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FIRST No. OF A NEW VOLUME

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THE PLEBS MAGAZINE

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

Vol. X.

January, 1918.

No. 1

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Socialists and the State

ANYONE who goes around the country delivering lectures to branches of widely different schools of socialist thought soon becomes aware at the present time of the ferment of ideas about the nature of the State; and its utility to the workers, and also of the ever-growing influence upon the rank and file of the literature of the S.L.P. The National Guilds League may be securing the ear of the great majority of middle-class socialists, who are naturally attracted by its sympathetic programme and its recognition of the position of the consumers, consumers who, in this case, find it very difficult to conceive of themselves as fitting into any great organization of producers, and there being able to exert the influence which they have grown accustomed to regard as

Socialism after the War. J. Ramsay McDonald. National Labour Press, Ltd. 1/-.
The State: Its Origin and Function. S. Paul, S.L. Press. Paper, 1/3; Cloth, 2/6.

theirs by right and of necessity. The Guildsmen have, however, very little hold upon the rank and file, who only know them when introduced thereto by their trusted leaders and approved propagandists. These divide their patronage over anti-war literature of a generally pacifist character and the writings of the industrial unionists who speak their tongue and voice their aspirations. The I.L.P., which, as a body, had paid little heed to the "rebel" voices before the War, and which believed fervently in nationalisation and in the sovereignty of the State, has had its faith greatly disturbed as a result of the war-time legislation and the extension of executive authority. Some of its members hark back to the *laissez-faire* position which they may originally have held, and one hears a great deal to-day in some quarters about it being "the heart that matters." Individualism has naturally seized hold of those who had no strong organization to defend them against the military and the police, and who yet felt that their conscience and their movement required of them a vigorous if utterly futile protest. But in that direction there is no escape from the rigours of the capitalist system, and however much they may return to Norman Angel and to Bertrand Russell, these have nothing to offer them except a modification of socialism along middle-class and pacifist lines. The logic of events, especially events in Russia and developments in the workshop, is swinging the rank and file back towards reliance on working-class mass action, revolutionary rejection of all capitalist institutions and ideals, and to an insistence on the self-respect and independence of labour, which anyone but an I.L.P.'er would bluntly call "class consciousness." In the B.S.P, the tide of industrial unionism is sweeping through the membership with such a force as to compel the leaders to recognise the new needs. Everywhere the rank and file are looking more and more towards the movement which was cradled on the Clyde and in the Rhondda, and has now come into Merthyr with Ablett. The issue is narrowing, whilst at the same time a greater solidarity and a stronger desire amicably to discuss our differences of opinion is taking hold of the several socialist organizations. The fact of the S.L.P. and Ramsay McDonald having occasionally found themselves with their backs against the same wall has led to criticisms of the latter being cleared of what his supporters regarded as personal abuse, whilst a common antipathy to the Hyndman school has almost given them a bond of sympathy. This being the case we find ourselves able to take the books of W. Paul and Ramsay McDonald and work up their lessons into a common theme. They are, of course, parted still by a great gulf because the one is Marxian throughout his treatment of the subject and the other quite patiently discloses his hostility to what he regards as Marxism. McDonald has not seen good to follow Edward Bernstein in a recantation of Revisionism, though one feels, in going through the book that he is not so firmly

fixed in his heresies as he used to be. He has several comments upon the failure of the class-war advocates and the Marxian parliamentarians who have gone "wallowing into the ditch of Prussianism" just as deep as the Labour Party. We would respectfully point out to him that he might have examined the *personnel* of the German Majority and the German Minority when he would have found his Revisionists among the former and a solid phalax of Marxists composing the latter. Even in this country there is no need to class all the Marxists in the same category as his *bête-noir*, H. M. Hyndman. There are such people as Ablett, Paul, McLean, McManus and Murphy whose only fault is that they belong to the younger generation who are quite as sound on the War as any of the younger members of the I.L.P. With this criticism of a note which mars the book we pass on to rejoice in the author's acceptance and hearty approval of the Shop Steward Committees, and which appear to have kindled his enthusiasm. He continues to talk of Trade Unionism when, quite obviously, he is seeking organization by industry, and to advocate a renewal of Trades Council activity but "in close touch with the workshop, and not merely with the branches as at present." "The workshop, the Workshop Committee, the Shop Steward, passing up through the District Committee and the Trades Council, is a more vital method of organization than the branch, the Branch Committee, and Trades Council and the District Committee as we know them." He is seriously alarmed at the bureaucratic tendencies of the trade unions as they are constituted to-day, and returns to this again and again.

