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

Vol. IX.

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Some Scraps of Paper

MESSRS. SOTHEBY'S sale of the Morrison autographs includes a letter penned three days before her execution by Mary, Queen of Scots. Some alarm has been expressed lest this should be snapped up by a private purchaser instead of finding its way into the national archives. It is unquestionably interesting—as a “human document”; though from any other standpoint the “scrap of paper” is of small significance to any Pleb. The working class might have been better off had Mary Stuart, and scores like her, never been born.

To the student, what a contrast exists between the parasite and the producer, between the mentally rotten and the thinker, between the power glutton and the modest discoverer. To the world we live in, however, ethical values are stated in terms of gold, and almost everything else is translated to the understanding through the universal interpreter—cash price.

Mary's letter will be knocked down at a figure representing several hundred pounds, and a letter written by a fellow-creature who made the world better by word and deed will hardly bring as many shillings.

An autograph letter, extending to four and a-half closely-written pages is in my possession, and I have great pleasure in publishing it in the *Plebs*, where it will receive due appreciation. Every Pleb knows (or ought to) that the year 1859 was memorable in the history of thought. During that year Marx's *Critique*, Fitzgerald's *Omar Khayyam*, and Darwin's *Origin of Species* were given to a hostile public. The *Critique* was sniffed at, Omar wouldn't sell for twopence a copy, and the *Origin* provoked an offensive from the literary and theological Huns of that day which occasionally finds an echo in this.

Even the howitzers of science were brought into action against Darwin, for we find Prof. Owen, Hopkins, Brodie and Sedgwick all formidably arrayed against the theory of descent by natural selection. On the other hand, Huxley, Hooker, Henslowe, and Lyell gave weighty support to it.

Regrettable indeed was the acrimony that characterised the controversy around the question, for we find Huxley, coat off, clubbing churchmen from the platform and drubbing them in the press, while every little pulpiteer in the country flung his contribution of ineffectual ridicule into the arena. Huxley was the great champion of Darwinism, for he was gifted with the pugnacity which Darwin himself totally lacked. But the first "popular" exposition of the momentous book appeared in the pages of *Macmillan's Magazine* December, 1860, from the pen of the blind political economist, Henry Fawcett. It is a sane, well condensed, and brilliantly lucid article, and called forth the charming letter here printed for the first time :—

Down, Binly, Kent.

December 6th, 1860.

MY DEAR SIR,—I had intended writing you before I received your obliging note this morning. I have been struck with admiration at your clear and forcible exposition of my views, and I beg leave to thank you cordially for all your kind and generous expressions towards me, and likewise for the sake of the subject. I have been much pleased with your metaphor, or rather simile, of Mont Blanc; and as I am now preparing a corrected edition, I shall give the simile as suggested by you. Many parts of the article have interested me much. I am indebted to you for having recalled to my recollection Mr. Hopkin's passage about Denudation. He is mistaken in supposing that I ever meant to say that when a formation has once been fairly upraised that it has been wholly denuded away. I referred exclusively to matter recently deposited and not consolidated, being denuded during its first elevation.

But as the subject has been broached by him I will touch on it and ask how he understands the presence of thousands and thousands of square miles (as in N.E. and South America, described by Humboldt) of naked

metamorphic schists and plutonic rocks. Will anyone believe that these have been metamorphosed in their present uncovered state? On the contrary, we must admit that they were once covered, and that, subsequently, all the sedimentary strata have in such cases been denuded away over whole regions.

Nothing has pleased me so much personally as your remarks (with the quotation from Mill) on the proper spirit and method of scientific research. I never could see that I was wrong, however much the inductive system was hurled at my head, and now I feel sure I was not. As you seem so kindly interested in my work, I may mention that I believe the Key of my work was gained by an unusually inductive line of research. For when I began to suspect from Geological Distribution, &c., &c., that new species have been formed by descent, I determined to work at domestic foundations with not one single idea in my head, and no one can know the years of blind labour I had before I clearly saw that selection was man's chief means. When I had got thus far I strongly suspected that this was the key to nature's work, but it was some time before I could conceive how it could be applicable, not, indeed, until I chanced to read Malthus's noble work.

I may just add, simple as it may now appear, that it took me many years' thought before I saw the absolute necessity of (and manner of understanding) the principle as I have called it of divergence, which no one seems to perceive is new. Oh! the work I had in tabulating the plants of differently-sized areas, and puzzling why everywhere there was so much diversity of form!

But I really ought to beg your pardon, occupied as you are with exciting political concerns, for troubling you with these personal details, which I have not mentioned to others. I truly sympathise with you in your great calamity of loss of eyesight. The admiration of every right-minded man at your noble and courageous zeal to play a fitting part in life must be some, though a poor, consolation to you.

With my sincere thanks, I beg leave to remain, my dear Sir,

Yours very faithfully,

CHARLES DARWIN.

The simile so pleasing to Darwin was used by Fawcett to emphasise the necessity of discriminating between Geological Epochs and spans of historical time. Opponents urged the futile argument that inasmuch as animal forms sculptured in Egypt 5,000 years ago were similar in detail to living representatives, there was little to support the process of development elaborated by Darwin. Fawcett's rejoinder was to the effect that inasmuch as the altitude of Mont Blanc was similar 5,000 years ago to what it is to-day, there was sufficient refutation "to those theories of modern geology which suppose the stupendous peaks of Switzerland to have been lifted off their ocean bed, &c., &c." As a matter of fact, Evolution is concerned with millions of years, and to think in thousands is "unthinkable."

The question of denudation has been settled long ago, with many more problems presented, but unsolved, by Darwin himself.

The letter is characteristically Darwin's, and—one might say—characteristically a very great man's; for such pathetic touches as "No one can know the years of labour," "Oh! the work I had in tabulating, &c.," are charged with human feeling held in check

by almost preterhuman modesty. The "principle of divergence," which "no one seems to perceive is new" has been the mightiest bone of contention among scientific men for half a century. Variation, mutations, inheritance of acquired characters, sexual selection, and the question of telegony, all sprang from the discovery of the "principle of divergence," and some of these questions are debatable yet. Telegony is, of course, as dead as a door nail, but the mutation theory and Weissmannism are as paramount as the cataclysmic theories of modern astronomers and geologists. As for sexual selection, Messrs. Geddes and Thomson have successfully presented the pros and cons in their satisfactory work, *The Evolution of Sex*.*

Darwin's tribute to Malthus is interesting to the modern reader. As the propounder of arithmetical and geometrical ratios of plant and animal production, Malthus was strictly scientific, and gave Darwin the solution to the mystery of natural selection—the struggle for existence. The application of Malthusianism, however, to a type of animal that has triumphed over an adverse environment through the extraordinary development of its ingenuity (or "educability" as Lanketter calls it), *i.e.*, Man, is the absurdity that makes a "noble" scientific fact look puerile.

JOHN S. CLARKE.

War, Capitalism and the Workers

THE Welsh coal-owners are simulating great distress of mind. The Coal Controller has actually given the miners of Great Britain a "war-wage" of 1s. 6d. per day without even consulting the Welsh owners. This shocking conduct on his part has brought the Welsh magnates out on the warpath, and ink has flowed freely from the fighting pens of their scribes (and Pharisees). The coal trade cannot stand such outrageous concessions.

By way of trying to save the situation, some of the owners refused to pay when pits were idle for want of railway-waggons, unless the men got up at 5 a.m., put on their working kit, and paraded at the colliery office to register their names as fit and ready for work. This was too much even for the peace-loving, long-suffering Welsh miner: so the war-wage was ushered in by a "down tools." About 48 hours of this had the desired effect, and the colliery companies had to surrender and pay up, without this farcical parading at the pit when it was known that there was no work for the miner to do when he got there. (It is hardly necessary to add that it was only the Welsh owners who resorted to this device, which was not even tried by the Scotch companies.)

