we have nothing to do at present. There is only one question; whether Profit is eternal or only a passing phase. We cannot deny that it is temporarily, historically, justified. Henry George believes it eternal and immutable.

But no, I am exaggerating! Our friend does not go so far as to put Capital on the same plane as God, but he goes well on the way to doing so. Though he knows from the priest that here on earth all things are passing, and that Capital and Profit are no exceptions, he still credits these things with an unvariableness which is somewhat extravagant. Fire may certainly be said to burn eternally, because if it is put out and burns no more it ceases to be fire. So Capital ceases to be Capital if it yields no more profits. To that extent, Capital and Profit are eternal. But Henry George applies to the fire of Capital a capacity not to be extinguished, like the fire of Vesuvius; he tells us that Profit is a fire which men cannot extinguish, that it burns so long as the good God lets it burn. No, my friend! You do not know the ways of the old cloud-compeller. He did not set Vesuvius burning, but let it develop geologically. Still less did he create profit-making. We think better of the Almighty.

To make it clearer; the difference between us and Henry George (and other economists) lies in the fact that the latter considers capitalistic profit as a sort of higher power to which man is subjected,



whilst we on the contrary see quite clearly that profit is a usurper which must be dethroned from its present position and treated like any other product of labour. The capacity of capital to lay golden eggs is considered by the capitalists (and by the capitalistically prejudiced Henry George) as a higher natural power; we recognize it as a human performance, as a fire which can and must be put out as soon as it has done its work. The question whether Profit shall rule men or men rule Profit is an economic question; in a wider sense, it is a logical question, and it may be stated like this: the accumulated human labour mixed with natural material has a "mission" to fulfil in the course of economical development, viz., to compel the working-class to increase the wealth of the few by much work and little enjoyment, in order to enable the few to create still greater riches. Shall this compulsion last for ever? Or shall we not recognize that the capitalist has played his part, and can now go?

#### FOURTEENTH LETTER OF THE SECOND SERIES.

We have seen that the society of free competition is a productive society, which produces commodities, goods, means of life, communistically, even though this bourgeois communism is still very selfish. But the actual appeasing of the stomach and protection of the skin cannot be done collectively, and therefore, after the production, there must be a distribution of commodities. The third book of *Progress and Poverty* is devoted to an exposition of distribution. As Henry George has divided production into three parts—land, labour, and capital—so distribution has also a share in this trinity; i.e., the land yields rent, labour yields wages, and capital receives its "interest." There it is said:—

As I have already explained, production does not merely mean the making of things, but includes the increase of value gained by transporting or exchanging things. There is a produce of wealth in a purely commercial community, as there is in a purely agricultural or manufacturing community; and in the one case, as in the others, some part of this produce will go to capital, some part to labour, and some part, if land has any value, to the owners of land. As a matter of fact, a portion of wealth produced constantly goes to the replacement of capital, which is constantly consumed and constantly replaced. But it is not necessary to take this into account, as it is eliminated by considering capital as continuous, which in speaking or thinking of it we habitually do. When we speak of the produce we mean, therefore, that part of the wealth produced above what is necessary to replace the capital consumed in production; and when we speak of interest, or the return to capital, we mean what goes to capital after its replacement or maintenance."

That would be all beautifully clear if only everybody who carries on a trade or business did not speculate on "profit." The landlord

gets his rent, the worker his wages, the capitalist his interest, but who now is to have the profit? Henry George solves the problem by expelling the word profit from his economy.

To talk about the distribution of wealth into rent, wages, and profit, is like talking of the division of mankind into men, women, and human beings.

(Translated for the *Plebs Magazine* from the German of Josef Dietzgen by Miss BERTA BRAUNTHAL.)

*The Fourteenth Letter to be concluded next month.*

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## Outlines of Political Economy

(Continued.)

*LECTURE OUTLINE 2\**—*VALUE*.—The wealth of capitalist society, whatever be the bodily forms of that wealth, takes the specific social form of commodities. The *essential characteristic* of commodities, as distinguished from other forms of wealth, is the possession of value. The value of commodities manifests itself in the social relations of exchange, i.e., *under the form of exchange value*. The relations of exchange value appear to be purely quantitative. The primary question, however, which must first be answered, is not, why for example, one quarter of wheat exchanges for 50/-, but *why wheat, etc., acquires this value-expression*. We have to penetrate beneath the outward appearance, the external form of exchange value, to the *nature of the value* that so manifests itself. After abstraction has been made from the bodily properties of the commodities, from the particular concrete modes of expending labour upon their production, and from the particular useful services which they accomplish in consumption, the common origin and measure of value, implied in the equality of the exchange relations, is found to be social human labour in general. This reduction of all kinds of labour to labour of one simple quality takes place objectively, every day upon the market, where commodities of diverse kinds are equated to each other through their mutual equation to the money commodity.

*CRITICISMS OF THE THEORY OF VALUE*.—(1). That the value of a thing and the labour expended upon it are two different facts which have no necessary correspondence between them.

*REPLY*.—They are *one* fact so far as the labour constitutes socially necessary labour. The accidental or individual expenditures are reduced, in practice, to the expenditure socially required.

(2). That the exchange of two things implies lack of equality between them and that this existing inequality produces the alteration in ownership.

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\* Lecture Outline No. 2 should have appeared following Study Outline No. 3.

