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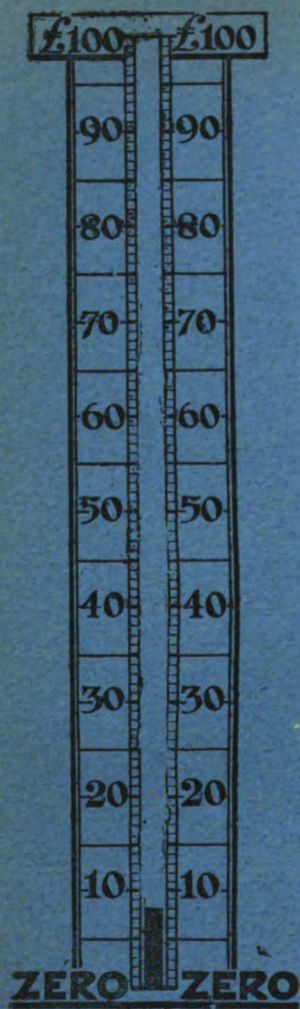
The
PLEBS
MAGAZINE



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MONTHLY

TWOPENCE



We have to
get this
down
to



Zero

With next month's issue we commence a new Volume. We hope to be able to announce that we have reached "Zero." We SHALL be able to announce this if ALL subscriptions now due are paid promptly.

in "C.L.C. Provincial Organization," and you will realise something of the possibilities of the movement, and of the spirit in which it is being carried on.

The *Plebs* is the link binding all these activities together. For the time being the College must remain with closed doors. The *Plebs* must go on.

We can go on, if our friends everywhere rally round us. We have a difficult time ahead. Our movement, like every other, is—only temporarily, we hope—losing active workers and good friends. The big rise in the cost of materials, particularly of paper, very nearly "equalises" the rise in our circulation. The next few months will be a tough proposition.

Will all our friends, by trying to get us new subscribers, and by *prompt payment of all accounts*, help us to pull through?

The *Plebs* will cost us more to produce—and only the increase in our circulation (which *must* be maintained) enables us to meet that cost. We have done well so far—thanks to our friends. Not many periodicals can point to a back debt practically wiped out, and a circulation substantially increased, during the troublous times of the past two years. We don't want to spoil that record now.

We ask class-members, readers, and supporters everywhere to do their best for us. We ask for a special effort.

Eight years! Carry on!

J. F. H.

C.L.C. Provincial Organization

AS a result of discussion on the question of Working-class Education, and more particularly of its establishment on Tyneside, a plan of action and some guiding principles have been evolved, which Comrade Lawther asks me to write out for the *Plebs*, in the hope that it may stimulate discussion among those interested in other districts, and assist ourselves by the criticisms it may provoke from the more experienced or more acute logicians among "foreigners" north and south.

For the bringing about of social and industrial democracy, it is necessary that the working-class should cultivate, by its own efforts and within its own ranks, sufficient knowledge and intelligence to outweigh those of the dominant class. To look to the State for this is the height of folly, since the State is, in the main, the instrument of that dominant class, and cannot be expected to provide education, either for children or adults, of such quantity and *quality* as would endanger its own position. It will give only

as much, and such a kind of, education as is required for its schemes of international competition. But the *difference of standard* between that which it provides for its own members and that which it provides for the working-class, will remain, even in that department of education which is affected little or not at all by the difference of economic outlook, and even though the actual quality and quantity of each in this department may be raised. It is this *difference* between the two standards, and not the mere keeping at its present level of the working-class standard, which helps to insure the dominant position of the capitalist class. And this difference, if it is to be lessened, must be lessened by the efforts of the working-class itself. This applies equally to the education of children and of adults. Only in so far as the difference is lessened will the working-class be able to take advantage of economic evolution to win its way to freedom ; for freedom cannot be had as a free gift.

It is necessary that education among the working-class should be distributed as widely as possible. Knowledge and intelligence, the result of education, are necessary to efficient leadership, but are not the guarantees of loyalty and singleness of purpose in leaders. The interest of the working-class leader is never likely to be so far identified with the interest of his class as is the case with the capitalist leader ; a place is always waiting for him elsewhere if he chooses to accept it. It is therefore necessary that the number of well-educated members of the working-class should at least be considerably in excess of the number that can hope to attain even local prominence as leaders. Moreover the accumulation of ability in the working-class that finds no place or outlet under the present system is itself the greatest generator of revolutionary enthusiasm. To the leaders it may be pointed out that the greater the power of the following, the greater the dignity of leadership. It follows that, without educational organizations carrying on its work in every district, the C.L.C. cannot fulfil its mission. Its aim must be to reproduce itself in every principal centre of the country and to establish subsidiary organizations in every town and village.

It is important that we should understand clearly the magnitude of our task, that we may not grow stale with conceit over our first and partial successes, (though propagandists may be excused for lying about these to those too timid even to make a beginning).

The education for which we require to organize is two-fold : (a) General education, and (b) specialised education.

(a). Without a good back-ground of general knowledge, no specialised department of knowledge can be cultivated with proper understanding, and with firm yet flexible grasp ; above all, without a full development of intellectual abilities through free and natural use from childhood up, no new problem can be adequately analysed

and solved. The source of the ever-recurring difficulties and discouragements experienced by members of the working-class in their efforts to gather, understand, and apply abstract knowledge, is the lack of variety of knowledge, and above all of mental suppleness, due to the stunting and lack of exercise of their faculties in childhood and youth. These latter are the periods proper to general education, in the sense partly of acquiring general information, but much more of the developing, in the atmosphere of free and happy activity, of whatever abilities they may be endowed with by nature. It is possible, by developing Socialist Sunday Schools, to provide opportunities of education in this sense, and to counteract the pernicious influence of the Board Schools, for children up to the age of 17 or 18. Such a development of the Socialist Schools forms a necessary part of our conception of the whole task of Working-class Education. I mention it as complementary to the C.L.C. work, but it cannot be treated in greater detail here.

(b). Specialised education, for us, means the study of social science and history. If the working-class is to transform society in its own interest, it must understand the nature of that society, in general form and in detail. This proposition having been argued *ad nauseam*, its truth may be taken for granted.

For the organizing of education, whether junior or adult, good Socialist clubrooms are invaluable. When, owing to a wide conception of Socialist work, a variety of Socialist activities (educational, artistic, propagandist, and social) can be encouraged to work together in one set of rooms, each of these can lend considerable help to the other. There are as great possibilities in the intelligent development of the Socialist Club as in that of the junior or adult educational organization which should be part of the former's activity.