McDonald accepts the Guilds with some reservation because

at any rate we can say, British Socialism never imagined that the political State, working from a bureaucratic centre by political agents, could control the factories and workshops. It is therefore not precluded by past declarations from considering proposals of workshop control on the Guild plan.

But, again—

When we had to deal with Syndicalism of the Sorel School, we had to oppose it.

and, according to him,

The central authority of the State must be used for the co-ordination of production and distribution, of supply and demand. . . . in a sentence it should deal with the general obligations of citizens to each other.

He resurrects the good old hardy annual—

A Guild of Railwaymen cannot be the sole controlling authority of the national railroads.

He is still, therefore, as we suppose he will always be, a State Socialist. His whole outlook is so utterly dominated by current middle-class conceptions, and he is so entirely unable to think of the State as something which has not always been and need not always continue. His whole ideology is that of the society of small proprietors, of private enterprise, of individualism, that he cannot project his mind into the future.

Paul, whose book is a masterpiece of scholarship and painstaking investigation, goes to the very roots of politics. He starts at the beginning of political institutions, indeed, he goes back and shows the nature of tribal relationships and the gentile organization. He traces the rise of private property, and clearly demonstrates the revolution it accomplished in thought, in communal institutions, and in all human associations. He follows the war-chief, the law-giver, and the priest through history, basing his whole record, of course, on his wonderful knowledge of that Marxian master-key, the materialist conception. His survey of Greek and Roman civilisation, his study of the emergence of the European peoples from the right of the Middle Ages, his treatment of feudalism, of the Church, and the Common Law are masterly in their concise summing up of all the many factors which operated through those two thousand years of human struggle. Particularly, his suggestion of the part played by the Christian Church in eradicating gentile traditions and in overthrowing the old gods and taboos of a society founded upon kinship and common holding of land, and his story of the rise of Parliament and the modern state struck me with the ability of this new luminary on the Marxian horizon. If I have a criticism to make it is that he has not given quite adequate attention to the more subtle measures adopted by the governing class in the last half century, to mark their defences against "the enemy at home," or the purpose of the social and educational reform of the last thirty years, nor does he deal at sufficient length with that peculiar ideal "the Socialist Industrial State," which is McDonald's conception of the co-operative Commonwealth.

Having read "The State: Its Origin and Function," the student will have a delightful half-hour in perusing McDonald's chapter, "A Socialist Parliament," which is a veritable swan song of parliamentarianism. He will have the explanation of this tale of woe and this sad lament for the fallen glory of the People's Chamber which can no more be roused from its slumber of death. We are told that

"The representative assembly must be the seat of power, not the handmaiden of Ministers." Parliament . . . has no real control over finance, it has absolutely no control over the Foreign Office . . . it cannot introduce its own legislation or express its own mind in the division lobbies . . . Cabinets should be put in their proper place as servants, convenient for the work of Parliament, not as autocrats controlling Parliament. . . . For some time Parliament itself has been sinking into a state of feeble servitude to its Cabinet and Executive."

The student of Paul will know what was the origin and function of Parliament and what is the nature and purpose of the Cabinet. He will understand that, the Capitalist class having now secured political control, social prestige, and economic overlordship, has no further use for Parliament except as a representative assembly "for recording and approving its decrees." It has no intention

of permitting Ramsay McDonald to lead a proletarian storming-party, up the ladder by which it climbed to assail it in turn and to dispossess it of its property and its power. Surely he has learned by this time that "the executive committee of the capitalist class" has on respect for any moral law except its own, and for no other force but *force majeure*. Not on respect for the House of Commons, but no respect for the might of the organized working-class, does the authority of Socialism depend, as all will know who have read the history of the organ known as the government in that invaluable little book, *The State: Its Origin and Functions*.