*REPLY.*—This objection can apply only to the use-values, and the wants to which they correspond, and these, certainly, are not identical. That very fact excludes them from participating in the source and measure of value. For, *as values*, all commodities are alike when taken in certain proportions.

(3).—That goods which are not the product of labour, e.g., virgin soil, natural waterfalls, coal mines, gold mines, have exchange value. How then can labour be the source and measure of their value? (See Ch. 3, Sec. 1. of Vol. I., *Capital*).

*REPLY.*—Land as *land* is not sold. What is sold is *rentpaying land*. The price of land is the capitalized rent, and rent is paid out of the value of the products of the soil. Nature creates no value.

(4).—That Marx erred in disregarding the use-value as a factor in the origin and determination of value. Illustration given by Bohm-Bawerk, of tenor, baritone, and bass, who receive the same salary of £2,000. Marx would be correct in abstracting from the specific forms of tenor, baritone, or bass, but wrong in abstracting from the genus, viz., the good voice,—so urges the critic. The good voice must participate in the determination of the salary.

*REPLY.*—The above criticism begs the question. For good voices are not exchanged for good voices, but for £2,000. But other things are worth £2,000, let us say, for example, one motor car=£2,000. One good voice=one motor car. Why is a good voice like a motor car? Physically, chemically geometrically, they are unlike. So do they differ in the useful services to which they can be put. But *as value*, a good voice is the *same* as a good motor car, and is expressed in the *same* price. The price of a "good voice" or a bad conscience can only be intelligible on the basis of the Marxian law of value, however "fancy" the price may be.

(5).—That values have, among other properties that include labour, the property of being the subject of supply and demand.

*REPLY.*—While supply and demand are two poles or sides of the exchange relation, they are at the same time dialectically united. Official economy separates these too rigidly and forgets their mutual connexion. The seller is also a purchaser of gold and silver—and the purchaser also a seller—of gold and silver. The supply is a means of demand and the demand a means of supply. Value is not determined on two sides taken separately but *on the two sides taken together*.

In a society of free competition where each seeks his own by means of privately producing for the market, and where therefore, there is no mutual consultation as to the amount required by society and the amount each will produce, it naturally comes about that, now, too much is produced, then, too little. The excess of supply to demand has a monetary impression upon the price of some individual commodity, as has also the excess of demand to supply. But these variations of price do not change the general price or value of the commodity, and so far from the law of supply and

demand discounting the law of value according to Marx, on the contrary, only upon the basis of this law are the variations in the relations of supply and demand intelligible. What is implied by the variations of supply and demand? That now too much and then too little of society's labour has been expended, more or less than socially necessary. Price coincides with value in magnitude, when the commodity is *produced in right proportion*.

(6). That another factor in value is the property of goods being appropriable.

*REPLY.*—To appropriate value is not to *create* value.

(7). That if, according to Marx, skilled labour counts as a multiple of unskilled labour, so that one day of skilled is equal to five of unskilled, how then can the law stand, which he formulated, wherein things made equal in exchange must contain the same quantity of labour?

*REPLY.*—This objection is invalid because the determination of value does not turn upon the actual quantity of labour expended, in any particular instance, in the production of a commodity, but only upon the quantity of social labour, in general, required to produce another like it. Even the amount of unskilled labour expended, may differ in individual instances.

*NOTE.*—The above objections, to the Marxian law of value, are, in every case, put forward by the Austrian economist, Eugen von Bohm-Bawerk, in the first and second sections of the fourth chapter of his book, entitled, *Karl Marx, and the Close of his System*. (This work is now out of print).

*STUDY OUTLINE, No. 5.—The Functions of Money in the Circulation of Commodities.* (continued)—THE MEDIUM OF CIRCULATION. —The circulation of commodities consists of two complementary and opposite acts, the conversion of a commodity into money (sale) and the conversion of money into a commodity (purchase). This process may be expressed in the general formula C-M-C. Each commodity performs this circuit. Each circuit is interwoven with other circuits. What is the first act to the seller (C-M) is the second act of another commodities circuit to the purchaser (M-C). What is the second act (M-C) is to another the first act (C-M) so that in the course of the conversion of a commodity described by the formula C-M-C, there are three different actors involved, viz., the seller in act I, the buyer or possessor of money in act I, the seller in act II. The circulation of commodities is the totality of these different interlinking circuits described by every commodity.

The object of C-M-C is the exchange of products. Consumption of use-value is the destination. Money appears as a medium of this exchange, as a means and not as an end in itself. It serves as the means of changing the product of the individual into a social product, the individual labour into a part of the social production.

This result has not been worked out by "social contract," with conscious purpose, but has grown up out of the relations of men, independent of their consciousness. The first crude form of this interchange was barter,—the direct exchange of use-values. The developed form of C-M-C differs from barter in that, (I) the owners of commodities do not directly exchange their commodities, (II) circulation does not end when the use-values have changed hands, (III) the separation into two acts—sale and purchase—overcomes the limitations of time and place which characterized barter.

The circulation of commodities involves the circulation of money. While commodities describe a circuit, money moves on from the buyer to the seller, from the latter as buyer to another seller, and so forth. The commodity has only a fleeting existence in the sphere of circulation but money remains within that sphere.

How much money is required within the sphere of circulation? In the determination of the quantity of money as a means of purchase, there are two factors to be considered; (I) the sum total of the prices of commodities, (II) the average velocity of the currency. Add the prices and divide by the average velocity in order to determine the quantity of money required.