There are two main problems in regard to education in social science and history. The first is that of the syllabus, and the second that of the organization. In regard to the subjects of adult study, we on Tyneside, decided to commence at once classes in Economics and Industrial History. Here appeared our first problem. We considered it desirable to make our programme of social studies as complete as possible, and it was a question whether to concentrate our energy on the preparing of such a programme, or upon getting as many classes as possible going in the two subjects mentioned. If we took the latter course, it would be necessary for all our lecturers to prepare lectures and take classes in these subjects and they would be left little time for further study with a view to extending the syllabus. This extension of the syllabus would involve more work than the mere repetition of what we could find in text books, since these were not to be had in all cases presenting

the subjects from our point of view ; and such as were in the main satisfactory (*e.g.* Ward's *Sociology*) would need a considerable amount of editing to present what was most worth while in them within the limits of time. On the other hand such a syllabus and lectures once worked out and recorded, the number of classes could be extended. For immediate purposes, we decided to aim at a complete syllabus, to this end dividing the subjects up among those who are proposed as lecturers, and seeing that they would not have so much teaching to do as would leave no time for learning or writing.

The skeleton syllabus, as suggested up to the present, though subject to further revision, is as follows :—

FIRST YEAR.			
(1)	Marxian Economics	- - -	36 lectures
	Metal Industries, and Imperialism	- - -	6 " (42 in all)
(2)	Industrial History	- - -	24 " "
	Trade Union History	- - -	12 " "
	Contemporary Types of T.U. Organization	- - -	6 " (42 in all)
SECOND YEAR.			
(1)	Sociology	- - - - -	18 " "
	Crowd Psychology, Party Tendencies	- - - - -	4 " (42 in all)
	Political Philosophy	- - - - -	16 " "
	Schools of Socialist Theory	- - - - -	4 " (42 n all)
(2)	Logic and Scientific Method	- - - - -	8 " "
	Trade Union Law	- - - - -	4 " "
	Syndicalism (French and Italian)	- - - - -	2 " "
	Contemporary Conditions	- - - - -	6 " "
	History of Co.-Op. Societies	- - - - -	6 " "
	Socialism and T.U.ism Abroad	- - - - -	6 " (42 in all)

The subjects to which a lesser number of lectures is to be devoted could be divided among those lecturers who could not give so much time. This would leave, say, 140 lectures in the bigger subjects to be prepared during two years, which, divided between four lecturers, would mean between 30 and 40 each.

PALLISTER BARKAS.

Capitalism—The New Phase

Trade as a Science. By Ernest J. P. Benn. (Jarrold & Sons, 2/6 net.)

IF there are any Trade Unionists who still imagine that we are engaged in this war for the purpose of protecting small nations, &c., or that the changes brought about in our industrial life are only temporary, a perusal of the above book would help to disillusion them.

The book opens with a preface by Lord Burnham, who asks—“What is to be the future of British Trade after the War?” and proceeds to emphasise that the supreme question before Great Britain is—How to meet the challenge of German competition.

Mr. Benn says the solution of this problem lies in the scientific organization of trade and traders. "This is a book for tradesmen," he declares; "the desirability or otherwise of capturing German Trade will not be here debated. . . . but an endeavour will be made to set up a machine which is capable of securing any trade that may be available." He is out, in short, to conquer the world-market with British goods. His book—

is not a treatise on political economy . . . Neither is it intended to enter upon the difficult subject of the relations between Capital and Labour, except to point out that no progress can be made in this matter until the parties to the debate are put into a position from which discussion can commence . . . This little book makes no attempt to settle any of the most prominent trade questions at present in the public mind . . . It provides the machinery which can be alone capable of working out a satisfactory settlement of any of them.

This machinery, which is to settle all our industrial problems is nothing more nor less than a system of State Capitalism. Mr. Benn has had "twenty-five years' intimate association with trade and traders" as a commercial journalist. This experience has convinced him that the days of small individual competing capitalists are gone; if Great Britain is to maintain and advance her position in the world market, chaotic individual competition must be replaced by association and a systematic organization of industry.

In chapters I to VI the author sketches the present position of the British trader in relation to his business—and incidentally provides us with some delightful reading; *e.g.*, in chapter I, we are told that—

the average Englishman looks at trade from a wrong point of view. Trade to him is an unpleasant necessity, a means to an end Business is merely a means to make money; it does not often occur to either the workman or the master that in producing a useful article he is helping along civilization, adding to the well-being of mankind.

It does not seem to occur to Mr. Benn that under capitalist control, trade is in reality a means to one end, *viz.*, making money, "the well-being of mankind" being cheerfully sacrificed to profit.

Chapter II contains a picture of the British Business Man, which is also to a large extent applicable to the British workman, (like master, like man):—

The average British trader is an independent person of pronounced individualistic tendencies, who has a constitutional aversion to the idea of 'solidarity.' . . . The other men in his own line of business he can only see as competitors . . . The average Englishman has no experience of business except what he has picked up in his own little shop.

How analogous all this is to the individualistic conservative craft unionist in his relations to the rest of his fellow workers! . . . Mr. Benn goes on to plead for the social recognition of trade as an honourable and respectable pursuit in which a "gentleman" can honestly engage without detriment. He complains that—

To the average Englishman business is undignified, it is even hopelessly entangled with sharp practice; it is no occupation for a man of intellect and liberal culture; above all, it is no life for a gentleman . . . We have one or two trades which are respectable; for example, brewing. . . . The professional man is known in the drawing-room as well as in the city in connection with his work. . . . The solicitor, the architect, even the accountant and the stockbroker, find it no shame for the whole of their social circle to be thoroughly acquainted with their means of earning a living; but a manufacturer, a printer, an electrician, or a shipper . . . takes pride in the fact that three-quarters of his acquaintances are totally unaware of his commercial connection. So topsy-turvy is the world in this respect that, while the real producers, the men that keep the country going, are careful to hide their connection with work, the professional classes. . . . walk off with all the respectability.

We would respectfully suggest to Mr. Benn that it is precisely because neither the Manufacturers nor the Shippers *are* "the real producers" that they are able so successfully "to hide their connection with work." Fully to disclose the nature of this connection would be to discover some very "sharp practice," on their part—sharp practice which should make their occupation decidedly unfit for "a man of intellect and liberal culture." The connection of "the real producers," the wage-workers, with their work is only too evident in their houses, their clothing, and their hours of labour, &c.; and, furthermore, it is just because of the ignorance of these "real producers" as to *their* connection with work, that Manufacturers and Shippers are able to "hide" theirs.