* *Home University Library*, 1s. 3d.

The Welsh owner, finding himself outwitted in one direction, broke out in another. The collieries in South Wales have only been working three or four days a week for several months. The war-wage settlement stipulates that the wage shall be paid when the colliery is idle for want of waggons. It therefore occurred to some of the owners that if they closed sections of the collieries, and dismissed 25 per cent. of the men, the remaining 75 per cent. could work full time ; and thus the payment of the war-wage to men not working could be avoided. This artful tactic led to another "down tools," and after another little stoppage, this move was also put out of action.

All this manœuvring of the owners was part of a general plan to discredit the Coal Controller, and to make Government control of the mines unworkable. The colliery owner has had such a long run of "doing what he likes with his own" that to find himself all at once discarded as a useless incumbrance and general nuisance was such a "let-down" that he is out to make trouble—and this economic outcast is as turbulent as any Sinn Feiner. A coal owner, presiding at a meeting of the Fernhill Collieries (of which Lord Rhondda was chairman a year ago) said that wages had risen beyond the economic standard, the war wage claim for 25 per cent. on total wages was equal to 45 per cent. on the present standard and he added, "These increases are such that no industry can possibly stand them." Dividends at the rate of 20 per cent. on ordinary shares were then agreed to, and it was reported that £44,960 would be carried forward. An industry which can pay 20 per cent. dividend and carry £40,000 forward must obviously be in a very parlous state !

The economic effects of the war have, as yet, received far too little attention from our writers. The inward meaning of this war debt of five to ten thousand million pounds has got to be revealed to the industrial worker. He must have it explained to him how every pound sterling of Capital and Interest will have to be paid out of his sweat and blood ; how the capitalist will make him (the worker) pay him (the capitalist) 10 or 20 per cent. profit, while he (the worker) is producing wealth to pay off the capitalists' loan to the capitalists' State to wage a capitalists' war. This is a theme worthy of the attention of friends Ablett and Harvey. War strips the world of its wealth, destroys ships, factories, railways, fields, bridges, buildings, food, forests, fuel, all of which have to be replaced by human sweat and blood—but not until the landowner has been paid toll in rent and royalties, and the whole product of labour has passed through the meshes of the capitalists' net, to reach the community only after he has extracted his profits. Before the bugle has finished the "Cease fire," a host of creatures prostituting Labour's name will choke the platforms of the country urging the workers, in the name of Industrial Peace, to slacken

their trade union rules, increase their output, make friends with their exploiting employers, and begin another long sojourn in the arid wilderness of industrial bondage. All this will be done under cover of that blessed word "Reconstruction," which truly means a re-construction and re-riveting of the fetters of slavery.

War creates an Eldorado for the capitalist and a Hell for labour. War increases the value of the investor's investments, and depreciates the purchasing power of the worker's wages. This is glaringly manifest at the present time. Profits in the coal trade have increased 50 per cent.; cost of living for the worker has increased on the average 80 per cent., while wages, before the war-wage was obtained, had only increased 40 per cent. While the capitalist is 50 per cent. better off owing to the war, the worker is 40 per cent. worse off. Immediately the war wage was granted the coal owners clamoured for an increase in the price of coal, which was put up half-a-crown a ton. As this has not been charged to our Allies the poor consumers of these isles have to pay for the bulk of the increase. I do not know whether D.O.R.A. will let me call the Excess Profit Tax by its proper name, but here is an example of how it works:—The Ebbw Vale Steel, Iron & Coal Co., Ltd., in 1912 made a profit of £70,320; in March, 1917, a profit was shown of £290,149, after providing for Excess Profit duty and depreciation. Here we have an increase of profit amounting to over 400 per cent. in five years.

Let us turn from the sordid facts to the remedy. I have just been reading my *Times* for November 8th, and I find we have been discovered, and by a real live Marquis. The Plebs propaganda has reached the House of Lords! Listen to his lordship:—

The governing classes hitherto had inclined to regard the working classes as a sort of dangerous animal, of enormous strength and potential violence, which it was necessary to be very civil to but never to trust. . . . It was absolutely necessary to correct that attitude of suspicion. Undoubtedly much the most formidable Report came from the Commissioners for Wales, where in some quarters very extreme opinions prevailed; and yet these men did not want to obtain an unprincipled advantage over somebody else. (Isn't he a nice man, this marquis?) On the contrary, they were most anxious to justify themselves, and they had gone so far that the South Wales Miners' Federation and the National Union of Railwaymen had jointly assumed financial responsibility for a working men's College for the study of history and economics. Was not that reassuring? These men were after the pursuit of truth, they were not going to trample on other people's rights; but they believed they would find in economics and history a justification for their wildest theories. . . . Their love for their country was shown by the recent magnificent ballot for the prosecution of the war. . . .

I forbear to add anything. Comment would spoil the Marquis's eloquent summary of the position of affairs. . . . Meantime, let us go on with "the pursuit of truth."

GEO. BARKER (Abertillery, Mon.).

The Outlook in South Wales

RECENT happenings on the South Wales coalfield have drawn our attention towards that storm centre of the class-struggle, and have, in all probability caused some people who do not know the position of affairs in that area to readjust their views on the relative strength and influence of Socialist and reactionary ideas amongst the Welsh miners. To the writer, who has spent weeks at a time in the company and in the homes of the workers of Glamorgan and Monmouth, and has found there inspiration and encouragement such as he has vainly sought anywhere else except, perhaps, on the Clyde, the result of the ballot on the policy to be adopted in regard to the threatened Comb-Out did not come as a surprise, still less as a disappointment. He anticipated the great majority against it, and foretold it. He has had no illusions as to the volume of anti-war or pacifist opinion in the country, and knows that there is a great distance to travel before weariness and "that fed-up feeling" develop into outspoken and active hostility. He does not believe that the psychology of the people holds out any appreciable encouragement to those who preach peace-by-negotiation, and he regards such agitation as being largely waste of effort. He has, therefore, persistently declined to dissipate his energies or exhaust his time in engaging in it. It is no use trying to stop the Flying Scotchman in full career by throwing one's arms round the smokestack.

The opponents of the "rank and file movement" steadily confused the public in South Wales as to the identity and aims of this school, representing them as Pacifists, one in spirit and thought with the N.C.F., the U.D.C., and other similar individualist organizations. They poured out through the columns of an "impartial" Press and the mouths of "disinterested" politicians a devastating torrent of lies, misrepresentations and irrelevancies. The officials of the miners' organization were, in their corporate capacity, and in the main as individuals, bitterly opposed to the younger men.

Naturally, the miners, brought under an incessant, day-and-night barrage of propaganda, which could not be effectively answered owing to the state of the law, believed if they voted in favour of downing tools in the event of the authorities removing men who had come into the mines since 1914, that steam coal production must, of necessity, cease, the Fleets of the Allies be held up, the Germans invade us, and the cause of Freedom and Justice be irretrievably lost. They could not in the circumstances possibly be convinced that this would never be allowed to result if they presented as firm a front as the bankers and the coalowners would have done—and have done under similar circumstances, when it has been a question of "combing out" fortunes over £41,000.