The function of money as a circulation medium, necessitates giving to money a special shape—viz., coin. Coinage is the business of the State and has force only within the national sphere of circulation. In order to circulate in the world sphere, coins must discard their local dress and language and appear in the cosmopolitan form of bullion.

Owing to the wear and tear of coins in the course of their wanderings, discrepancies arise between their actual and nominal weight. A sovereign, so to say, becomes "idealized." Hence arises the possibility and actuality of the replacement of gold by tokens and symbols of value, e.g., silver and copper coins, and bank notes. The subsidiary metal currency circulates precisely in the quarter where there is liable to be the greatest wear and tear, viz., in retail transactions. Legal enactments prevent these subsidiary coins from usurping the place of gold, by decreeing the limits of their tender. As paper money deputises for gold, the law of its quantity is, that its amount must not be in excess of the amount of gold that would be required in the absence of paper money.

Chapter 3, Section 2, Vol. 1—*Capital*.

*STUDY OUTLINE, No. 6—The Functions of Money.* (continued).—In function (1) measure of value, (2) standard of price, (3) money of account, gold expresses *ideally* the value of commodities. In its role of (4) medium of circulation, gold is capable of being symbolically represented by worn coins, within given limits, by subsidiary metal currency and by paper money. (the latter must not be confounded with cheques, drafts, etc.)

Gold becomes money only in the unity of its functions—measure of value and medium of circulation. In its plain metallic bodily form gold is money or money is real gold, says Marx. While commodities in their prices re-

present quantities of gold, gold represents in its bodily form the use-value of all other commodities. It is the key to all wealth and power. With the development of the circulation of commodities there arises the need and desire to obtain and retain this key. While it takes a longer or shorter time to produce, the needs of the producer must be continually satisfied. He must have by him a store of money so that he can constantly buy. But one cannot buy unless one has first sold. The existence of a store of money implies that the conversion of the commodity has been arrested in the first act, that a sale was not followed by a purchase.

*HOARD.*—When this occurs, money functions in a restricted sense. It functions no longer as coin, but as a *hoard* of money, and the seller becomes a hoarder of money. All along the line of circulation, reservoirs of this arrested money are formed, with larger or smaller accumulations. The law of the determination of the quantity of money, by the sum of the prices divided by the rapidity of the currency, is fulfilled through these hoards which now deplete themselves of money, and again, withdraw money from circulation.

*MEANS OF PAYMENT.*—The universal equivalent functions as money, in a restricted sense, when it serves as means of payment. This function is performed when the sale of a commodity, and the transfer of the money from the buyer to the seller, no longer take place at the same time. Money still functions as a measure of value in so far as the price is estimated in it. It also functions as an *ideal* purchasing medium. It is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen. The promise to pay money at some future date suffices to transfer the commodity to the buyer. When that date comes, then the money enters circulation in payment of the commodity that has some time previously left circulation. This new function must affect the law of the currency. For now the sum of the prices does not adequately cover the whole field. The law must then be stated :—the quantity of money in circulation at a given period is determined—supposing the velocity of the circulation of money as circulating medium and means of payment to be given—by the sum of the prices to be realized, plus the sum of the payments falling due, minus the payments that balance each other. Out of this relation of creditor and debtor, in which money functions as a means of payment, there springs up credit money, e.g., cheques, bills of exchange, &c.

*WORLD MONEY.*—Gold functions, together with silver, as world or universal money, when it breaks through the barriers of national circulation and appears as bullion, in the world of commodities. It is then a universal agent of exchange.

(a) Where purchase and sale do not coincide, contrary to what holds for the home circulation, gold and silver serve as a means of purchase.

(b) Where there are international balances to be settled, gold and silver serve as a means of payment.

(c) When gold and silver are sent from one country to another, not as means of purchase or of payment, but, as a loan or subsidy, they function as the

recognized universal compendium of social wealth. There is a two-fold movement of gold and silver :—(1) from the place of their production to the world market, penetrating at various points the national spheres of circulation; and (2), the coming and going of these metals between the different national spheres of circulation.

Chapter 3, Section 3, Vol. 1.—*Capital*.

*LECTURE OUTLINE, No. 3.—Money.* THE NECESSITY FOR MONEY.—First question to be answered with regard to money is this: Why does exchange value lead to the formation of a special agent of exchange? Why gold and silver come to serve in this capacity, in preference to any other commodity, is a secondary question, and can be satisfactorily answered only on the basis of the answer to the first.

*MONEY, A RELATION OF PRODUCTION.*—The analysis of value has shown that the money-form of value arises out of the nature of value, and develops with the extension of value. The money relation is, thus, a specific relation of production. Only because the real nature of value has been obscured by the money-form of value does money appear, to the uninitiated and unanalytic, as a thing detached from the relations of production.

*PRICE.*—Money does not give to commodities a value. It expresses their value, or, rather, commodities ideally express their value in money. Such an expression is called *Price*. To say, therefore, that money has a price, is absurd. Gold and silver like all other commodities possess value. This value of gold and silver is relative to the value of all other commodities. Only as value can gold or silver serve as a measure of value. But, as money, these metals are not their own measure. Nor is their value fixed by legal enactment. What is so fixed is the *amount of metal* in the coined pieces—the weight.

*RISE AND FALL OF PRICES.*—The polar opposition between measured and measure, relative and equivalent, has this necessary effect on the price expression :—a rise in the value of the money commodity involves a fall in the prices of commodities; and a fall in the value of the money commodity a rise in the prices, always assuming no change to take place on the side of the commodities with respect to the labour required for their production.