After his candid criticism of the British business man, and of that section of British society which inhabits drawing-rooms, Mr. Benn goes on to criticize existing Trade Associations; and here again we find his criticisms exceedingly applicable to the associations of Labour. He says—

The possibilities which lie in a Trade Association are not sufficiently understood . . . The majority of them waste the great bulk of their time . . . They will appoint committees and sub-committees to discuss at length matters of procedure, rules, conditions of membership, or may be they devote the bulk of their time to orphans, widows, and trade charities . . . They constantly call on the Government to do all sorts of things, but never do anything themselves.

Is not this just what our Labour Conferences do—pass resolutions calling on the Government to do things, neither leaders nor members yet realizing or understanding the possibilities that lie in their own organizations?

The new machinery advocated by Mr. Benn for solving the problems of trade makes very interesting reading (especially when read in the light of certain recent changes introduced by Mr. Lloyd George at Westminster). It consists in the formation of a general system of Trade Associations which would bring traders of one kind into closer touch, and eliminate useless competition. These Trade Associations are to be under the guidance and control of a Ministry of Commerce, although "the real powers in connection

with trade must remain with the traders themselves." Mr. Benn does not agree " that the Ministry of Commerce shall be controlled by business men," since " the really successful business man seldom possesses a mind which can take a wide view of a national problem. . . . The business man always has an axe to grind, or always should have." (!) But the stamp of Government postage would mean " an accession of dignity and respectability to business." (!)

An interesting official of the new Ministry of Commerce is—

The Under-Secretary for Labour who would have duties which are entirely new and for which there is no precedent . . . There are no existing arrangements for the education of labour in the point of view of capital and commerce (!) . . . Labour is well provided with officials whose duty it is to educate it in the case against capital, but no official exists whose duty it is to put the other side of the case . . . If this office is efficiently handled the number of trade disputes ought to be considerably reduced.

Chapter IX supplies us with the personnel of the Model Trade Association, which also has a Labour Committee and a Secretary whose work would be, " to watch over the interests of Labour and keep in such close touch with labour opinion as to see that it was formed with due regard to the interests of capital and the industry generally." (Can it be that these are the duties of Messrs. Henderson, Hodge, and Co?)

Chapter XIV deals with the position of Labour, and here Mr. Benn excels. He tells us—

the greater part of [the] Labour troubles in the past were in the main due to lack of understanding between master and man . . . Labour is organized and easily dealt with. An army of Labour leaders is ready and willing to explain to the workers any genuine proposition for the general good (!) . . . Labour has been forced into an attitude of antagonism to Capital largely by the lack of sense on the part of the Capitalist classes . . . One hears to-day people who ought to know better talking as if some great crime had been committed because some workman has earned £8, £9, or £10 a week on munition work . . . The fact that an occasional Managing Director can secure £10,000 a year causes no feelings of alarm to the same worthy folk.

Hence, Mr. Benn does not believe in low wages; in fact, he says it is " an absurd idea that a workman can earn too much"— " the unit cost of the article produced " being the only important consideration. With " high wages and high speed," costs could be lowered; the fact that though the workman might be " earning four or five times as much as at present, the unit cost might be half what it is, never seems to occur to master or man." *To raise wages and increase productivity is the true method.*

At the present time Labour pays the salaries of a body of Trade Union officials in order to have its own opinions formulated for it. Surely it would pay Capital to put down a small annual sum to provide a body of Labour educators, men whose duty it would be to represent employers in the Councils of Labour and to discuss beforehand the weak spots, and endeavour to mend them . . . The old-fashioned

employer regards the Union as a curse, while as a matter of fact, if he only understood how to handle it, it might well be of the greatest advantage in the development of trade.

We must admit that Mr. Benn's book contains much that is true about the present position in trade, and his system of State Control—or State Endowment—is undoubtedly meeting with marked approval in authoritative circles; but we must nevertheless inform him that his machinery is *not* "capable of working out a satisfactory settlement" so far as "the difficult subject of the relations between Capital and Labour" is concerned.

Capitalist Production is entering a new phase. There are very few new markets to be opened up, and the various nations must inevitably struggle for those that exist. This makes necessary a more efficient production, and its scientific organization, which means in turn a greater intensification of Labour and the necessity for doing away with "wasteful" disputes. Mr. Benn thinks he can obtain the co-operation of Labour, and its graceful submission to intensification, by the payment of high wages and the State patronage of Trade Union organization. But this is just where our author—and many more of his calibre, including a few Labour Leaders—are in for a rude awakening. *Exploitation* is the cause of Labour revolts; and exploitation is not removed by State Control, but, on the contrary, as Mr. Benn proves, is made more efficient. The present war has shown that more than a 100 years of individual capitalist control has resulted in waste, rack, and ruin. To save themselves the capitalists have had to relinquish private control to the State. This is the ironical situation in which we find ourselves to-day. The State in turn can only "keep going" by appealing to, and securing, the support of the workers by some such arguments and methods as are outlined in this book. So far as Labour is concerned, State Control means simply bringing matters to a head. It is a case of struggle or extinction. Capitalism's new phase must be its last.

ROBERT HOLDER.

Is the A.S.E. the Meat?

THE above title will probably bring a look of perplexity to the faces of some *Plebs* readers, but all those conversant with Jack London's novels will readily grasp its meaning. I may point out at the outset that this article is not written in any spirit of hatred or malice towards those concerned, but simply with the object of refuting the conceptions that exist at present amongst an overwhelming section of the engineering industry in relation to the theory of Industrial Unionism.

The existing abnormal conditions—due to the sanctified butchery on the continent—have made it imperative for the active Trade Unionist to be ever on the alert. Especially is this the case in the

engineering industry, with the result that we find many districts forming Allied Trades Committees, which have every appearance of becoming of a more permanent character in the future than they have been in the past. These committees are composed chiefly of local branch officials of the different affiliated societies within the industry; and a member of the same has an opportunity of judging the progress made in the direction of "organization by industry," through the remarks expressed concerning the various questions relating to wages, conditions, demarcation, &c. which are constantly being discussed.

Many of us are well aware of the pettyfogging bickering which usually characterises these discussions, and which makes us wonder whether sanity will ever prevail. If one points out that such bickerings are detrimental to the interests of trade unionism in general, and that the time could be better spent in fighting the employer instead of fighting amongst ourselves, the retort comes back that this waste of time could be avoided by all becoming members of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers. The A.S.E., we are told, is the society which caters for all in the engineering industry, from the labourer to the highest skilled man; moreover, it is *truly democratic*, and is organized on the basis of Industrial Unionism.

Industrial Unionism is becoming something like Joseph's coat—it is of many shades. To refute the above statement it is therefore necessary to explain the distinction between Trade Unionism and Industrial Unionism.