J. T. WALTON NEWBOLD.

A Guildsman's Glossary

THERE is an interesting parallel between the Fabians and the Guildsmen. Just as the Fabians—the Collectivist Socialists who approached municipal bodies, Spring Gardens and Westminster "in rubber-soled shoes"—introduced Socialism or Collectivism into new circles, made it respectable by "permeation" methods (supposedly more suitable to the British temperament), and supplied the movement with valuable literature, so the Guildsmen in these later days are helping to introduce into many sections of society the idea of labour control, attacking craft unionism as the Fabians did competition, and in their literature supplying criticism of the present and thought-provoking forecasts of the future. Many people who would shy like a frightened horse at the label "Syndicalism" regard with unconcern, and even interest, the Guild idea—claimed to be more suited to our "national conditions and temperament." However, to the credit of the Guildsmen, the rubber-soled shoes are discarded; wage slavery is recognised; Revolution as an end to the class struggle welcomed; producer displaces consumer from the position of importance; Morris, and sometimes Marx, are looked to rather than Mill; Mr. Webbs dangling of "the dainty carrot of State intervention" is disdained; and economic and industrial power is elevated above political rights and tactics of expediency. Though often the difficulties of continual snipings, skirmishes, and pushes on the long front of the battle line, carried out by an army not yet *consciously* fighting, is forgotten in the counsel of perfection of these arm-chair generals.

It was with thoughts like these that the writer read the latest batch of Guild munitions, the *Alphabet of Economics*, by A. R-Orage (Fisher Unwin, 5/- net). Anyone who buys this book imagining from its title that it is "the thing to start with," will be deceived. The *Guildsman's Guide* or *Glossary* would be truer titles; for the book is inferior to the Plebs Study Outlines as an

introduction to economics. Read through, it leaves only a snippety, broken impression, and it is by its form only useful to be placed on the bookshelf for reference. Economic terms, alphabetically arranged, are explained in paragraphs of varying length from the Guild standpoint. One turns from Banking in one paragraph—aptly defined as “the smelting of Capital” or “the liquefaction of solid Capital”—to Blacklegs in the next.

Scientific Socialists are often criticised by sloppy, woolly-minded thinkers for their insistence upon the use of a definite terminology in economics. Hence, it is somewhat refreshing to find that a Guildsman has to compile a book of definitions because, as he shows in his introduction, orthodox capitalist definitions assume as their premise the very thing that the Socialist is out to destroy, *i.e.*, the commodity status of the owners of labour-power. But in scores of places in his book, Mr. A. R. Orage shows that he has failed to define the difference between labour-power and labour, which is to be deplored. Another point of criticism is that on p. 13 there is erected a bogey—purely subjective distinction between controlling industry and owning capital; which gives the resurrected Guildsman's State a chance to appear to carry on the “owning” function (on p. 96, and probably nowhere else). Would our intellectuals think nominal ownership of a pair of trousers of any worth if some other fellow was the only person capable of using them? Yet our analogy is not complete, for, while we can imagine trousers separated from their wearer, we cannot tear land and capital (both tools in Mr. Orage's use of the term) from the industrial unions of the future, any more than we can tear heart or lungs from a body without destroying its life. As we can *mentally* separate life from matter and forget that each exists only in interconnection, so in forecasts of the future we can separate ownership of tools from use and forget that when the class-struggle is ended so also will end the division between owners and users. The very word “ownership” as applied to the means of production in the present legal sense will become obsolete. Champions of the producer, why should the Guildsmen think a consumer's (!) State, in which will be vested “ownership of capital,” is needed when capital no longer exists and when consumers consume only because they are producers. Another prominent Guildsman, Mr. Cole, in his *Self-Government in Industry*, is anxious to show that the State and its functions will be completely different from what they are now, and that though the name is retained the nature is altered. Water is wanted without wetness; the navy goes into an office and writes all day and yet is still a navy; governmental institutions have no longer any functions in a future where industrial administration exists, yet they still must exist. The view embodied in Paul's *The State*—a book worthy of a place beside Engels' *Origin of The Family*—is truer in the light of past and present historical

events. Conceptions of the future of politics and the State are going to be increasingly the touchstone for all schemes of future society ; as conceptions of value are to particular schools of economic thought.

To the Guildsmen we would say : Education in schools, public opinion, and the social consciousness developed in the fight for the tools will obviate the difficulties of sections of future society being at loggerheads or " kicking over the traces " in an anti-social manner. At the present time, society is an organization divided into two, incapable even of properly distributing food, let alone of distributing the cost of war ; in the future, when this division is ended, society will possess a unity now noticeably absent. The " ethics of the pig-trough " will vanish. Out of new material conditions a new morality will arise. The educational system now against us will be vastly improved—and in our favour.