*CIRCULATION.*—The conversion of commodities into money, by which the labour expended in their production is realized as socially necessary labour, gives to money the function of a medium of circulation. The essential unity of the two phases C.-M. and M.-C. must, in this connexion, be especially noted, while, on the other hand, the circuit must be distinguished from direct barter.

*CURRENCY.*—The movement of money within the sphere of circulation, is called its currency. The volume of the currency is determined by total prices of commodities, divided by the number of moves made by coins of the same denomination. Prices are not high or low *because* there is more or less money in circulation, which is the upside-down view of the so-called

currency school. "Paper money" represents gold in its function as a means of circulation and the law of its quantity is, therefore governed by the law of currency. Note the role of the hoard in the fulfilment of this law.

*MEANS OF PAYMENT.*—In the relations of debtor and creditor when the seller parts with his commodity some time before the buyer parts with the money, which realizes its price, money functions as a means of payment. This function modifies the quantity of money required by (1) the sum of the payments falling due, (2) by the balance of payments.

*UNIVERSAL MEDIUM.*—In international commerce gold and silver are universal means of exchange and serve as means of purchase and of payment.

Chapter 3. Volume 1.—*Capital.*

*STUDY OUTLINE*, No. 7.—*Money as Capital distinguished from money as money.*—The simple circulation of commodities, by means of money, is the historical and logical premise of the *circulation of capital*. The earliest forms of this capital are those of *merchants* and *usurers capital*. These lead, after a certain stage of development has been reached, to *industrial capital* which, thereafter, is the dominating form.

In C.-M.-C., money is intermediary while exchange of use values is the result. In M.-C.-M., which is the formula for capital, the commodity is the intermediary and exchange value, in its independent form, the result. In the first case, money is *spent*; in the second case, it is *advanced*. In C.-M.-C., the two extremes represent, generally, equivalence in value. In M.-C.-M., the two extremes do not present such equivalence. The formula is not merely M.-C.-M., but M.-C.-M\*. The end of C.-M.-C. is the consumption of C. But M.-C.-M\* is an endless process. The concluding M\* becomes the first M. in a succeeding transaction.

Chapter 4. Volume 1.—*Capital.*

*STUDY OUTLINE*, No. 8.—*Is Circulation the source of surplus value?*—The owner of money advances, let us say, £100, in the phase M.-C., and withdraws, in the phase C.-M\*, £130. What is the source of the excess or surplus of £30?

Does it arise through the exchange of non-equivalents? Assume, that in general, the seller, in the act C.-M\*, adds the £30 to the price so that C. is, by so much, above its value. He gains, therefore, 30%. But the law can only be based on the *general* practice. Every seller, then, must gain in the *same* way. But the seller must become a buyer in the act M.-C. The buyers, therefore, must pay the surplus to the sellers and thereby lose what they had previously gained, as buyers. The final result is just what it would have been had equivalents been exchanged in the first instance.

Does the surplus arise because it is paid by the consumers? Assume, that the labourers are charged 30% more than the value of the commodities. But this they can pay *only* if they are paid the extra 30% in wages. Assume, that the class of consumers who do not produce, and who only buy and do not sell, e.g. the ground landlords, pay 30 per cent. over the value of the



commodities bought. But where did they get the money with which to pay at all? They can only buy because they had previously been in receipt of the cash, in the form of rent.

In individual cases, the seller may *cheat* the buyer. That however changes nothing except the distribution. There can be *no increase in the total value* by that practice, a *practice that cannot be general*.

Money is, then, converted into capital within the sphere of circulation, and yet the problem of *how the surplus is created* cannot be solved within that sphere.

Chapter 5. Volume I.—*Capital*.

*STUDY OUTLINE*, No. 9.—*Labour Power, as a Commodity*.—The source of the surplus cannot reside in the M\*. of M.-C.-M\*, since the M. *only realizes the price* of C.; neither can it be found in the phase C.-M., for the change is *only one of form*, and *not of magnitude* of value. The change of magnitude must, therefore, arise from some cause which falls within M.-C. As the act M.-C. is again, however, nothing but a *formal conversion*, the secret of the substantial creation can only be discovered in C.; but not in C. considered as an exchange value. As such, it is a *result* and can create no value. Only, then, as a use-value can it render a service to him who bought it, and it is there we must look for a solution of the problem. A commodity must be found *with the specific use-value of serving as a creator of value*. Given labour as the source of value, the commodity required is one possessing the capacity for this function or service. This commodity is designated *labour-power*, and is inseparable from the human being.

The historical conditions for the free buying and selling of this commodity are:— (1) the labourer must be *free to sell* his labour power, (he must be emancipated from chattel slavery and villeinage.) (2) the labourer must be *free from having anything else to sell*; (he must be divorced from the means of production and, therefore of subsistence.)

The value of labour power is determined by the quantity of social labour necessary for its reproduction, i.e. for the production of the labourer's means of subsistence. The latter includes not only the labourer's own *personal sustenance* but also *that of his children*, who will later replace him on the labour market. Where special skill is required, *the expenses of training*, which represent an expenditure of social labour, enter in to the determination of the total value of labour-power.