This was the juncture at which the coalowners and such disinterested politicians as Major David Davies, Sir C. J. Cory, and the Marquis of Bute, and such pure and not so simple patriots as Sir H. M. Jackson, of the Ebbw Vale Co. and the Newport Tribunal, desired to have a ballot. The "boss" class has not read Professor Munsterburg on *Industrial Psychology*, nor decided to make this science a part of the training of mine managers, without knowing a thing or two about the ways of human brain work. If this class is not brainy it knows how to buy embodiments of that useful quality. To say the least, it was unfortunate that the strategy of the rank and file movement should have resulted in their being forced to fight on such unfavourable ground and at such an unripe time. The Italian débâcle contributed in some measure to the victory of the disinterested ones. It is to be sincerely hoped that our comrades will take the lesson to heart in future campaigns and thus perfect their industrial strategy. More than all else, let us hope that it will teach our pacifist friends that their tactics and their ideas have no attraction for the working class, and that they are alien to the minds of the proletariat, however proper they were to those of the small traders and their kind. However, they will reply that Merthyr and Aberdare proved to be the strongest in support of a "down tools" policy. It would be strange if all the work of the I.L.P. and the Hardie tradition, the great Rink meetings, and the years of literature and lectures had had no effect. In other areas, where customary I.L.P. methods of propaganda have been in vogue as long as those of the C.L.C. class system in the Rhondda, the results have not justified any such confidence in the efficiency of the former. Merthyr, Aberdare, and Dowlais have historic traditions and a Radical tendency which go far to explain matters.

The size of the minority vote is by no means disconcerting to those who know the ground and who recognise that great and enthusiastic audiences are often a very mixed lot and comprise a very small proportion of the whole population.

The "boss" class fully understand the enormous importance of the South Wales "front" in the class struggles of the future. In the writer's opinion it would be difficult to overrate the part which Glamorgan and Monmouth are destined to play in the industrial development of the next quarter of a century. Our people must realise the all-importance of technical transformations and the change in the methods, the processes, and the mechanism of the means of production. It is these which, in the final analysis, determine the development of ideas, institutions, and all the superstructure of society. Having that conviction firmly in his mind, and basing his whole socialist method on the Materialist Conception of history, the writer has studied the phenomena of South Wales industrial evolution in the written word of capitalist books and periodicals, and in the concrete evidence of that evolution in the

valleys themselves. In the housing conditions, in the habits, customs, religions, in the town planning, in the works location and expansion, in the means of transport, in the use of waste, and in the neglect or abuse of natural advantages, he has been searching for the clue to industrial and social progress. The problems of Alsace-Lorraine, of Morocco, of Asia Minor, of Tariff Reform, have resolved themselves into observing the development of the coal export and iron import trade, the exhaustion of the native numerical resources, the necessities of the copper refineries and the difficulties of the tin-plate, chemical and iron and steel industries. The prospect of labour organization have become clearer in studying the correlation of coal, iron, steel, ferro-concrete, engineering, railway, harbour-shipping, ship-repairing, tar-distilling, by-product manufacture, chemical industry, metal refining, power raising, lighting, tramway, motor transport, and other branches of production. Amongst other conclusions he has arrived at the writer would emphasise (i.) the importance of the Admiralty decision to introduce ship-building—standard ships—to South Wales for the first time; (ii.) the growing habit of ocean steamship lines to acquire interests in Cardiff and Newport, probably with the view of coaling there; (iii.) the alliances between N.E. Coast and South Wales coal and iron masters; (iv.) the coming expansion and recuperation of metal and chemical industry on Swansea Bay; (v.) the fact that there are now nine by-product plants on the coalfield and that there is a scheme afoot for a central by-product, waste heat and power plant in the Taff Vale; (vi.) the alliance of the Rhondda interests in coal with shipping, newspaper and industrial and pharmaceutical chemists' enterprise; (vii.) the activity in colliery enterprise of the Ebbw Vale Co. and the close connections of Baldwins' with the Federation of British Industries and the Ministry of Munitions; (viii.) the future development of the coal areas in the Ely, Ogmere, Avon, and Rhymney Valleys, and (ix.) the sinister activity of Tupper, Stanton, and others in conjunction with members of great capitalist concerns like the Shipping Federation on the coast.

These matters all call for speedy attention, inquiry, caution, and foresight on the part of Marxists in the South Wales coalfield.

J. T. WALTON NEWBOLD.

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The Gospel of the Awakening

AND Jesus said unto His disciples : Verily, verily, I say unto you, the man that has given his heart to another country than Heaven, and to another God than the Father, that man no longer has either heart or conscience.

A slave [is he, and blind even to the uttermost depths of his soul.

And if his god be named Jehovah and his country Israel, he venerates Judith, but Delilah he deems a traitress and a harlot.

Now Judith and Delilah did the same things.

And this man curses Holofernes, but he blesses the name of Samson.

Now Samson, like Holofernes, was a slayer of men.

But if this man be a Philistine, and if he adore Dagon,

He knows that Judith has earned his contempt, but he honours Delilah, the Judith of his own people.

Now the Father which is in Heaven knows neither peoples nor countries, which keep men asunder,

But all men alike are His well-beloved children.

Adore, therefore, none but the Father which is in Heaven, in order that all men may be your well-beloved brethren.

When Jesus had said these things, He took with Him Peter, James, and John, and departed from the place wherein He had spoken to the disciples.

And some way therefrom He left Peter, James, and John, and entered further into Gethsemane, for He desired to commune alone with the Father.

But urgent as were His words, the Father made no answer.

* * * * *

When Jesus had sweated the sweat of blood and doubt after the manner that has been recorded by those which have spoken of these things, He understood that He must seek courage in Himself alone.

Thus it came to pass that, ceasing to appeal to the Father, He sought and obtained courage from Himself alone.

And when He had replaced the doubt of him who appeals to a god by the courage of him who appeals to none but himself, He returned to the place where Peter, James, and John had remained.

Now these had taken counsel together, confiding to one another that for some time past their spirits had been troubled by the words of the Master.

And, seeing Him returning towards them, they were afraid of the words He would utter, and they feigned slumber.

But Jesus spake unto them and said : The hour of all the awakenings has come to me, and I hope, trembling, that the hour of all the awakenings will come to you also.

Listen, therefore, to the words which will give you strength in the hour of all the awakenings.

For it may be that I have already so far awakened you that you have lost the dreams in which there are strict and jealous gods, and it may be that one day you will so far awaken that the dream that there is a Father in Heaven will likewise take to flight.

Hearken, therefore, to the parable of the man who climbs the mountain of the awakening.

* * * * *

The man who climbs the mountain of the awakening soon reaches a place where the air is pure.

And in the purity of this air neither Dagon can live, nor Jehovah, nor Moloch, nor any of those which are the gods of soldiers and the gods of priests, the gods of armies and the gods of temples,

Nor any of those gods which demand the blood of battles or the blood of sacrifices.

Then the man who climbs the mountain of the awakening understands what it really is which priests and soldiers speak of as the voice of jealous gods or the voice of the gods of armies,

And he knows that this voice is nothing but an echo which resounds in the deepest and darkest caverns of the soul.

But in the pure place to which he has ascended he hears a voice which seems to fall from Heaven.

And it is the voice of the Father who desires neither sacrifices nor battles, but who desires to be worshipped with the spirit, with loving-kindness, and with purity.

And the man continues to climb, singing the canticle of his heart and listening to the responses of the Father.

But at length he attains to a height out of reach of the responses of the Father, a place where there is no sound beyond the song of his own heart ;

For he has climbed to the summit and has emerged from the region of echoes.

Then the song of his heart becomes purer and lovelier, more painful and more valiant.

And the song of his heart says to him : A father who can make his children good does not make his children bad.

If, therefore, there were in Heaven an all-powerful Father, there would be peace on earth and peace among men.

But there is war on earth and war among men because man has sinned.