But to return to the book. Despite other minor points of criticism, and the need for elaboration in the subjects dealt with, much will be found therein worthy of praise. Here is an epigram which is a sample of other brilliant flashes :—" Conciliation is a Capitalist's device for appearing to be just and Labour's device for appearing to be reasonable." In another place, the author shows that chattel slavery is not practised because it is cheaper to hire than to buy slaves. The Socialist case against Malthusianism is well expressed thus :—" Malthusianism implies the adaptation of the main part of human society (namely, the wage-earning classes) to Capitalism ; it is the subordination of life to Plutocracy. Malthusianism would thus be the final triumph of Capitalism over Labour, whereas we are looking for the triumph of Life and Labour over Capitalism." In defining the Manchester School, our author notices Capitalism's changing attitude toward the State, though he does not clearly outline the coming of the Birmingham School. Still among the M's of the alphabet we are told that :—" As applied to modern problems, Meliorism is the name given to every kind of effort designed to make the existing system of Capitalism run more smoothly. . . ."

At half the price, with its good binding and suitable wide margins for comments, we believe this book would be well utilised by many economic students who will otherwise get along fairly well with the S.L.P. 1d. leaflet. As a book whose writer is aware of the dangers of State Capitalism, with its thought-provoking alternative statements of familiar truths, its points needing challenge and denial, and its fine epigrams, this book is worthy of Plebeian attention.

MARK STARR.

" News of the Movement " is omitted from this month's Magazine for reasons of space. Full reports will appear next month. Anxious inquirers are assured that the movement is going obetter than ever.

Short Cuts in Social Evolution. ?

Always take the short cut.—MARCUS AURELIUS.

No great thing is created suddenly, any more than a bunch of grapes or a fig. If you tell me that you desire a fig, I answer you that there must be time. Let it first blossom, then bear fruit, then ripen.—EPICTETUS.

BOTH in England and in France there have been Socialists not a few, who have felt unable to give whole-hearted support to the Maximalist or Bolshevik tendencies in the Russian revolution. More especially as regards the second revolution it has been contended that from the Socialist outlook the upheaval was fruitless—that apart from its alleged unfavourable influence on the Allied cause (assumed by many though not all such critics to be the cause of Socialism and of progressive civilisation) it is futile to attempt at this stage to establish the Socialist commonwealth in Russia. At the level of economic evolution to which that country has now attained, all that is possible, we are told, is the bourgeois revolution. Russia must traverse the orderly cycle of development; Russia must drink deep from the capitalist cup, nay, must drain that cup to the dregs, ere she can hope for more than a distant vision of the promised land of Socialism.

We will not attempt vain speculations as to what Marx might have said regarding such an application of his teaching, but will turn to the forecasts of a Russian revolutionary who was one of Marx's most notable contemporaries, the forecasts of Alexander Herzen. We summarise them from the account given in Masaryk's great work on *The Spirit of Russia*, which will shortly be available in English. This book was published at Jena in 1913. More than sixty years ago, after the disillusionments of 1848, and during the ensuing period of reaction, analysis of Europe and the revolution convinced Herzen that the socialistic folk-state he desired to see brought into being would be likely to remain long unrealised were it not for the existence of a people competent to undertake the great task of bringing about the true social revolution in contradistinction to the bourgeois revolution. Such, he said, was the mission of the Russian people.

The revolution of 1848, it will be remembered, was largely effected under Socialist auspices, and the Parisian Socialists, who (*mutatis mutandis*) were the Maximalists of their day, hoped for the immediate realisation of Socialist ideals. The mountain in labour, however, brought forth, not Socialism, but—Napoleon III., the arch-incarnation of the bourgeois imperialism of that epoch. It seemed evident that in France, at any rate, "economic conditions" were not ripe for the true social revolution, and it was natural that Herzen's thoughts should turn hopefully towards the land of

his birth. The Russians, he said, had the enormous advantage of being free from the restricting traditions of Europe. Russia had not suffered from the three great scourges—Catholicism, Roman law, and the bourgeoisie. Feudalism, Protestantism, and Liberalism were merely developments of these three principles; feudalism derived from Catholicism and Roman law; Protestantism and Liberalism were the ultimate phases of Catholicism; hence Russia knew nothing of feudalism, Protestantism and Liberalism. Russia, said Herzen, could never be Protestant; Russia would never be content with the golden mean (*i.e.*, in contemporary phraseology, Russia would never be satisfied short of “the maximum programme”); Russia would not make a revolution simply in order to get rid of Tsar Nicholas (I.) and to replace him by Tsar-deputies, Tsar-judges, and tsar-policemen.