Trade Unionism is based upon craft, and seeks to organize in particular sections, e.g., Steam-Engine-makers, Toolmakers, Pattern-makers, Core-makers, Ironfounders, Machine Workers, &c. It has for its object the improving of the conditions of its members *as* Steam-Engine-makers, Toolmakers, &c., and the limits of demarcation are set down so that the members of one craft will not trespass upon the preserves of another.

Industrial Unionism is based upon Industry and seeks to organize in general within a particular industry; each particular industry again to organize by affiliation to one Big Union. Each and every member of the Industrial Union, irrespective of his calling, would have a voice and a vote in the administration of its affairs, and every member, irrespective of craft, would be eligible to occupy any office providing he has the necessary abilities to the satisfaction of his fellow-members.

Now when we come to examine the rules of the A.S.E., we find that contributions are not based upon the size of a man's pocket, but in accordance with the *section* of the industry in which he is engaged; e.g., Classes A & B include those engaged *as* Fitters, Turners, Pattern-makers, Smiths, &c., whilst Class C includes

the Machinist section only. The two former are known as full members, the other sections are not. The chief item in the qualification for full membership is: "*That he shall have served five years at one or more of the trades mentioned in these rules, except in countries where a less number of years apprenticeship is the established rule; or he shall have served three years in the workshop in addition to at least four years previously in the engineering department of a Technical School,*" (Rule 20, Clause 5.). We will now look at Rule 7, Clause 1, the first two lines of which read—" *The secretary of each branch must be a full member.*" (The italics are mine, Mr. Editor—they are necessary.) From the above it is clear that the qualifications for office are not based upon the member's *administrative abilities*, but on the fact that *he has served a number of years' apprenticeship*. Those responsible for the drafting of the rules are not conscious of the fact that the particular function upon which a man is engaged within the industry is irrelevant so far as his interest as a workman is concerned; his interest is of a general character and only by assisting in protecting the interest of others does he protect his own interest. All their interests are antagonistic to that of their employers, and all the compromising efforts to hide this antagonism will fail so long as the means of production remains in the hands of the few to the exclusion of the many.

In the Preface to the Rules there stands a motto, "United We Stand—Divided We Fall," and on the same page appears the following sentence; "Every artisan following a given occupation has an interest in common with all those similarly engaged." This can be interpreted to read—and I am firmly convinced is intended to read—that every *Fitter* following the trade of *Fitter* has an interest in common with all other *Fitters*. Further on, on page xxvii. of the Preface is the following sentence: "If constrained to make restrictions against the admission into our trade of those who have not earned a right by *probationary servitude*, we do so knowing that such encroachments are productive of evil, and when persevered in unchecked result in reducing the condition of the artisan to that of the unskilled labourer."

I think I have quoted enough to prove that the A.S.E. still retains its craft character; that although it throws open its doors to all sections of the industry, it allows the *particular* interest to dominate the *general* interest. It merely federates, and allows the petty jealousies to continue inside the organization which exist without. There are many engaged in the engineering industry who are prepared to take their place inside the A.S.E. when the inequities I have mentioned have been removed. The A.S.E. has built the house, but the house is not in order; and I contend that "The A.S.E. is not the meat." FRANK JACKSON.

Correspondence

FUSION OF THE R. C. A. & N. U. R.

SIR,—I think Mr. Temple's plan—that the N.U.R. should invite the R.C.A. to discuss fusion, and, failing success, vigorously canvass for members among the clerks—is a very good one; but how long will it take to get Unity House to move. Mr. Thomas, for example, is apparently not greatly enamoured of the idea of one union for all railwaymen; you remember how at the formation of the N.U.R. he declared that no attempt would be made to organize the workers in the sheds, and how the G.R.W.U. compelled him to withdraw this statement, and insisted on industrial unionism for the N.U.R. A year or so ago, when the R.C.A. moved into new head offices, Mr. Wardle was present at the dinner held to celebrate the occasion. Would he or Mr. Thomas attend a similar function of the A.S.L.E. & F.? It looks as if Unity House preferred the clerks organized separately, but in my humble opinion financial and strike policy questions will make the R.C.A. take the first move.

As regards the financial reason, the original R.C.A. subscription was 6d. a month, afterwards increased to 1/- . At the beginning of this year the E.C. said that contributions must be made 6d. a week. This proposal met with a very mixed reception, and at the Annual Conference 4d. a week was decided upon. It is plain to everyone that this is but temporary, and before long will have to be again increased if the R.C.A. is to keep solvent. How many members will lapse then? The staff on the G.E., L. & Y., or N.B. Railways with average weekly salaries of station-masters and clerks, 30/6, 29/4 and 25/4 on each line, cannot afford more and will doubtless drop out. The decreased membership will mean decreased power and influence, and fewer concessions than ever from the companies. By going into the N.U.R. with its 2d., 3d., 4d. and 5d. per week scales of contributions, clerks on lines paying such low salaries as the above need not be lost to Trade Unionism.

During the railway strike of 1911, the R.C.A. instructed its members not to "blackleg" or to take over the duties of any clerk so doing. This meant that the companies paid a large number of clerks a week's money for doing nothing; there being no traffic, there was little or no clerical work to be done. But will the companies do it again? When the next big strike takes place, they will have profited by experience. They may tell the clerical staff to do the work of the uniform grades and so attempt to run a restricted service, those clerks who refuse being immediately dismissed. The only steps the R.C.A. could take to get these men re-instated would be to appeal to the N.U.R. to raise the point in Parliament; because I do not for a moment think the latter would protract a strike over this question,

Again, the railways may simply suspend the clerical staff for the period of the strike, following the precedent of the G.C., who suspended superfluous clerks during the coal strike of 1912. The clerks would get 2/6 a day from the R.C.A., with funds equal to 5/- per member, and after that would be left to their own resources. The uniform grades, whether they win or lose the

next strike, are certain to get some concessions out of it, but the clerks, whether suspended from duty, black-legging on the other grades, or simply sitting in the offices doing nothing, will get no gains by their policy of neutrality; they will be crushed between the N.U.R. and the companies, for, of course, the latter will endeavour to recoup themselves from the clerical staff for anything they may have to give the uniform grades.

I should be very glad to hear the views of Mr. G. W. Brown on this question of amalgamation of the R.C.A. & the N.U.R.

Yours &c., E. M. NEWHOUSE.

ECONOMICS, POETRY, AND OTHER THINGS.

Sir,—I have been a dreadful long time acknowledging your kindness in sending me the *Plebs*. . . . Of course, to me the *Plebs* is it. I am no fount of knowledge, so that anything that contributes to my store I welcome. Although I am well over 40, I should go to school again if circumstances admitted of it. How I should like a term or two at the C.L.C.! As it is, I'm able to do all too little for the cause.