The use value of labour-power, like that of all other commodities, belongs to the buyer. In the act M.-C. (for the capitalist) and C.-M. (for the seller of labour-power) the owner of labour-power advances his commodity to the capitalist and, with it, the use value, viz. labour, for a definite time. Its consumption takes place *outside of circulation, in the sphere of production*. The solution of the problem, therefore, requires an investigation into what takes place in this latter sphere.

Chapter 6. Volume I.—*Capital*.

W. W. CRAIK.

## Correspondence

### SHOULD THE WORKERS BE ORGANIZED BY INDUSTRIES ?

Sirs,

My friend Barker, in his thought provoking and controversial article in last month's issue, is good enough to suggest that I am "not far from the kingdom" of Industrial Unionism. As a matter of fact I have been hammering at this idea for several years now; and I know that the majority of my fellow members favour one Union for our Industry, or they would not have returned me to my present position.\* That, however, is by the way, although it reveals the drift of one of the streams making for the full tide of Industrial Solidarity.

But I do not accept Barker's application of my test conditions. Were we discussing One Union for all Workers it would be another matter, but we are only considering the best form of organization for certain—as few as possible—clearly definable groupings of workers. And even Barker admits this later, when he refers to "a Joint Committee for united and simultaneous action." As practical men we are bound to accept the principle of joint action, especially if we are clearly to comprehend the limits of Organization by Industry. Barker contends that if railway coaches are built by a Railway Company, "the industrial interest of these men will be better catered for by the N. U. R." This I deny, both on principle and as a matter of practical experience.

The N. U. R. does not, and I have reason to believe, does not *claim* to cater for the so-called craft unionists or shop-men. That is the present day practical position, but theoretically, too, I deny the right of the N. U. R. to admit Coachmakers within its ranks. The making of coaches, like the burning of coal, is, so far as railway companies are concerned, only *incidental* to the transport of passengers or commodities, and this latter I contend is the economic function of the Railwaymen. It is true that some railway companies make their own coaches, but they do so in competition with other independent firms such as those at Motherwell or Gloucester.

Surely Barker does not admit all the implications that his reference to Coachmakers suggests. If he does, then there is nothing to stop the N. U. R. from enrolling the miners because railways burn coal, or the steelmelters because they produce the rails, and so on, cutting across the whole gamut of industry. But the real controversial point raised by Barker is in the "proof" he advances.

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\*See under *Reports*.

Let us suppose (he says) that the Coachbuilders wanted to obtain an increase of wages and the Company refused to pay it; and let us suppose also that these men were members of a Craft Union. It is easy to see that if they resorted to a strike, the Company would run its trains with its old coaches for an indefinite time, and the men would be defeated.

The suggestion here is that the N. U. R. would blackleg the Vehicle Builders. I don't think Barker, any more than myself, would take that lying down. But I believe the N. U. R. would act in the same way as our members did during the 1911 strike, when they came out in support of the Railwaymen.

Suppose, however, that we delete "Craft" and insert "Industrial" (for I claim we Coachmakers are making in that direction—even the N. U. R. and the Miners had to make a beginning towards the ideal form); I think then we strike the right note and pave the way to a clearer understanding of industrial groupings. Joint action such as we now have between the Miners, the Water and the Land Transport Workers, presupposes such "groupings", and it is our business to tackle the problems of defining their limits, and so stem the present tendency towards internecine warfare within the ranks of the working class.

This, I submit, is one of the most serious problems we shall have to face in the immediate future, and I think it has been brought more within range as a result of the Congress debate last September. Plebs Leaguers have been largely responsible for developing the idea of scientific Industrial Organization, and it remains for them to take an active part in bringing us yet nearer to the goal Barker and I are both aiming at.

B. SKENE MAC KAY.

(Organizing Sec., U. K. Society of Coachmakers.)

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### **A little help is worth a ton of compliments.**

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SIR,—As a worker in the loco. department, I have thought a few words from me on the question of industrial organization might be of interest.

There is one argument in favour of a separate society for the footplate men which I often hear advanced, and which also I think carries more weight with them than any other; but which does not always receive the attention it merits from the industrial unionists on the railway. This argument is that there is a feeling among the lower-paid grades that there is no reason why loco. men should be any more highly paid than the men in, say, the traffic, or other departments; and the loco. men fear that if they amalgamated with other grades, having accepted help in obtaining concessions they would be bound in honour to give the other grades a voice in what concessions should be accepted, thus leading to a lowering of wages. I think this argument creates a deeper impression since all loco. men will have recognized signs of this feeling in their daily contact with other grades; and

although no doubt, all this may be very deplorable, there is no reason why, as *Plebs* readers will agree, we should shut our eyes to it. A leading sectionalist speaker some time ago illustrated the argument by giving an instance of a composite conciliation board having to settle, amongst other matters the question whether an eight or nine hour day for loco. men should be accepted. On the question being put to the vote, one fourth, all loco. delegates, voted for standing out for eight hours, the rest all accepting nine.

It is not much use pointing out to enginemmen that their class interests all point to amalgamation, nor that in time their own particular calling is destined to lose its special character and be tumbled down to the level of unskilled labour. I am afraid they prefer not to meet trouble half-way and to do what they can to look after themselves for the present.

Yours &amp;c.

L.B.

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### EVERY SHILLING HELPS.

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#### A LETTER OF THE RIGHT KIND !

Dear —,—Accept my thanks for Mag.; I look forward to its coming each month, and it must *not* go under. It is about the only bit of educative matter one can find time to read in these disturbing times.