In the Russian peasant (still a serf, practically still a chattel-slave when Herzen was writing), in the mir (village community), and in the artel (co-operative), lay the hope of the future. The mir contained three elements of exceptional value: the right of every individual to land; the common ownership of land; the self-government of the village community. Herzen recognised that the mir had one great defect, the absorption of individuality into the mir. But the artel, he said, and the Cossacks, would suffice to save for Russia a not inconsiderable measure of individualism. (Herzen was ever an anarchising socialist.) The freedom of the individual and that of the mir could be harmonised. The liberation of the peasantry (effected in 1861) would bring this about.

Herzen did not fail to consider the counter-argument, did not fail to ask himself whether Russia would not have to pass through the same stages of development as Europe. Could Russia realise the folk-state and Socialism by one step from her present primitive condition; could she dispense with traversing the phase of European civilisation and with passing through the economic evolution of capitalism? Herzen set his mind at rest with the consideration that if Russia, because in fact essentially akin to the European peoples, had to follow the same course of development, this development might none the less take a special form, since for liberty many historical possibilities are open. Herzen refused to recognise the validity of any historical law in accordance with which Russia must follow exactly the same path as the European nations. Without a bourgeoisie and without Catholicism, but upon the foundation of the mir, Russia could advance straightway to a higher level of development.

It will be interesting to compare with these vaticinations the opinions on *The Struggle for Power and Peace in Russia*, penned by a German Marxist three weeks after the second revolution.

EDEN AND CEDAR PAUL.

(To be continued.)

The Chartist Movement and the Anti-Corn Law League.

(Continued.)

O'BRIEN also considered the position of private debtors and creditors. He held that the debts had been contracted when prices were high and money of a low value. These would be repaid under a Free Trade system, under which prices would be low and money at a higher valuation. He had no objection to Free Trade as such, but was of opinion that in order to give justice all round some kind of agreement should be entered into between the public and the debtors and creditors. To this end all public officials should accept a reduction of salaries; otherwise they, as non-producing classes, would rob the producers of the extent of the change in prices. Most of the Chartist leaders fell in with these views, and wherever they met the Free Traders succeeded in exposing their hollow pretensions.

Other sections of the workers organizations held that it would be a good thing to set aside the Corn Laws, but that it would be better done through the Charter than by a specific agitation. In an address issued by Wm. Lovett, dealing with the press attacks upon the Chartists, he remarked that their opponents thought it necessary to entice the workers away from their present position.

They ask us to believe that the Repeal of the Corn Laws is of more importance to us than our political rights and liberties. That it will mean cheap bread and a higher standard of living. That they are an evil, I will admit, but they are simply one of the effects of the underlying cause which we seek to remove. Further, the removal of these laws ought to be a matter for the representatives of all the people and not a section of them. Had the Corn Laws been in operation for so long a period as would permit of our forgetting the reasons why they were passed we might perhaps be deluded by these statements, but the year 1815 is not far enough back for that.

Whatever the attitude of the Chartists might be towards the Corn Laws, as such, there was no questioning this attitude towards the promoters of the Anti-Corn Law League. These were regarded as bitter enemies, and strong objection was offered to their efforts in making Free Trade the dominant issue in the country. When the Chartist Convention met in 1839 they considered what their attitude should be in reference to Free Trade. The general distrust was expressed in a resolution moved by O'Brien to the effect that, in the opinion of the Convention, it was absolutely essential that all energies should be concentrated upon the National Petition and the Charter, and none be wasted upon issues in which they were not concerned. It expressed the opinion also that the Free Trade agitation was commenced with a view to hindering the success of the Chartist movement, and to side-track the workers. Further,

that the repeal of the Corn Laws could not but harmfully affect their conditions ; ending with an appeal to their members to oppose all other movements until the destiny of the petition had been decided, and the People's Charter on the statute books.