My "evolution" has been—first an I.L.P.er, then a B.S.P.er, and finally a full-blown S.L.P.er. My "conversion" came almost in a flash. I had been giving a paper— I cannot recall what it was about exactly, but it was Reformist and the comrades here ever so gently corrected me. It was a blow to my pride at the time, for I thought I *knew*—and they were younger than I. I know better now (but I'm still haunted by the fear of making bloomers in my economics !)

. . . I've no use for poetry—Blatchfordian nature rhapsodies or any other sort. I've got an *ear* for economics, and this is as near to poetry as I have ever got. Some of the comrades here cannot understand my failing to rave over Shelley's *Queen Mab*. But I can't—it would be sheer hypocrisy if I did. They ascribe my attitude to being a married man, and having a large family to feed. Such things, no doubt, do tinge one's outlook. I reserve my admiration for the cauliflower, potato-flower, the lovely cabbage, great and green, and the pea and bean in bloom.

. . . But where am I drifting to—this is not a Pepy's Diary. We are forging ahead in Leicester. One of our members, Comrade Cousins (a star artist in economics) is conducting a class at the I.L.P. rooms. Some of our students pull wry faces at times at the doses of Marx—but they've got to have it ! If necessary I shall pinch their noses while Cousins pours it down their throats. Commodity status, subsistence level, cost of production, &c., &c., are worse than castor-oil, especially if you've been brought up on sugary sentimentalism. But they've got to be swallowed, and kept down. . . . I get a bit mixed myself sometimes, having had a "religious" up-bringing. I have to keep on reminding myself that the ethics of yesterday are like tinned fish, and that we must open a fresh tin every day, and throw away what we don't consume, if we are to keep a wholesome mind. (The Secularists are as bad as the "religious" crowd—mere students of biology, dry sticks.)

But I'm getting off the rail again. To return to things here—Comrade Ramsay is working like a Trojan for Industrial Unionism in the A.S.E., and I'm doing my bit in the Workers' Union. They tell me I've got my work cut out, but I'm going on until the bogey man fetches me; and there's eight little 'uns coming on behind—everyone of whom will be little teasers for our lovely social system, if father can drill it into them. They say old men get conservative; if that be true, I pray that I'm "Zepped" in the early stages. . . .

Keep on at the W.E.A. It's a "pot egg," and the workers'll hatch nothing out from it, however long they sit on it. In fact, it's worse than a pot egg, in that it stinks.

Yours frat. F. S. R.

(Leicester.)

PROF. ARNOLD AND PROFITS.

Sir,—With reference to your account of my *War-Time Lectures (Plebs, December, p. 263)* my full statement is—"All the capital of each trade . . . would be placed under the control of the Guilds, and in particular of the Upper Chamber in each Guild." To give a fair idea of my proposal, I think you should refer to my statement that the "working-man will have the opportunity . . . of seeing the profits employed collectively for the good of his class." I do in fact propose that profits should in future go to the worker, not to the capitalist; and naturally such a proposal requires some safeguards.

Yours &c.,

E. V. ARNOLD.

University College, Bangor, N.W.

WITH APOLOGIES TO KIPLING.

If you can Sense a Bluff when all about you
 Are Quitting Cold and Leaving It to you;
 If you can hold a Bobtail or a Royal,
 And keep the same expression for the two;
 If you are Pat and yet can Pass the Opening
 And see the Deal go by without a sigh,
 Or, holding Jacks, you Open for the Limit
 And draw no cards, and never bat an eye;
 If you can lose, and never talk Post Mortems,
 Or winning never boast of what you've won—
 Believe me, then, you'll be Some Poker Player.
 And, what is more, you'll COP the COIN, my son.—

(Wandsworth Military Hospital Gazette.).

* * * * *

There is no class war—the jailing of Socialists is merely hospitality.—
International Socialist.

Reports

THE BIG PUSH IN THE ABERDARE VALLEY.

Until recently, the Aberdare Valley was supposed to be a W.F.A. stronghold. But the W.F.A. has been "the nobbled," and not "the nobbler," in this particular district, and the social sciences are now being taught from a "partial" view-point, under C.L.C. auspices, in classes controlled and maintained by the workers themselves.

A short time ago the Aberdare District S.W.M.F. decided to provide educational facilities for any of its lodges who could produce the names of a certain number of would-be students; and it appointed an Educational Subcommittee or Evening Classes' Committee to deal with the matter. Mr. W. J. Edwards (a Ruskin student before THE STRIKE of ever blessed memory, and a whole-hearted C.L.C.-er) and Mark Starr were appointed teachers in Economics and Industrial History respectively. The teachers drew up a syllabus, which was printed by the District; and this has not only been of great service to class-members, but has interested outsiders and been an advertisement for the classes. The following classes are now in full swing:—**ABERDARE:** *Economics* (22 members), *Industrial History* (40 members); **ABERAMAN:** *Economics* and *Industrial History* (26 members each); **MOUNTAIN ASH:** *Economics* and *Industrial History* (15 and 20 members respectively). The respective secretaries will be found in the list of C.L.C. classes on another page. Mr. Iltyd Hopkins, District Sub-Agent and Secretary, does the general secretarial work in connection with the Evening Classes Committee.

The College staff have generously helped with advice and lesson material when needed. If the writer of the *Times* article (reprinted in December *Plebs*) had read the acknowledgments to the C.L.C. and to W. W. Craik which prefaced the 1st outline published in the Merthyr *Pioneer*, he would have had another charge to lay at the door of that remarkable institution. Our thanks are also due to the *Pioneer* for opening its columns on many occasions to statements of the C.L.C. point of view, and for publishing the Industrial History Outlines.

Nine dozen (seven-and-a-half of which were sold) of the *Plebs* Special Education Number were distributed in the valley, and, chiefly thanks to the Classes, we have now a regular order for six dozen. About twenty dozen S.L.P. pamphlets (Marx, Engels, and De Leon) have been already sold. A goodly number of the "First Vol.," Hyndman's *Economics for Socialism*, and De Gibbins' *Industrial History* have been procured for use; and Craik's book will have a ready sale.

The need for a continual restatement of the class-war on the educational field—a point mentioned by you, Mr. Editor, in reply to a correspondent—is felt in breaking new ground and in endeavouring to form new classes. But to obviate boring old readers, and in order to use the pages of the *Plebs* in other ways, could we not have, and is it not time we had, a *Plebs* pamphlet,

giving the case for C.L.C. v. W.E.A. and bringing the history of the C.L.C. up to the date of its evolution into The Labour College? The look of compassion on one's face for the poor blighter who has never heard of *Plebs* or C.L.C., and who has never understood the need of definite working-class education, discourages rather than helps him. How convenient it would be if such as he could be handed a pamphlet which contained an exposition of the C.L.C. case, and of all the important issues involved, and, in addition, a brief account of the movement from the Ruskin Strike onwards. The classes, which are rapidly growing in number, could guarantee a sale for such a pamphlet. What think other Plebeians of this suggestion?