Enclosed is my year's sub. for it, and membership sub. to the League. (3/6), also 5/- towards the Fund. Also the price and postage for another copy of this month's issue, which may bring in another subscriber. I have tried to interest him in Craik's lectures on Political Economy, and their basis, Marx's *Capital*; and as he is "up against" the present disorder, and anxious to discover a solution, there is a possibility of gaining a recruit for the right fight. At any rate I don't see any harm in trying.

(Bootle.)

Yours &amp;c..

A. K.

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**Contributors and correspondents are asked to note that the last day for receiving copy for the *Plebs* is the 18th. of the month. (There is no time limit, however, for receiving subscriptions to the Special Fund.)**

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## Reports

### DURHAM C. L. C. CLASSES

After a visit to the Durham coalfield in September from Sydney Jones, Argoed, (S. W. M. F.) a movement for more light on the problems besetting the Labour Movement began here, and as the result has been the forming of two classes on Economics his oratory hath not been in vain. Will Lawther, Chopwell, has taken on the duties of lecturer, and a good start has been made. The classes meet fortnightly at the Communist Club, Chopwell, and Labour Hall, Consett. About 35 students attended and a keen interest is taken in both the subject-matter and (incidentally) in the *Plebs*. Other centres and outlying districts are being attended to, so the future looks bright.

We are arranging a week's visit from Will W. Craik in March next, and intend to have a re-union of all C. L. C. supporters and sympathizers in Newcastle on March 18th. All who favour the same can drop a post card to Will Lawther, 23 Trent Street, Chopwell, co. Durham, and it will have attention.

Secretaries : T. W. ORR, Derwent Cottages, Medowsley, co. Durham ; and V. M. HARDY, 18 Severn Street, Chopwell, co. Durham.

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#### WOMEN'S LEAGUE OF THE C. L. C.

At the invitation of the Women's League, a meeting was held at the College in October, at which a Joint Committee was formed, consisting of two delegates from each of the Railway Women's Guilds and the committee of the Women's League of C. L. C., with the object of conducting a Trade Union propaganda campaign among women workers on the railways. Delegates from the London District Council and sub-councils of the N. U. R. were also invited. It was decided to issue a leaflet "To Women Workers on the Railways," and to arrange meetings in the various districts. By the courtesy of the Willesden R. W. G., a very successful meeting was held at Tubbs Road School Hall on November 1st. The Southall N. U. R. branch has kindly consented to throw open its branch meeting for the purposes of the Joint Committee; and a further meeting is to be arranged at Kensal Green shortly. Meanwhile, the leaflet (10,000 copies of which have been printed) is being distributed among the N. U. R. branches. The London Western sub-council has already sent 10/-, and the London District Council £1, towards cost of printing, &c., and the scheme has received the warm approval of both bodies. Leaflets will gladly be sent to any N. U. R. branch, on application to the undersigned, Hon. Sec., Joint Committee, C. L. C., 13 Penywern Road, Earls Court, S.W., and donations, however small, will be gratefully acknowledged.

(Mrs.) WINIFRED HORRABIN.

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#### PLEBS FOR EVER !

The hearty congratulations of every Plebeian will be tendered to Ben Mackay on his appointment as National Organizer for his Union—the U. K. Society of Coachmakers. His majorities were first Ballot, 433 ; second, 600 ; third, 1,068. The Coachmakers can call themselves the O. K. Society now that they've got B. S. M. in his present position.

The *International Socialist Review* for November reprints Robert Holder's article on *Industrial Unionism and the State* from the October *Plebs*.

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**Doesn't our success or failure concern YOU ?**

## Reviews

## "NATION BY NATION"

*Homeland or Empire?* by Joseph Burgess. (The Homeland League Press, Bradford, 1/- net.)

In this book we have another Utopian scheme for the solution of the social problem as it manifests itself under Capitalism to-day. According to Mr. Burgess, all our troubles are due to the profits resulting from "overseas investments," and the remedy he proposes is the taxation of all these investments to extinction. This would have the effect of closing the "escape pipe" to surplus capital, thus causing a glut of capital at home, resulting eventually in the downfall of the whole capitalist system. The author contends that this surplus capital, instead of being invested abroad, should be kept at home and utilized in the development of our own resources, and so "make our Homeland, as far as possible, self-contained, and entirely self-supporting."

It is quite evident Mr. Burgess is a National Socialist. In fact on p. 176 he says, "Capitalism is international. . . . Socialism is national," and "that while International Socialism is the ideal to aim at, in practice we must proceed on the lines of winning nation by nation, and that this can best be done by compelling Capitalism, in each country, to consume its own smoke."

Now all this appears very attractive on paper; but our author gives no information whatever as to how he proposes to organize society after he has obtained his Parliamentary majority, and passed the legislation taxing the "overseas investments." He apparently holds the illusion that the material development of a country can be directed and controlled by legislation. He seems to think that after the legislation taxing "overseas investments" is passed, everything would begin to work harmoniously at home, and that everybody—except "Cosmopolitan Capitalists"—would unite to develop the resources of the country for the common good, as the following sentences [on p. xxvi Preface to the First Edition] go to prove:—" *Homeland or Empire?* makes a general appeal to all patriots to discourage Overseas Investments. . . . it makes that general appeal to Socialists and Anti-Socialists alike—except to Cosmopolitan Capitalists."