And man would not have sinned had there been a Father in Heaven.

For the all-powerful Father would have turned the heart of man toward all that is kindly and all that is just.

And he would have turned the heart of man away from all that is sinful.

When I was in the region of echoes I said to men : My brethren !

And I believed that I could hear the Father saying to me and to them : My children !

Now I have got beyond the region of echoes and I know that man never hears any other words than those which fall from his own lips.

And I know that men are my brethren solely because I love them.

And I must love them yet more,

Seeing that they are orphans and that many of them are wicked and incapable of loving.

And, seeing that they know how to kill and to torture, it is needful that I should know how to die in torment.

You, also, my well-beloved, should learn to die, if need be, in torment.

But, whether you do or do not learn to die in torment, learn to kill no longer.

And hurl into the bottomless pit your sword and the scabbard of your sword.

* * * * *

When he had said these things, Jesus withdrew once again into the remotest depths of the garden.

And the other disciples came asking Peter and the sons of Zebedee what the Master had said to them.

But Peter and the two others had driven out the words of the Master as one drives out an enemy or a madman, and they were greatly afraid lest these words should return into their minds.

Thus it came to pass that they made answer and said : We were slumbering, and we heard the Master speaking as in a dream,

And it seemed to us that he chided us because we were slumbering.

HAN RYNER.

(Translated from *Le Carmel*, Geneva.)

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The Chartists and Education

A PART from the radical (propertied) elements within it, the Chartist Movement was made up of the skilled handicraft workers and the workers in mines, factories, &c. There was a considerable difference in the point of view of these two sections, expressed in many a conflict upon methods and policy.

To the skilled craftsman, the advent of machinery was the cause of all the misery brought upon himself and his family, and all that was required to relieve him of the evil was to remove the cause. Failing in this, he directed his attention to schemes for controlling the machine. Then sprang up that ideology which gave birth to the Co-operative movement. By accumulation and pooling of their savings, with a pledge to trade only with each other, it was hoped, first, that they would be in a position to successfully oppose the competition of machinery; secondly, that the profits and savings could be used in the purchase of machinery, the opening of shops and factories, and the development of land schemes, so that in the course of time they would render superfluous the existing capitalist class; thirdly, that the success of these schemes would be secured by winning the adhesion of the Trade Unions.

How little a considerable section of the modern Co-operative movement has developed from this point of view may be seen by their oft-repeated statements that "Co-operation, with its plans for the purchase of factories, workshops, and mines, and for the increasing of its hold upon the sources of raw material, provides the easiest and best method of emancipating the working class—compared with which a policy of trade union action, for the increase of wages, &c., is suicidal." To the early co-operative handicraftsman, a militant trade union policy spelt disaster. How was he to save anything if strikes were to be indulged in? This point of view was also, to some extent, responsible for the cry of "No politics in the Union." Agitation of any kind was objectionable, as being likely to interfere with the peaceful policy of saving and accumulating.

The leaders of the Labour movement in general were under the influence of the Owenite movement which had attained considerable strength and impetus from the results of the experiments in Lanarkshire. Within this ideology was no suggestion of historical progress. It understood neither the capitalist class nor the working class—the relation of the one to the other, nor what was required for the emancipation of Labour. From their limited knowledge and outlook it was necessary, first, to secure political rights for the workers, the Charter, and then to use this means to assist in the development of the co-operative communal ideas. Thus Robert Owen proposed that Parliament should assist with a grant of five million pounds.

A system of national education ought also, they urged, to be instituted. This would serve two purposes—to train the rising generation, and to carry conviction to the minds and hearts of those who opposed them in their demands for political rights.

So much was hoped for from educational propaganda that it was fully expected that the opposition would of their own freewill give what was now demanded of them. To remove the gross ignorance and immorality prevailing amongst the employing class, and thereby to create a higher and nobler humanity, was then the best method of obtaining his rights for the working man. What they really sought to do all along—if it were at all possible—was to develop a new capitalist society, of a more human type, with the worst features removed, in which men would deal more equitably one with another.

While the movement of the mine and factory workers was also influenced to a considerable extent by this point of view, it had at the same time a clearer recognition of the class antagonism which existed between themselves and their employers. They were instinctively, if in no other way, aware of the conflict. It was from their ranks that the cry of "physical force" was raised. As they put it, "the masters will bend to nothing else." To them it was not a question of improving their masters' nature, but of improving their own organizations. What was required was a force strong enough to compel. Education and propaganda must therefore be of a very definite character. Systems of national education would be of little use just because they were *national*.

This was expressed clearly enough by Julian Harvey and others on behalf of the London Democratic Association, an organization formed by individuals who later on were associated with Marx and Engels. Most of its members were recruited from the factory districts of London. They stated that while they would welcome a system of national education they were under no delusion as to what its effects might be. To imagine that in this alone lay the source of progressive ideas was a mistake. What the ruling class failed to grant as a right would not be granted through moral suasion. It was frankly declared that those who could not be won by sympathy must be compelled through fear.

What could be expected from a system of national education controlled by the aristocracy and employing class? Such a system would be used to teach morals in keeping with the present system of social robbery. "So long as the political rights of the people are withheld from them, so long will every system of education receiving the sanction of a ruling class be used for the purpose of continuing their own domination and the subjection of the people."

The education, therefore, necessary for the development of the Labour movement had to be provided by that movement itself, and all Plebeians will recall how Marx and Engels assisted in this by lecturing to working men upon Economics and Industrial History.

V. H. MAINWARING.

Plebs Publications—Important

To those readers who have generously responded to our appeal in last month's magazine we tender our heartiest thanks, and now address ourselves only to those who said: "I will send some money to Plebs Publication Fund: I like the idea, it should be encouraged, it is what we have been wanting"—and passed by on the other side. Anyhow, their cheques did not reach our side, so they must perforce listen to more pleading.

One shilling will bring you, as soon as it is out—we hope by the middle of this month—

A WORKER LOOKS AT HISTORY,

by Mark Starr. Further, a cheque for a nice handy little sum as a LOAN will bring you at once a letter of heartfelt thanks from the Secretary. (A loan is "a sum of money lent," Chamber's says, "for interest." but the only interest we are concerned with is that you have sufficient interest in us to want us to succeed.) We will not reiterate the interesting things the book contains. Suffice it to say, you will be considered "no class" in the Rhondda, on the Clyde, or other places where they "ferment" (towards Revolution!) if you haven't got a copy.

Before passing on to other benefits to be derived we would like to say that this facetiousness is only a mask. We are really anxious. Our printer's bill will be big, and something horrible has happened to the credit system (once the backbone of the Empire), for neither paper manufacturers nor compositors have heard of it for a long time. So send us a Loan, which will be returned as soon as possible just as you sent it, except for our gratitude.

Then, again, what better Christmas present to anyone than a book about the class that is going to save the world? It is so appropriate. One shilling will bring it—fresh from the press, with a cover specially designed by J.F.H., and the George Barker Foreword mentioned last month. If you want to make our effort a success, send at once—*loans* and *cash* and *orders*. We are prepared to quote the following prices for quantities:—11s. per 12; £1 2s. 6d. per 25; £2 4s. per 50; and £4 7s. 6d. per 100.

Our stock of Fred Shaw's syllabus, *Marxism: Fundamentals of Social Evolution*, is nearly exhausted. Most good Marxians have secured their copy. Have you? Stamps for 3½d. brings it to you by return post? F.S. added another lecture-syllabus and book-list (on the Reformation) to the Plebs edition.