MARK STARR.

WORKERS' DEMOCRATIC EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE

A most successful conference was held at Ruskin Institute, Cardiff, on Sunday, November 19, in connection with the various Classes in South Wales and Monmouthshire. Mr. Sydney Jones, of Blackwood, presided.

Mr. Jones, in opening, explained why the conference had been convened. The reason was the need for a uniform system of forming and conducting classes over the length and breadth of the Principality. They needed further to discuss the League's position, and its relationship with the Industrial Movement.

After a very good discussion, in which several delegates took part, the following resolution was moved by Mr. W. H. Mainwaring, (Rhondda) and seconded by Mr. W. G. Davies, (Pontypool.)

That this conference of delegates, representing the large number of Classes already in existence in South Wales and Monmouthshire of the S.W.M.F. and the N.U.R. and kindred organizations, desire that the S.W.M.F. and the N.U.R. take over the control of Classes in relation to the Central Labour College.

The next item discussed was the title of the organization; and the following resolution was finally moved by Mr. E. J. Williams, (Pontypridd) and seconded by Mr. Griff Maddocks, (Rhondda.)

That the organization shall be called the "Central Labour College League, South Wales Division."

It was moved and carried that an organizing secretary be appointed, and W. J. Hewlett (Abertillery) was appointed. It was further decided that the next conference should be held on the first Sunday in February. It was also agreed that Classes be invited to forward to the organizing secretary matter to be placed upon the next agenda.

Rally round *your own* flag, boys! And see to it that *our* movement grows by leaps and bounds.

W. J. HEWLETT.

DURHAM MOVES.

Marsden Lodge (Durham Miners' Association) have by a ballot vote of 320 to 237 decided to support the C.L.C. The cold North is feeling the heat wave from South Wales!

A List of Tutorial Classes Conducted in Connection with the Central Labour College

The lecturer's name follows the subject studied by the class; the name and address of the class-secretary, from whom any information can be obtained, is given in brackets.

EDINBURGH N.U.R. Class:—*History*, J. S. Clarke. (J. M. Nixon, 16, Waverley Park, Abbeyhill, Edinburgh).

NEWCASTLE Class:—*Economics*, Geo. Harvey. *Modern Working-Class Movement*, W. Lewcock. (H. Shutt, 15, Greenhow Terrace, Elswick, Newcastle-on-Tyne).

CHOPWELL Miners' Class:—*Modern Working-Class Movement*, W. Lawther. (J. Bell, 62, Forth Street, Chopwell, Co. Durham).

CONSETT Miners' Class:—*Modern Working-Class Movement*, W. Lawther. (T. Orr, 6, Derwent Cottages, Medomsley, Co. Durham).

SOUTH SHIELDS Miners' Class:—*Modern Working-Class Movement*, W. Lawther. (W. Pearson, 10, George Street, Marsden, S. Shields).

HALIFAX Trades Council Class:—*Economics*, A. Waight. *Modern Working-Class Movement*, J. W. Thomas. (J. W. Thomas, 154, Hansom Lane, Halifax).

ROCHDALE Class:—*Industrial History*, H. Kershaw. (F. Horsfield, 145a, Yorkshire Street, Rochdale.)

MANCHESTER N.U.R. Class:—*Modern Working-Class Movement*, R. Holder. (J. Grierson, 5, Larnsdale Avenue, Reddish, Nr. Stockport).

STOCKPORT N.U.R. Class:—*Modern Working-Class Movement*, R. Holder. (T. Hook, 79, Haward Street, Stockport).

N. E. LANCASHIRE (suspended during the war).

NEWPORT (Mon.) N.U.R. & I.L.P. Class:—*Modern Working-Class Movement*, H. Griffiths. (A. S. Wilson, 11, Woodland Park Road, Newport, Mon.)

ABERTILLERY Miners' Class:—*Industrial History*, W. Williams. (Allen Johnson, c/o. W. J. Hewlett, 87 Oak Street, Abertillery).

BLACKWOOD Miners' Class:—*Industrial History*, S. Jones. (R. Jones, c/o. S. Jones, Woodfield, Blackwood, Mon.)

OAKDALE Miners' Class:—*Industrial History*, S. Jones. (F. Smith, 21, Ashvale, Oakdale, Mon.)

WATTSVILLE Miners' Class:—*Industrial History*, S. Fisher. (S. Fisher, 8, Beechwood Av. Wattsville, Nr. Crosskeys. Mon.)

ABERDARE Miners' Class:—*Economics*, W. J. Edwards. *Industrial History* Mark Starr. (E. W. Davies, Bwlfa Road, Cwmdare, Aberdare.)

ABERAMAN Miners' Class:—*Economics*, W. J. Edwards. *Industrial History*, Mark Starr. (D. H. Jones, 28 Regent Street, Aberaman, Aberdare.)

MOUNTAIN ASH Miners' Class:—*Economics*, W. J. Edwards. *Industrial History*, Mark Starr. (C. Dudden, 36 Arnold Street, Mountain Ash.)

BARRY N.U.R. Class:—*Industrial History*, A. J. Cook. (J. Gerry, 31 Salisbury Road, Barry, Glam.)

PONTYPRIDD I.L.P. Class:—*Industrial History*, E. J. Williams. (I. Morgan; 1 Llewellyn Street, Hopkinstown, Pontypridd.)

PONTYGWAITH Miners' Class :—*Industrial History*, W. H. Mainwaring *English*, P. Gwyn-Hughes. (S. Horner, 55 Avenue, Pontygwaith.)

YNYSHIR Miners' Class :—*Economics*, A. J. Cook. *Modern Working-Class Movement*. Noah Ablett. (A. Horner, Cross Street, Ynyshir.)

MARDY Miners' Class :—*Socialism and War*, Noah Ablett.

PORTH Miners' Class :—*Economics*, Griff Maddocks. (D. Davies, Cemetery Road, Porth.)

MID-RHONDDA Miners' Class :—*Industrial History*, W. H. Mainwaring. *English*, Miss Ray. (D. Gronow, 49 High Street, Clydach Vale.)

TREORCHY Miners' Class :—*Economics*, D. W. Thomas. *English*, W. G. Cove. (G. Hughes, 9 Dyfodwy Street, Treorchy.)