The gauntlet thus thrown down by the Chartists was naturally enough taken up by the Free Traders. In all demonstrations and gatherings they made their opposition plain, seeking at the same time to unite the two movements in the demand for the repeal of the Corn Laws. On January 15th, 1839, soon after the formation of the Anti-Corn Law League, the Chartists attended a meeting at Birmingham convened by the League, and there carried a resolution in favour of giving primary importance to the Charter. A similar attempt at Leeds on the same day failed. Thenceforward, the Chartists endeavoured to defeat the Free Traders at all their meetings. To such an extent was this carried on that the Free Traders were compelled to give admission cards to known supporters only, and even these precautions were frequently overcome and the meetings captured by the Chartists.

The whole conflict lasted over the period 1839-1846, when the Corn Laws were finally repealed. The opposition between the two classes became very intense, the factory owners using not only political and other means, but economic power as well. Persecution of Chartist working-men was a daily occurrence, and many a victim found it impossible to find other means of employment. They were treated with the usual calumny and vilification at which the press had become experts. It was suggested that they were the paid hirelings and tools of the landed monopolists and Tories, the opponents of the Free Traders. This, however, did not prevent the latter adopting the very methods charged to the account of the Tories. Everything (and everybody) that was for sale they bought. At one of the factories of the north worked John West—who, later, became one of the most capable men in the movement—and Timothy Jalvey, a fairly capable and enterprising man of Irish birth. The latter was bought, and immediately became an agitator for his new paymasters. After the League was dissolved, in 1846, he became an editor, newspaper proprietor, and Mayor of Southampton.

Attempts were made also to bribe John West, but in vain. He remained true to his Chartist convictions, for which he was persecuted and prosecuted. He languished some years in prison, and died in privation, his friends vainly trying to do something to relieve his last days. Many others proved less faithful than John West, succumbing to the lure of Free Trade gold.

Hardly another agitation in modern history would claim greater resources to draw upon than did this Anti-Corn Law League. Immense sums were contributed to its funds. £50,000 was raised

in one year for the purpose of distributing Free Trade literature. The *Anti-Corn Law Circular* and the *Anti-Bread Tax Circular* were freely distributed all over the country. During the seven years of the agitation over half a million was spent upon it. Over seven millions of pamphlets and leaflets were given out in the year 1843 alone.

The Chartists opposed them up to the year 1845, in the autumn of which year the Free Traders found support from a new ally in the form of the potato disease and famine in Ireland. Then, even the Chartists were compelled to forego their opposition to the manufacturers, in order to demand bread for the people. Result—the laws were repealed early in 1846. As was the case with the Radicals during the Reform agitation, with their cry of "The Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill," the Chartists had previously demanded "The Charter, the whole Charter, and nothing but the Charter," and with this demand they faced the manufacturers.

The class character of the conflict between Capital and Labour became fully expressed in the course of the struggle between the Chartists and the Anti-Corn Law League. .

W. H. MAINWARING.

The Poor Man, the Man of God, and the Man of Learning.

A FABLE.

A poor man, a man of God, and a man of Learning journeyed together ; and came upon a time to a goodly city, where they thought to take rest. But when they inquired of those that dwelt therein, they learned that none might sojourn or make his abode in the city except he brought in his hand something that he might sell.

"Wisdom is better than merchandise," said the professor. "I think this is an evil city we are come upon ; nathless a man must first have meat that he may live ; and he must first live that he may have philosophy."

"The peace of God," said the priest, "is more to be desired than merchandise ; and it passes human understanding. I think this a very evil city that we are come upon ; for I have ever lived upon the dole of such as honour the messengers of the Most High ; nathless a man may not praise God upon an empty stomach."

"Truly this is an evil city," said the poor man. "But it is not more evil than others ; for it is all alike to the poor man who must toil in all places and give his substance to keep the wolf, hunger, from the door."

So they came to the market place and the poor man went in.

"I am a poor man," said he, "and I can sell you nothing but my hands."

And they branded his palms and set him a comfortable house that he should want no more for the rest of his days.

But the others turned aside.

"These are shrewd men enough," said the Man of God, "but I doubt if they are honest; and a false weight is an abomination to the Lord."

"They are shrewd men, no doubt," said the Man of Learning, "but for all that there may yet be fools in the city. Let us hope on."