A good many of the classes have sent for a parcel of the two Plebs Leaflets, *How to Form a Social Science Class* and *Short Study Outlines*, finding them excellent propaganda. Geo. Belt, in the *Herald*, gave us a good shove-off with these, strongly recommending them to Herald Leaguers. For 2s. 6d. you get 50 of each, or 100 of either one.

Ablett, being a self-critical sort of author, is entirely re-writing

EASY OUTLINES OF ECONOMICS.

This is going to be a notable publication. We are booking orders now. Particulars and prices later. Once Mark Starr's book is off the press, we're

going straight ahead with Ablett's. Spread the joyful news—and send your guarantees along.

THAT pamphlet, *What Does Education Mean to the Workers?* is down to the last few hundreds of the second edition. That means nearly 20,000 sold since July. If the orders keep on keeping on, we shall put a third edition in hand forthwith. (But that also means guarantees.)

By the way, a word about the Magazine itself will not be out of place here. The circulation grows every month. We get new parcel-orders regularly. We've put *five figures* before us as the goal to aim at. Just roll up your sleeves and help.

WINIFRED HORRABIN (Sec.).

Correspondence

WELSH WRITERS.

SIR,—Regarding the assumed reputation of Mr. Joseph Keating as a describer of life in these valleys and J.F.H.'s inquiry as to his worth, I may say that some few years ago one of his books did find its way into my hands and left a deep impression—not upon my hands, but my mind; so deep that it would take more than an ordinary newspaper advert. to tempt me to indulge in any more.

The other writer mentioned, Caradoc Evans, is of a different stamp. The two books published by him lately, *My People* and *Cape! Sion*, have certainly made him notorious. In them he exposes the hypocritical character of the so-called religious life of the Welsh people, more particularly of the leaders. The war tale going the rounds of the papers just now, giving the opinion of a farmer-deacon on the war, might well have been taken from Caradoc Evans. "As a deacon he deplored it, as a farmer he hoped it would go on for ever." It is this spirit that is so clearly exposed by Mr. Evans. The style of the book and the method of "translation" are certainly open to criticism. Some of the English equivalents make it impossible, for myself at least, to guess at the original. But despite the criticism levelled at these two books—and this, bear in mind, has come mainly from the classes attacked—they are certainly instructive, and, it is to be hoped, *destructive*—so far as they concern the evils dealt with.

W.H.M.

"FREETHOUGHT" AND THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

SIR,—Freethought is claiming many of the active minority, particularly in South Wales, and too many one-time rebels have now become dabblers in "freedom of thought" (as a thing in itself).

In my opinion, this hobby of the intellectual bourgeois can well be left alone by the workers, as it tends to lead them away from the vital issue as well as giving a false and confused idea of freedom. Although a free thinker (in a certain sense) I have asked myself, and would like others to do likewise, the following question:—"Will Freethought emancipate the working-class; or is the worker justified in propagating it at the expense of that amount of time devoted to Marxism?" I answer, No, a thousand times No.

I have heard from the Freethought platforms more than once that society will never progress until Freethought reigns supreme. Granting that this is so, does it imply that the class-war must be neglected until we are all anti-Christian? The actions of some of the ex-rebels seem to suggest this. Does not the Materialist Conception, as enunciated by Marx, cover the whole issue of Freethought in such a way as to keep the worker's issue clearly to the fore?

We may have all the workers "Freethinkers," but that does not guarantee that they would be all class-conscious. If, on the other hand, all the workers were class-conscious, as a result of Marxist teaching, how could they be other than Freethinkers? It is up to the active minority not to waste time which should be devoted to the main thing—the class-struggle. "For the cause alone is worthy, till the good days bring the best."

Yours fraternally, TILLERY.

THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT.

SIR,—I note in their review of Karl Liebknecht's *Militarism and Anti-Militarism* that Eden and Cedar Paul

do not share Newbold's enthusiasm for that phrase, "the dictatorship of the proletariat." To dictate is as repugnant to the truly civilised human being as to be dictated to. "Power like a desolating pestilence. . . ."

Then they proceed to quote Wm. Liebknecht against me in a truly delicious fashion.

May I interpolate a query as to what they mean by "the truly civilised human being," and what type of civilisation they have in mind; as it seems to me that "civilisation" and, therefore, "the civilised human being," are terms having a relative meaning, conditioned by the system of society at any given time.

I am a little suspicious that our comrades are affected by the belief that force and compulsion are methods which are absolutely wrong, and that they have not rid themselves of bourgeois conceptions of morality and of ethics sufficiently to realise that working-class ethics and ideals should only be restrained or qualified by working-class interests.

At the present time, a great section of the socialist movement (I know that our comrades have little sympathy with it), owing to the fact that it has been joined by thousands of members of the outworn middle class, bringing with them their moribund morality from their bankrupt social and political organizations, is obsessed with the ethics and idealism of the small business man and his intellectual advisers and spiritual comforters. This, of course, is the explanation of the Bermondsey cult and of the passion for Civil Liberties, Open Diplomacy, and Free Trade in Commodities (poor old John Jacks!) which, like a desolating pestilence, waft over the green pastures of the *Labour Leader*. This blight—a blight when it becomes the doctrine of a Labour Movement, though quite a healthy phenomenon in a society of small capitalists and private traders and craftsmen—is very, very difficult to escape. Pacifism, Norman Angelism, and Orange-ism are all phenomena proper to the period of the dissolution of the bourgeoisie. "National Guilds" is a middle-class, formerly-would-have-been—"bosses'" scheme for the reorganization of industry.

We who are Industrial Unionists, who have thrown in our lot with the working class, and who accept the class struggle theory as the key to social progress, who are Marxists and followers of Dietzgen, must seek to understand what conditions the thought and action of the middle class comrades who have not crossed the line or who still look back to their old camping grounds. But we must warn our working-class socialists against their being misled by these schools of thought, which are as objectionable as they were inevitable.

Of course, the dictatorship of the proletariat will only be a phase, a necessary phase in the transition from master class ownership to social democracy. Whoever can read the signs of the times must, however, recognise that the Social Revolution is going to be no matter of peace by negotiation, no pacifist pilgrimage into the promised land. Above all, the working class must stand on its dignity assert itself and resolve to carry through to victory and beyond.

Yours fraternally, J. T. WALTON NEWBOLD.

MARK STARR'S "POT-POURRI."

SIR,—Mark Starr's torpid reply to our letter, its want of originality and excessive use of hackneyed expressions, makes a serious reply impossible. We feel quite distressed at his attempted vindication; it may be that this feeling emanates from an affinity between him and ourselves; we hope, however, that it springs from a relation of opposites.

Nevertheless, we sincerely trust that the work to which the Editor refers us will show more vitality than Mr. Starr's letter.

Yours, etc.,

R. JONES, S. S. EVANS.

A List of Tutorial Classes

The Lecturer's name follows the Subject studied by the Class; then the name and address of the Class-Secretary, from whom any information can be obtained. Time of Class, and meeting-place, are given in brackets.

SOUTH WALES.]

Central Education Comm. Rhondda No. 1 and 2 Dist. of Miners.

MARDY.—Elementary Economics, Noah Ablett. Sec., D. Lloyd Davies, 92 Edward Street. (Workmen's Hall, Thursdays, 6.30.)

FERNDALE.—Industrial History and Economics, W. H. Mainwaring. Sec., W. Morris, 6 Fountain Street. (Workmen's Inst., Lesser Hall, Mondays, 6.30.)

TYLORSTOWN.—Industrial History and Economics. Sec., S. Horner, 55, The Avenue, Pontygwaith. (Lodge Comm. Room, Mondays, 6.30.)

YNYSHIR.—Economics, A. J. Cook. Sec., A. Horner, 2 Cross Street. (Workmen's Hall, Sundays, 2.30.)