TREHERBERT Miners' Class :—*Economics*, E. J. Williams. (Glyn Jones, 51 Eileen Place, Tynewydd, Treherbert—who is also District Organizing Secretary.)

LONDON DISTRICT COUNCIL N.U.R. :—Classes at Shepherds Bush, Paddington, Neasden, and Kentish Town, applying for resumption.

CLASSES IN FORMATION.

Pontypool, Bargoed, Llanhilleth, Cardiff, Chippenham, Doncaster, Warrington, and in Northumberland.

SOCIAL SCIENCE (S.L.P.) CLASSES.

BIRMINGHAM (F. Silvester, 8 Evelyn Road, Sparkhill, Birmingham.)

DERBY (E. Wright, 66 Almond Street, Derby.)

BOLTON (H. Hutchinson, 384 Bury Road, Bolton.)

LEICESTER (W. S. Rimington, 13 Twycross Street, Leicester.)

LONG EATON (E. Groom, 32 Longmore Road, Sandiacre, Notts.)

GLASGOW (Sec., 50 Renfrew Street, Glasgow.)

DUMBARTON (Mrs. Allan, 6 Park Crescent, Dumbarton.)

BRIDGETON (Glasgow) (J. Linden, 63 Rumford Street, Bridgeton, Glasgow.)

BLACKPOOL

LIVERPOOL (A. McManus, 46 Brook Street, Bootle, Liverpool.)

" SOME " IDYLL.

The worker is not, as Karl Marx would say, being dragged at the chariot wheel of the capitalist ; he is sitting with him on the box-seat, driving slowly but surely along the path of progress.—Hector Macpherson, in *A Century of Intellectual Development*.

It's a fine thing to go to war and die for—. By the way, what do working-men die for when they go to war ?—*Victoria Labor Call*.

* * * * *

Freedom would get a shock if she met some of those who pretend to be her lovers.—*Maoriland Worker*.

* * * * *

English pressmen fell in it when Carmen Sylva, Queen of Roumania, died. They referred to her perfect character, and published columns about her good qualities. They didn't know she was a German until they had done it.—*International Socialist*.

Review

"INDISPENSABLE."

How Europe Armed for War. By J. Walton Newbold. (*Blackfriars Press*, 1/3 net).

Mr. Newbold has written a book of twenty-three chapters packed with most useful and significant information. Indeed, the impression one gets on finishing the book, is that there is almost too great a mass of facts. It is a veritable encyclopedia on armament firms and their murderous machinations.

The author must have spent years of most minute and painstaking research in order to compile his "evidence."

The period taken is 1871-1914. The armament firms are set forth as a few groups whose shareholders are, in the main, the same persons. They specialise either in armour, explosives, or the mechanisms of speed. One firm produces armour-plate that cannot be penetrated; another produces an explosive that penetrates the hitherto impenetrable; another so increases the speed of warships as to make armour and explosives of relatively less account. The old plant is scrapped and new and more deadly instruments are devised; but what a firm loses "on the swings," it more than recovers "on the roundabouts." And so, as our author remarks, "the merry mad race goes on." The present war is to him but the climax of the armament race.

When Germany and Austria faced Britain, France and Russia on the battlefields, the belligerent powers were only continuing an old quarrel in a new and more destructive manner. The organizations of conflicting interests represented by the several States and Empires had really been at silent but eventually ruinous war for many years.

Mr. Newbold has read Boudin's *Socialism and War* with evident approval but it is quite clear that he had then already written his book. In one respect this is rather a pity, for if he had worked up his data on the remarkably clear theoretical basis of Boudin, he would have produced not an encyclopedia but a masterpiece. Nevertheless no Plebeian can afford to be without Newbold's book, any more than he can afford not to have Boudin's book on his bookshelf. Indeed, both books are complementary and should be read and studied in conjunction with each other. Newbold gives the data which Boudin does not supply, and, *per contra*, the theoretical clarity and conclusiveness which one misses in *How Europe Armed for War* will be found in *Socialism and War*.

Both Boudin and Newbold are able lecturers as well as writers. We cannot avail ourselves of the brilliant American Marxian scholar in the former capacity, but Newbold is available, and our Labour College classes should make the fullest possible use of his services.

NOAH ABLETT.

The *Plebs'* Bookshelf

At last we have got that C.L.C. textbook—W.W.C.'s *History of the Modern Working-Class Movement*. The delay in publication has been unavoidable; and in any case (please note, O my correspondents) the *Plebs* is not responsible. Next month we hope to publish a review of the book by an old friend of the author's—and of ours—Noah Ablett. All I wish to do here is to remind those Plebeians who have not yet ordered it, to communicate with W. T. A. Foot (119, Harvist Road, West Kilburn, N.W.); and, further, to note that the price of the book, up to six copies, is 7d. each, including postage—over six copies, 6d. each. May I also ask *Plebs* readers to point out the advertisement (of this magazine) on the cover of the book to any likely new readers?

The book will be pretty keenly discussed up and down the country during the next few months, as a glance down the list of C.L.C. classes published on another page will show. Trade Unionists everywhere owe a debt of gratitude to the London District Council of the N.U.R., to whose "enlightened self-interest" its publication is due. May it be the first of many from the same hand—and so say all of us!

* * * * *

"If you want an addition to your list of novels," writes a S. Wales correspondent (one of those unpatriotic miners), "just include *Light-Fingered Gentry*, by David Graham Phillips (*Daily Mail* 6d. Novels). It is a ruthless exposure of the fraud and hypocrisy of insurance companies in New York. There is practically no mention of the working-class, as such, but nevertheless the book contains some fine characters, who give expression to some sound observations on human relations and what they should be. It's a study of the methods whereby people get a living, and the consequent mental and moral effect upon them, and is certainly one of the most interesting novels I've read for many a long day." Here follows an excerpt from the book, which my correspondent forwards, by way of bait to *Plebs* readers:—

To understand a human being at all in any of his or her aspects however far removed from the apparently material, it is necessary to understand how that man or woman comes by the necessities of life—food, clothing, shelter. To study human nature either in full or in detail, leaving these matters out of account, is as if an anatomist were to try to understand the human body, having first taken away the vital organs and the arteries and veins. It is the method of the man's income that determines the man; and his parading and posings, his loves, hatreds, generosities, meannesses, all are either unimportant or are but the surface signs of the deep, real emotions that constitute the vital nucleus of the real man. In the material relations of a man or a woman, of husband and wife, of parents and children, lie the ultimate, true explanations of human conduct. This has always been so, in all ages and classes; and it will be so until the chief concern of the human animal, and therefore its chief compelling motive, ceases to be the pursuit of the necessities and luxuries that enable it to live from day to day and that safeguard it in old age. . . .