Of course this has to be the International policy as well, but Mr. Burgess appears to overlook the fact that when "the International Socialist rank and file" are sufficiently conscious and powerful to control the "Overseas Investments" of Capital, they will at the same time be able to control and develop the Planet as a whole. Our author has the outlook of the "pure and simple" politician who thinks he can legislate our salvation in by means of the political machinery of capitalism. He fails to see that International Capitalism, by organizing and developing the various parts of the world, is thereby providing the basis of the International organization, and the linking up of Labour. The workers cannot fight and conquer International Capitalism by means of the Utopian legislation advocated in this book. Mr. Burgess says, "any other policy condemns us and our posterity to wait for

the evolution of Socialism in the Homeland until all overseas countries have become as deeply saturated with capital as our own." Well, this point is being rapidly reached to-day, and it will be brought much nearer as a result of the present war.

The chief value of the book is its exposure of "overseas investments" and its proof that they are the economic motives underlying the wars of modern capitalism. The author also indirectly proves the need of the C.L.C., and independent working-class education. On p. 3 of his introductory chapter, he says, "The workman's point of view must be presented by some member of the working-class. My experience of professors of political economy is that, however sympathetic they may be, they cannot be got to see in all its fullness the working-class point of view"; and on p. 168, "I want the Parliamentary Labour Party . . . to begin to do its own thinking. . . . Hitherto it has faithfully reflected the exploitation premises of the Liberal party, primarily the Capitalist party."

Finally our author admits that his policy is not Socialism, but the "John the Baptist of Socialism." Unfortunately it is likely to keep Mr. Burgess crying in the wilderness. He would be more profitably engaged if he directed his efforts to the fertile field of organizing and educating Labour to the point where it would be able to control its own organizations, and through them, the products of its toil, both nationally and internationally.

ROBERT HOLDER.

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### Do your bit towards getting that Debt down.

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#### HIGHLY RECOMMENDED

*A Manual on Essay Writing.* By B. L. K. HENDERSON and ARNOLD FREEMAN  
(G. Bell and Sons, 1/6 net).

This little volume has been written by two Tutorial Class lecturers "for students in the Workers' Educational Association and Tutorial Classes," and it has a short Preface by Mr. Albert Mansbridge. Neither of those facts, however, lessens its value in the least for students connected with other educational institutions—students in whose case the pursuit of learning "simply for the joy thereof" (to quote Mr. Mansbridge) is *not* the only, or the principal, motive. It is a really excellent and helpful little book—and a needed one. Mr. Mansbridge himself very truly observes that

there is among English people some kind of self-consciousness passing into self-respect, which causes them to hate revealing their obvious limitations even to a tutor.

And not only these shy beginners, but also those more advanced (but still young) students who regard an essay as an opportunity for "fine writing," need to remember that

an essay written in the course of study is never intended to be a performance, but a trial . . . not an expression of progress so much as a means to progress.

In a series of pointed chapters—many of them admirable short essays in themselves—the author deals with such subjects as General Preparation, the Skeleton, Punctuation, the Paragraph, Revision, Use of Quotation, &c. Even the third-year student will find many valuable suggestions in these chapters (a good many journalists, for that matter, might study the book to advantage). Two or three specimen "Don'ts" will perhaps best serve to illustrate its commonsense character.

Before you turn to books or even to lecture notes, **THINK OUT** your own ideas on the subject. . . . Do not begin the reading up, or, at any rate, the writing, until you have conscientiously used your own brains.

Do not wanton in **CAPITALS**, *italics*, notes of exclamation, or rhetorical questions—e.g. :—"Is Our Flag to be insulted ??? Is Our Honour to be destroyed ??? *Ten Thousand Times*, **NO !!! NEVER !!! NEVER !!!**"

If you state a truism, do not herald it with a flourish of trumpets, We all know that "it is only noble to be good," and that "money does not mean happiness." Such platitudes, if they must be introduced, need apology rather than emphasis.

Be careful not to use false or mixed metaphors. Don't "cultivate the river of progress," for example, nor "tear up a poisonous influence by the roots."

Avoid vagueness; avoid abstractions. If the terms "a man's body" and "a man's brain" are equally apt, they are preferable to "physiology," and "psychology." The more concrete and definite your language, the easier for the reader to follow what you have to say.

Avoid "fine writing" . . . . Call your pen "a pen," and not "that article which is mightier than a sword." Let a policeman be a policeman, and not a "stalwart emissary of the law."

This is not only good advice, but good advice well put. The book concludes with some specimen models of English prose, which include characteristic extracts from Shaw, Wells, Arnold Bennett, R. L. Stevenson, Mark Twain, and other "moderns."

J. F. H.

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**COME ON, SOUTH WALES.**



## The Plebs' Bookshelf

Messrs. Longmans' have just added to their Pocket Library Series (cloth, 2/- net) William Morris's *Pilgrims of Hope, and Chants for Socialists*. He would be a hard-shell Marxian indeed who would not find a place on his bookshelves for this little volume. The *Chants* include such stirring poems as "The Day is Coming," "No Master," "The March of the Workers," and the "Death Song" written for the funeral of Alfred Linnell, who died from injuries received from the police at the Trafalgar Square demonstration on Bloody Sunday, November, 20th. 1887. Certain other poems in the *Pilgrims of Hope* sequence, with their memories of 1870—"Meeting the War-Machine," for example—have an added interest at the present time. In this same excellent series, Messrs. Longmans' have already published *News from Nowhere* (also in paper covers at 1/-) Mackails *Life* of Morris (2 vols.) *The Dream of John Ball*, and several other volumes of Morris's poems and prose romances.