PORTH.—Elem. Economics, Griff. Maddocks. Sec., J. Bird, 52 Nyth Bran Terrace. (Washington Hotel, Thursdays, 6.30.)

TREHERBERT.—Ind. Hist. and Economics, Jack Williams. Sec., D. A. Thomas, 29 Clarke Street, Treorky. (Fernhill Institute, Tuesdays, 6.30.)

ABERGORKY.—Ind. Hist., W. J. Cove. Sec., T. J. Jenkins, 36 Ynyswen Road, Treorky. (Abergorky Hall, Mondays, 6.)

TREORKY.—Economics, D. Wyntham Thomas. Sec., T. E. Hughes, 9 Dyfodwig Street.

CWMPARK.—Ind. Hist. and Economics, W. J. Cove. Sec., Tom Evans, 224 Park Road. (Park and Dane Institute, Fridays, 6.30.)

YSTRAD RHONDDA.—Ind. Hist. and Economics, Griff. Maddocks. Sec., G. Phippen, 80 Penrhys Road. (Ystrad Library, Mondays, 6.30.)

MID-RHONDDA.—Economics, W. H. Mainwaring. Sec., F. J. Gingell, 91 Miskin Road, Trealaw. (Aberystwyth Restaurant, Thursdays, 6.30. Philosophy; Sundays, 2.30.)

PENYGRAIG.—Ind. Hist. and Economics, N. Thomas. Sec., S. Davies, 7 New Houses, Graig-yr-Eos Terrace. (Penygraig Library, Thursdays, 6.)

CYMMER, PORTH.—Ind. Hist., Tom Mathews. (Cymmer Library, Wednesdays, 6.30.)

PONTYPRIDD.—Ind. Hist. and Economics, E. Williams. Sec., J. Morgan, 1 Llewellyn Street, Hopkinstown. (Labour Exchange, Mondays, 6.30.)

ABERCYNON.—Ind. Hist. and Economics, E. Williams. Sec., C. Maddocks, Abercynon. (Workmen's Hall, Tuesdays, 6.30.)

YNYSYBWL.—Ind. Hist. and Economics, A. J. Cook. Sec., F. J. Friday. 5. Glyn Mynach Street. (Workmen's Hall, Monday, 6.30.)

LLANTWIT VARDRE.—Ind. Hist. and Economics, E. Williams.

TAFFS WELL.—Ind. Hist. and Economics, A. J. Cook. (The Schools, Thursday, 6.30.)

CARDIFF.—Ind. Hist. and Economics. Two classes. Sec., J. E. Edmunds, 9 Hanover Street. (8 Queen Street, Sundays, Ind. Hist., 2.30, and Economics, 6.30.)

BARRY.—Ind. Hist. and Economics. Sec., J. Jones, 10 Flora Street. (Co-operative Hall, Sundays, 10.30.)

ABERDARE DISTRICT S.W.M.F. CLASSES.

ABERDARE.—Economics, W. J. Edwards. Wednesday, 6.30, Indust. Hist., Mark Starr. Friday, 6.30. Sec., E. Evans, 16 Gospel Halter, Gadlys. (Thomas' Assembly Rooms.)

ABERAMAN.—Economics, W. J. Edwards. Monday, 6.30. Indust. Hist., Mark Starr. Wednesday, 6.30. Sec., D. H. Jones, 28 Regent Street. (Workmen's Institute.)

MOUNTAIN ASH.—Economics, W. J. Edwards. Thursday, 6.30. Indust. Hist., Mark Starr. Monday, 6.30. Sec., F. Tromans, 40, Ceredwen Street. (Glyn Gwyn Hall, Workmen's Institute.)

HIRWAIN.—Economics, W. J. Edwards. Tuesday, 7. Indust. Hist., Mark Starr. Thursday, 6.30. Sec., T. Powell, 18 Harris Street. (Coffee Tavern.)

DOWLAIS MINERS' DISTRICT CLASSES

DOWLAIS.—Ind. Hist., Mark Starr. Sec., W. Thomas, 8 Guest Cottages, Tenywern. (Carnegie Hall, alternate Tuesdays, 6.45.)

BEDLINOG.—Ind. Hist., Mark Starr. Sec., D. Richards, 3 Woodland Place. (Goschen Hall, alternate Tuesdays, 6.)

MERTHYR I.L.P.—

MERTHYR.—Ind. Hist., Mark Starr. Sec., C. T. Chambers, 72 Thomas Street. (Bentley's, Sunday, 11 a.m.) Economics, E. J. Williams. (Bentley's, Friday, 7.)

BARGOED.—T. D. Matthews (I.L.P. Rooms, Hanbury Road, Sundays, 7.30.)

GWAUN-CAE-GURWEN.—Ind. Hist., D. R. Owen. Sec., J. Watkins, 22 Gate Street, Cwmgorse, Glam. (Ante-room, Public Hall, Sunday, 10.30 a.m.) Economics, J. Dicks. Sec., M. Evans, Jolly Road, Garnant, Carn. (Meeting-place, as above, Sunday, 2.)

GARNANT.—Ind. Hist., D. R. Owen. Sec., M. Evans (address as above) (Communist Club, Sunday, 2.) Economics, D. R. Owen. Sec., M. Evans. (Communist Club, Sunday, 6.)

CLYDACH.—Social Evolution and Ind. Hist., J. L. Rees and Abraham Jones. Sec., N. A. Hopkin, 5 Bryn Road, Yardre. (Thursday, 7.30 p.m.) Economics (Sunday, 3 p.m.)

TONYREFAIL.—Ind. Hist. and Econ. W. H. Mainwaring. Sec., W. H. Hawkins, Eveleth House, Avenue. (Church Institute.)

NORTH OF ENGLAND C.L.C

NEWCASTLE.—Indust. Hist., J. C. Little. Sec., G. Lartar, c/o N.S.S. Rooms, Royal Arcade, N/C. (N.S.S. Rooms. Sunday, 10.45 a.m.) Economics, C. R. Crawford. Sec., J. Perry, Stella House, Forest Hall. (N.S.S. Rooms, Saturday, 5.30.) Indust. Hist., W. Lewcock. Sec., C. Wigham,

89 Woodbine Street, Gateshead. (N.S.S. Rooms, Wednesday, 7.) Hist. of Modern British Working Class. J. Bell. Sec., T. Robson, 5 Orchard Terrace, Throckley, Newburn. (N.S.S. Rooms, Tuesday, 7.) Indust. Hist., A. Marks. Sec., T. Laverick, Burt Hall, N/C. (I.L.P. Rooms, Newcastle, Sunday, 11 a.m.)

HEATON.—Indust. Hist., Will Lewcock. Sec., R. Ward, 327 Simonside Terrace. (N.S.S. Rooms, Newcastle, Wednesday, 7.)

ASHINGTON.—Ebbv Edwards. Sec., Miss Brotherton, Council Road.

PEGSWOOD.—E. Edwards. Sec., J. Bell, Pegswood, Northd.

BEDLINGTON.—E. Edwards. Sec., J. Arries, Taylor's Bldgs., Red Row.

CHOPWELL.—Indust. Hist., Will Lawther. Sec., J. Bell, 62 Forth Street. (Communist Club, Sunday, 6.30.) Modern Working Class Movement., J. Bell. Sec., J. Gilliland, Derwent Street. (Communist Club, Monday, 7.)

CONSETT.—Indust. Hist., Will Lawther. Sec., N. Stoddart, 13 Delves Lane. (Co-op. Hall, Tuesday, 7. p.m.)