So make a note of it—*Daily Mail* 6d. Novels, No. 165. You may patronise the Northcliffe firm for this once, my brethren—and not even the Defence of the Realm Act can prevent you thinking to yourself, as you muse upon the title of the novel, that it applies to other people besides American insurance brokers.

* * * * *

The mention of America reminds me that, from a friend who has a friend in that happy land, I have received a long cutting (from the *New York Times*) telling the story of O. Henry's life. It appears that Henry (whose real name was Wm. Sidney Porter) first turned his attention to story-writing, and actually wrote a large number of the short stories on which his fame rests, while serving time for embezzlement in the State Penitentiary at Columbus, Ohio. At the trial O. Henry pleaded not guilty, and he always maintained that he was innocent; and his biographer has now collected various pieces of evidence which go to support his plea. At all events, it was in prison that O. Henry—he had previously, among sundry other things, done some miscellaneous journalism—"found himself." He was a qualified chemist, and in the prison served as drug clerk; and he began to make short stories out of the experiences related to him by his fellow-convicts. Which in part, perhaps, explains the "humour, kindness, and truth" of these stories, and the fact that, as a reviewer recently put it, "even the sordid and the vulgar and the commonplace things he writes about are touched by his genius so that they yield their revelation of the bravery and goodness that lie at the heart of life." A good few of his stories, as this same reviewer observes, "might be printed in the Socialist Press as good propaganda. . . . All of them are saturated with humour and humanity." So if you have not yet taken my advice of three or four months ago, and treated yourself to one or other of the shilling volumes now displayed on every bookstall—well, you still have a treat in store.

* * * * *

And that other American, whose adventures were even more varied and highly coloured than O. Henry's (though I don't know whether they included a term in jail) and whose volumes of stories lie alongside O. Henry's in the shops and on the stalls, is dead. Jack London's was an amazing career. Whatever he did, in life or in literature, he seems to have done with an immense gusto. Forty books in fifteen years is "some" record; and it was hardly to be expected that a man who, for whatever reason, chose to work at that pressure, could maintain the same level of achievement throughout. Jack London's virtues were the virtues of energy—exuberance, hard hitting, and freshness; his defects were the defects of those same qualities—lack of restraint and self-criticism, and an incorrigible, awful romanticism. "His stern, strong" heroes not seldom remind one of the cinema; and his heroines . . . well, fortunately they are few. *The Iron Heel* and *Before Adam* are both remarkable books; *People of the Abyss* was a great piece of journalism; but, considered as literature, I should say that none of his later work equalled some of the earlier short stories. At his best, he carried you off your feet; at his worst, he tried to shout you off your feet—and sometimes succeeded, only too well.

If you don't agree, I hope you'll write and say so:

My space is limited, so I must very hastily tick off the various items on my list:—A correspondent writes reminding me that *The Reds of the Midi*, by Felix Gras (Heinemann's 1/- series), is a fine story of the French Revolution, and asks me to mention it in the Bookshelf. I add my own recommendation of the book to his . . . Another friend mentions *The Gadfly*, by E. L. Voynich, (same publisher, 7d.) . . . I don't think I have ever mentioned W. L. George's *A Bed of Roses* (Palmer, 1/- net); anyhow it is certainly a book worth reading . . . Recently I bethought me of J. S. C.'s advice, and purchased a Zola—*Therese Raquin*; I'll say no more than that I shall have to read more Zola before I like him—or before I am convinced of his greatness . . . Just lately, too, I have been reading a Joseph Conrad—*Chance* (Methuen, 1/-). *Typhoon* I had read previously; and—as time and opportunity offers—put me down for more Conrad!

Messrs. Macmillan have just published *Selected Poems* by Thomas Hardy (2/6 net). I had hoped to have space to quote some of the fine things in it, and may be able to do so later. Every lover of poetry—or of Hardy—should get this volume. Whether you think, with the *Times* reviewer, that Hardy's verse "can not rank for a moment with his prose," verse not being his "natural way of utterance"; or whether you incline—as some do—to the very opposite view, you will find in this little volume some magnificent and memorable things.

Forward of December 2nd quoted at some length from the *Times* article (on South Wales) reprinted in the *Plebs* last month, but contrived to omit all reference to the C.L.C., or the *Plebs League*; and ended its extracts with the remark—"What an unconscious tribute to the Independent Labour Party!" Is this quite "playing the game"? The I.L.P. certainly came in for honourable mention in the article in question; but the impression given by the extracts in *Forward* was certainly that it, and it alone, was credited with the educational work in South Wales. Which was most certainly not the case.

Mr. Barkas's reference, in his article on another page, to the need for Socialist Clubs and Club-rooms reminds me that in the Bradford *Pioneer* (Nov. 17th & 24th) there appeared two very interesting articles by Philip Frankford on "The Need of the Hour—Socialist Bureaux." The suggestion put forward was that in every town a bureau should be instituted, to serve as a centre of every kind of propagandist activity, and to collate the efforts of the various Socialist bodies. Such a bureau might very well serve as the nucleus of a Socialist Club; and in the meantime it could obviously organize many of the activities which would form part of the programme of a club—e.g., a lending library, a book-club and literature stall, &c., &c. Readers were invited to write P. Frankford, c/o. *Pioneer*, Church Bank, Bradford. I pass on the invitation to any Plebeians interested in the idea.

The editorial paragraph in the *Herald* (Dec. 23rd), commenting on Will Lawther's "Open Letter to a Durham Miner" in last month's *Plebs*, was all the more gratifying to C.L.C. workers inasmuch as some of us had been wondering (in view of the publication of Lord Haldane's article in its Xmas No.) what exactly was the *Herald's* point of view with regard to working-class education. The said Haldane article was precisely what one would have expected—but one did *not* expect to find it in the *Herald*. The concluding sentence of the editorial comment of Dec. 23rd—

Labour cannot afford to remain uneducated, and the most important side of its education is to find out what its true social and economic position is, and the means by which these conditions may be improved—

is more satisfying.

* * * * *

By the way, W. N. Ewer's poem "To a Pacifist," in the *Herald* of Dec. 16th, was a fine thing. But he will perhaps forgive one whose nose is perforce glued to the war-map during the greater part of its owner's working day, for pointing out that, strictly speaking, "the blood-soaked slopes of Sedd-ul-Bahr" are non-existent. Wasn't Mr. Ewer thinking of Sari Bair—which *is* a mountain, but which does not, unfortunately, rhyme with Tsar?

J. F. H.

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The "Plebs" League

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 NINTH Annual Meet will be held in London, August 5th, 1917.

The "Plebs" Magazine.

The Magazine is published monthly. price 2d. (2½d. post paid).

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