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The latest batch of additions to the Everyman series (Dent, 1/- net) includes another volume of Ibsen's plays. This brings the total of Ibsen volumes in the series up to five. *Brand* fills one volume; each of the others contains three plays. Included in this latest addition are *Lady Inger of Ostraat*, *Love's Comedy*, and *The League of Youth*. All of these are among Ibsen's earlier plays. *Lady Inger of Ostraat* is a "saga-drama," of the same kind as the *Pretenders*. *Love's Comedy* is a social satire, but the verse form is still used. Shaw (in the *Quintessence*) does not deal with this play—nor with the "saga-dramas"; but Havelock Ellis declares that it is "the first work in which Ibsen's characteristic tone appears, not again to vanish." In the third play, *The League of Youth*, Ibsen for the first time used prose, and it was this play which, as Shaw points out, seems to have determined the form which the later series of realistic prose plays took. Ibsen students will make a note of this volume.

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We have received from the I. L. P. Nos. 2 and 3 of Labour and War Pamphlets—*Militarism*, and *The Peril of Conscription*, both by Mr. J. Bruce Glazier. No. 1 of this series was the much-discussed *How the War Came*; and since we expressed the opinion in the *Plebs* that that pamphlet failed to supply what its title promised, we are all the better pleased to praise these two later publications. The author takes the sound view that Militarism in its modern development is the result of Capitalist Imperialism—"the outcome of causes operating alike in Great Britain, Germany, and the other great Capitalist States . . . . The chief purpose, common to them all, is conquest abroad, and the subjection of working-class democracy at home." That being so, there is really little need (though they *are* interesting) for the copious quotations from the Crambs and Rosses and Stewart Murrays—our British Bernhardis; or, for that matter, for the author's emphatic and oft-

repeated assertion that militarism is alien to the spirit of British civicism. This "British civicism," indeed, is perhaps somewhat unduly belauded—though that of course is far from incomprehensible, coming from a "citizen" champion of the I. L. P. All the same, it is just a trifle quaint to declare, as Mr. Glazier does when describing working-class progress in recent years, that "the aristocracy and wealthier classes have been denuded almost completely of their political privileges . . . left destitute of any authority over their fellows except what they derive incidentally from their ownership of the land and the means of employment." Except! . . . incidentally! . . . On the other hand, it is a little surprising to find a Labour Party champion saying (in this same connexion)—"In a flash the railwaymen resolve to strike, and lo! the trains cease running, and the railway companies are powerless to force a single man back to his post. In a flash the miners throw down their tools, and no will but their own can bid them descend the pit-shaft." One had almost grown used to the idea that the miners and the railwaymen got themselves into a terrible hole, from which only the gallantry and presence of mind of the Parliamentary Labour Party rescued them alive. However, these are side-lines! The two pamphlets are good.

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If one is to judge by the number of new Socialist and Labour journals recently born, there is no need to be pessimistic about the future of the Movement. They include *Solidarity*, now the organ of the Building Workers' Industrial Union (published at 10 Layard Road, Rotherhithe, S.E., fortnightly, ½d. six months postal sub., 1/-); the *Vanguard*, a vigorous monthly journal of Marxian Socialism issued by the Glasgow Dist. Coun. of the B. S. P. (Editor-Manager, J. D. Macdougall, Beltrees, Pollokshaws, Glasgow, yearly postal sub., 1/6);—the *Plebs* salutes a brother Marxian; and the *Trade Unionist* (published monthly at 21 High Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., yearly postal sub., 1/6.) Then there are enlargements or improvements of already existing journals: the *Voice of Labour* (127 Ossulston St. N. W., monthly ½d.) has gone up to eight pages; the *Socialist* (50 Renfrew Street, Glasgow, yearly postal sub., 1/6) is better than ever it was; and, finally, there is the notable renaissance of the *Herald*, the leading articles, Trade Union Notes page, and miscellaneous articles in which are most decidedly not to be missed these days.

J. F. H.

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#### BOOKS RECEIVED.

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*The Red Dawn: Verse for Revolutionaries and others*, by Albert Young (N. Divn., Herald League, 75B, Grand Parade, Haringay, London, N., 6d. net.)

*Historical Atlas of Modern Europe: 1789 to 1914*. With Explanatory and Historical Text. (Oxford University Press, 3/6 net.)

# The "Plebs" League

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## Object

To further the interests of Independent working-class education as a partizan effort to improve the position of Labour in the present, and ultimately to assist in the abolition of wage-slavery.

## Methods

The holding of an Annual Meet: the issuing of a monthly Magazine, mainly devoted to the discussion of the various questions of Labour, theoretical and practical: the formation of local branches and classes for the study of social science, in connexion with the Central Labour College, and in every way to assist in the development of the latter institution, and its maintenance of a definite educational policy.

## Membership

Open to all who endorse the object of the League.


Each Member shall pay 1/- a year to the Central Fund towards meeting the 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.

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 The Eighth Annual Meet will be held in London, (Bank Holiday) August, 1916.

P.O's to be forwarded to

**J. REYNOLDS, Secretary-Treasurer,**

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

# The "Plebs" League

(Organ : "PLEBS" MAGAZINE, Published Monthly,  
Price 2d.)

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### SECRETARY-TREASURER

J. REYNOLDS

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