BURNHOPE.—Modern Working Class Movement. Sec., J. Hobbs, Miners' Sec. (Co-op. Hall, Monday, 7.)

NEWBURN-ON-TYNE.—Modern Working Class Movement, Will Lewcock. Sec., C. W. Carman, 36 Comiston Avenue. (Wesleyan Hall, Blucher, Tuesday, 7.15.)

WALLSEND-ON-TYNE.—Indust. Hist., J. Barber. Sec., J. Trevorrow, 3 Percy Street. (Co-op. Hall, No. 6 Room, Sunday, 11 a.m.)

MIDDLESBROUGH.—Modern Working Class Movement, Will Lewcock. Sec., G. Wright, 3 Clarendon Road. (W.W.F. Club Room, Linthorpe Road, Sunday, 2.30.)

SCOTLAND.

S.L.P.-PLEBS CLASSES.

GLASGOW CENTRAL.—Economics and Indust. Hist., J. McLure. Sec., F. Rathner, c/o 50 Renfrew Street (S.L.P. Rooms, 50 Renfrew Street, Sunday, 3 p.m.)

GOVAN.—Sec., J. Hill, 101 Hozier Street, Partick. (E. U. Hall, White Street, Govan.)

BRIDGETON.—Economics and Indust. Hist. Sec., G. Whitehead, 125 Main Street. (I.L.P. Hall, 88 Canning Street, Sunday, 2.30.)

DUMBARTON.—Sec., W. Collic, 21 Clyde Street, Dumbarton (77 Glasgow Road.)

CLYDEBANK.—(I.L.P. Hall, Alexander Street.)

PARTICK.—Economics and Indust. Hist., T. Mitchell, D. Scott Morton, Sec., J. W. Knox, 18 Milton Street. (Co-op. Hall, Mansfield Street, Sunday, 3.30 to 5.30.)

SHETTLESTON.—(Labour Institute, William Street.)

PARKHEAD.—Indust. Hist., J. Thomson. (Labour Institute, Ewing Place, Sunday, 12 noon.)

RUTHERGLEN.—(I.L.P. Rechabite Hall.)

COLLEGE.—(I.L.P., Carlton Rooms, New City Road.)

SPRINGBURN.—(I.L.P. Hall, Cowlairs Road.)

GOVANHILL AND CATHCART.—(S. Glasgow Camera Club Hall, 43 Bankhall Street, Govanhill, 11 a.m., Sunday.)

Any comrades wishing to join in any of the above classes should write to Sec., Glasgow Plebs League, A. J. Solomons, 12 Binnie Place, Monteith Row, Glasgow, who will give full particulars.

SCOTTISH LABOUR COLLEGE COMMITTEE.(JOHN F. ARMOUR, *Hon. Sec.*, 65 W. Regent Street, Glasgow.)

- BARGEDDIE.—J. D. McDougall (Ross's Hall, Monday, 7.)
 BLANTYRE.— „ (I.L.P. Hall, Tuesday, 7).
 LESHMAHAGON.— „ (I.L.P. Hall, Wednesday, 6).
 KIRKMUIRHILL.— „ (I.L.P. Hall, Wednesday, 8).
 HAMILTON.— „ (Co.-Op. Hall, Thursday, 7.15).
 MOTHERWELL.— „ (I.L.P. Hall, Friday, 7.15).
 PAISLEY.—J. D. McDougall and J. F. Armour (B.S.P. Hall, Sunday, 12.30)
 KIRKINTILLOCH.—John Maclean (I.L.P. Hall, Monday, 7.30).
 GREENOCK.— „ (Good Templars' Hall, Tuesday, 7.30).
 JOHNSTONE.— „ (I.L.P. Hall, Wednesday, 8).
 GOVAN.—J. Maclean and J. Grady (Morris Hall, Thursday, 7.30).
 LEVEN.— John Maclean. (Co.-Op. Hall, Friday, 4.30).
 KIRKCALDY.— „ (B.S.P. Hall, Friday, 7.30).
 BOWHILL.— „ (Gothenburg Hall, Saturday, 3.30).
 COWDENBEATH.— „ (I.L.P. Hall, Saturday, 5.45)
 KILSYTH.—J. Greedy (I.L.P. Hall, Monday, 6).
 GLASGOW.—R. Nicol, H. B. Guthrie, J. D. McDougall, J. F. Armour, and
 Neil McLean (Central Halls, Sundays, 2.30).

B.S.P. CLASSES.

PAISLEY.—Hist. Materialism, J. D. Macdougall. Sec., A. Maxwell
 9 Johnstone Street. (B.S.P. Hall, 4 Cumberland Court, off Causeyside Street,
 Sunday, 12.30 noon to 1.15). Trade Unionism, J. F. Armour (as above,
 1.15 to 2 p.m.

January, 1918.—Marxian Economics, J. Maclean, M.A. (12.30 noon to 1.15)
 Industrial History, W. Gallacher (1.15 to 2.)

U.K.S. OF COACHMAKERS GLASGOW DISTRICT PLEBS CLASS.—
 Sec., T. Harris, 42 McDougall Street, Parkhead. (Glasgow Club House,
 297 Argyle Street, Sunday, 2.30).

EDINBURGH PLEBS.—Sec., J. Nixon, 16 Waverley Park, Abbeyhill.

LEITH A.S.E.—Particulars from J. Cameron, 59 Balfour Street.

ABERDEEN.—Hist. of Modern Working Class. Sec., A. J. Deans, Alex-
 andra Cottage, 1B Orchard Place.

MUSSELBURGH.—Sec., D. Kilpatrick, 17, North High Street.

FALKIRK.—Sec., Murray McCabe, 17 Main Street, Bainsford.

LEEDS.—PLEBS-S.L.P. CLASS.—Class leader, T. A. Jackson. Sec.,
 J. F. Richardson, 17 Darfield Road, Harehills. (Clarion Cafe, Gascoyne Street
 Boar Lane, Friday, 8).

B.S.P. CLASS.—Ind. Hist., Lew Davies. Sec., C. Harrison, c/o 41 Burley
 Street (B.S.P., Tuesday, 8).

N.U.R. CLASS.—(Proposed: Particulars from H. Clabby, 31 Nowell
 Mount, Harehills Lane).

NORTH WARD I.L.P. ADULT CLASS.—Lew Davies and J. F. Richard-
 son, lecture alternate Sundays.

SHEFFIELD.—Sociology and Economics, Fred Shaw. Sec., C. Watkins,
 Orgreave, Handsworth. (Old Town Hall Chambers, Castle Street, Saturday
 evenings, 7 p.m.)

SHEFFIELD WORKERS COMM. CLASS.—"Origin, Growth and Future of Trade Unionism." J. T. Murphy, S. E. Airey. Sec., E. Lismer, 56 Rushdale Road, Meersbrook. (A.S.E. Institute, Stanley Street, Wicker, Sheffield, Thursday, 7.45 p.m.)

LIVERPOOL.—Economics. Particulars from I.L.P. & B.S.P. E. Iisly, 82 Whitefield Road, Everton, Liverpool.

FLEETWOOD.—Indust. Hist. Sec., F. Slater, 44 Blakiston Street, W., Fleetwood.

BIRMINGHAM.—Economics and Indust. Hist., T. D. Smith. Sec., F. B. Silvester, 8 Evelyn Road, Sparkhill. (City Coffee House, Special Street, Monday, 8.)

STIRCHLEY.—Economics and Indust. Hist. Sec., E. R. Robinson, 31 Ashmore Road, King's Norton. (Friend's Hall, Watford Road, Cotteridge, Wednesday, 7.45.)

COLEFORD GLOS.—Philosophy, A. Hicks. Sec., A. Hicks, Market Place. (Jenny Lind, Coleford, Sunday, 6.30.)

HUDDERSFIELD.—Marxism Fred Shaw. Sec. Jesse Townend, 1 Market Place, Huddersfield.

HALIFAX.—Marxism, Fred Shaw (Thursdays, 7.45). Economics, A. Waight, and Indust. Hist., J. W. Thomas, (Sunday, 10.30 a.m.) Sec. H. Highley, 171 Spring Hall Lane. (Friendly & Trades Club.)

MANCHESTER.—C.L.C. class. W. Davies (Longsight). (Sunday, 7.30). Particulars from Sec., Leslie Galbraith, 26 Ivy Street, Moston

Information, *see* classes, in Manchester and district from

J. Bradshaw, 4 Lyndhurst Street, Derby Road, Seedley.

J. Adams, 21 Rae Street, Edgeley, Stockport.

Geo. Peet, 348 Abbey Hey Lane, Gorton.

J. Boyle, 109 Every Street, Ancoats.

WARRINGTON.—Social Science, J. H. Potter. Sec., A. E. Seabury, 3 Frederick Street, Latchford, Warrington.

WIGAN.—Indust. Hist., Alex. Evans. Sec., A. Evans, 62 Clayton Street, Wigan. (Total Abstinence Hall, Greenough Street, Wigan. Monday, 7 p.m.)

ROCHDALE.—Economics, E. Hall. Sec., Geo. Brook, 7 Leamington Street.

LEIGH.—Economics. Sec., J. Meyckle, 22 Orchard Lane.

LONDON.

WEST LONDON PLEBS.—Economics, C. Terry. Sec., Ida Chaytor, North Road House, North Road, Clapham. (C.I.C., 13 Penywern Road, Earl's Court, S.W. Sunday, 11 am. Thursday, 8 p.m.)

ERITH.—Ind. Hist., Frank Jackson. Sec., W. Wright, 14 Alford Road, Erith, Kent. (A.E. & O.T. Institute, Erith. Wednesday, 7.30 p.m.)

WEST HAM B.S.P. CLASS.—Economics, Mr. Edmunds. Sec., J. Andrews, 62 Windsor Road, Forest Gate, E. 7. (Elementary Schools, Water Lane, Stratford, E.)

EAST HAM.—Indust. Hist. and Economics. Particulars from Sec., Miss K. E. Read, 85 Central Park Road, East Ham, E. 6.

WALTHAMSTOW.—Class leader, J. Dawson. (William Morris Hall, Sunday, 11 a.m.)

ST. PANCRAS.—Particulars from Mrs. Duprano, 44 Malden Road, Kentish Town, N.W. 5.

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Reviews

MORE NEW PAMPHLETS

The restrictions in the paper supply—outside Government offices—have not (healthy sign !) deterred our Labour pamphleteers from making the most of the small amount at their disposal. The cry is, "Still they come !" And with two or three recent publications of interest to students of Industrial Unionism, I have been commanded to deal (briefly) this month.

The Revolutionary I.W.W., by GROVER H. PERRY (1d.) gives, in eight pages, a general outline of the aims and objects of the I.W.W., and sets itself to clear away some of the abuse and misrepresentation which has centred round this organization. If you want a plain statement of the facts about the I.W.W., get this pamphlet from 29, Theobald's Road, London, W.C. 1.

Industrial Unionism, by T. L. SMITH, Gen. Sec. I.W.G.B., issued by the N.E.C. of that body (2d.) contains sixteen pages and a diagram Plan of Organization. Its chief purpose appears to be to "show up" (or blow up) the Amalgamationist position; but stronger arguments will have to be put forward than those advanced by the writer of this pamphlet. His time would, in my opinion, have been better spent in stating clearly wherein his organization differs from the I.W.W. I should like to remark, also, that you cannot prove anything by analogy—and the one used by him is on a par with Roscher's "rotten fish" theory—it is a little too far-fetched.

Trades Unionism at the Cross Roads, by W. McLAIN (B.S.P., 21A, Maiden Lane, London, W.C. 2, 16 pp., 1d.) should be read, and re-read, by all interested in the Workshop Committees. It is an able statement of the true position of Trades Unionism to-day, and there is not a dull page in it. The writer's method of treating his subject is admirable; having stated the problem, he sets out to solve it. This pamphlet should be read as an introduction to J. T. Murphy's *Workshop Committees*,¹ and followed up by Stavenhagen's *Labour's Final Weapon*²—which latter, by the way, would be much improved if the plan were replaced by that which appears in T. L. Smith's pamphlet, which is simpler and more satisfactory. . . . But I must just return to McLaine's—to say again that it is a pamphlet to read and re-read.

FRANK JACKSON.

The Financial Revolution, by G. B. CLARK (Reformers Bookstall, Ltd., 126, Bothwell Street, Glasgow 1d.) is a modest attempt to count and meet the cost of modern happenings. It contains interesting facts and figures as to the unprecedented rate of our modern uncontrolled expenditure, the size of the National Debt, decreasing purchasing power of money, and the loss of credit abroad resulting from an inflated currency, besides tables showing the national income. The remedies proposed are State banking, taxation of Land Values and unearned increments, increase of Death Duties, and Taxation of Capital, beginning with a tax upon financial transfers. In this

¹ From E. Lismer, 56 Rushdale Road, Meersbrook, Sheffield. (2½d. post paid.)

² From 96, Elthorne Park Road, London, W. 7. (5d. post paid.).

way the author thinks the interest upon our (?) colossal debt can be paid. To most Plebeians the remedies will seem all too tame, and one might gently suggest to the author that the repudiation precedent of Edward III. is worthy of his notice—this need not apply to small loans whose owners have been beguiled into taking up what the *Morning Post* calls "a stake in the Empire"—a tribunal might deal with cases of industrial hardship. He hints that some of the Allies will not repay their loans and their interest. Why then should an International working-class shoulder the debts contracted by its capitalist, bankrupt predecessor? He advocates confiscation of wealth when its owners are dead. Why not when they are alive? Or are we only going to *talk* about conscription of wealth. The above remedies might be the sharp medicine demanded by a sharp disease and might act as a wholesome corrective to future warlike ambitions. M.S.

All Plebeians should get as soon as possible the leaflet just issued by the S.L. Press (50, Renfrew Street, Glasgow)—*Definitions of Economic Terms* (1d.) This is a handy little compilation, invaluable to students of Marx. All proceeds of sale go to S.L. Press. (Send orders to S.L. Press.)

What to Read, a 40 pp. catalogue issued by the Reformers' Bookstall, 126, Bothwell Street, Glasgow (1d.) is a very useful list of books and prices. It is a pity that it is disfigured by so many misprints and clerical errors (e.g., "T. Connelly" is not the author of *Labour in Ireland*, Marx wrote no book called *Das Capital*, and the name of the author of a recent Fabian Tract on *The Philosophy of Socialism* is not "A. Clutterbrock"; nor is "The Two Potters" in any list of Ruskin's works we have ever seen before). Nevertheless, it is a list which all book-buyers should get. We hope that some Plebs Publications will appear in later editions.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Self-Government in Industry. By G. D. H. Cole (Bell & Sons, 4s. 6d. net). (Review later.)

OTHER UNIONS, PLEASE NOTE!

Will Lawther reports: "Northumberland Miners have decided, by 35 to 14, at a delegate meeting to grant £25 towards the classes. This must be confirmed by the lodges, but is nearly sure to take effect. Also the Durham Miners E.C. have a motion for December 1st that has been sent in by four lodges to make a grant of £50 towards the classes. Things are moving up North."

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