So they gathered in the skirts of their raiment and passed on till they came to the King's palace; and were ushered into the presence.

"This," said the Man of God, introducing his friend, "is a man of great understanding. But I am a servant of the Most High. The wisdom of this world is foolishness to the knowledge of God, for the fear of the Lord is the beginning of Wisdom."

"I am a seeker after Truth," said the Man of Learning, "and this my friend is a man of great virtue. He is not a philosopher; but he makes the common people to rest content, and without the State there can be no learning."

The King gave ear to them; and asked them what would they of him.

"It is a safe thing," said the man of God, "that the servants of the Most High should dwell in the land."

"It is an honourable thing that learning should be cherished in the city," said the man of learning.

"And what have you to sell?" inquired the King, "for I am a merchant even as these, though mightier?"

"I can sell you nought," said the man of God, "but I can give you my soul that I may live in the City of Great Riches."

So the King appointed him an attic in the slave-quarter, and sent him a gyve to wear.

"As for selling," said the man of Learning, "I am a philosopher, and words have no fear for me. I will sell you my wisdom."

But the King bade him begone; and commanded his slave to give him a small piece of silver.

"That," said the slave, "is the price of a sheep's brains."

LANCELOT HOGGEN.

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Few subjects possess such an immense bibliography as Socialism, and no Socialist, be he "Labour leader," class-teacher, or plain rank and filer, can afford not to be as widely—and deeply—read as his opportunities permit. Did you ever hear this story of Eugene Debs? An old fellow-worker of the American leader tells it:—"I was an engineer years ago, as I am to-day, but in those days Debs was my fireman. Having a bit better job than he, I naturally thought I was the better man. We used to sleep in the same room, and when we turned in, tired from a long trip, I would be asleep before you could count ten. After I'd slept three or four hours, I would wake up, and there would be Debs, with a candle, shaded so as not to disturb me, reading as if everything depended on his understanding all there was in it. I told him he was a d—d fool. I still believe there was a d—d fool in the room, but I know now it wasn't Debs."

For a lecturer or class-teacher especially, to neglect to read is a vice—its real name is laziness. And the student, too, must put in every moment he can—as Debs did. To the question, What Books to Read? the answer is—the best. Life is too short to waste time on the second or third rate. The difficulty to the beginner of tackling some of the great masters I admit, but these can be approached through a good populariser:—Darwin through Huxley's essays, Marx and Engels through Vail (*Scientific Socialism*), and, later, through Aveling or Hyndman. But if you mean business you will not be deterred by difficulties.

Read, mark, learn, and MENTALLY digest. You may read more than one at a time, but not more than three, and each of a different subject. The novels for mental relaxation. The highest priced books can be bought second-hand or subscribed for co-operatively.

■ C. TERRY.

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* Comrade Terry's selection of books is not likely—any more than any other individual student's—to commend itself to every reader. We publish it for what it is, *i.e.*, as the choice of one Socialist book-lover, who will doubtless be glad to receive comment and criticism from others.—Ed. *Plebs*.

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Student's Page

INDUSTRIAL HISTORY.

1.—*Is the modern wage-slave better off than the chattel-slave and serf?*

Despite better stabling, improved harness and clothing, and many other modern conveniences too numerous to tabulate, which fall as crumbs from the capitalist's table, in face of the productivity of the machine, the wage-slave, especially where not strongly organized, is *relatively* worse off than chattel slave and serf. On the other hand, taking into consideration his—as yet—potential power of ending his slavery, the answer is "Yes."

2.—*Does not the fact that many wage-workers own their own houses, and that they are able to purchase slaves in joint-stock companies, deny the Marxian thesis that wealth is getting into fewer hands?*

No. Because the "model" wage-worker who, by thrift and self-denial, owns his own dwelling, has still to sell his labour-power to the capitalist, and is hampered by the fact that, being attached to a particular neighbourhood, he must be more docile. Incidentally, he furnishes the building capitalist or the former house-owner with money which can be more profitably invested. In the case of the company, "bucket shop" companies play havoc with the small investor; and in other companies the big fish eat up the little ones because of their inside knowledge. When thinking about the exceptional worker, don't forget the millionaires. Statistics will prove that the workers are becoming less Puritanical, and are not content to live a half-starved life in obedience to ideals inculcated by a ruling-class.

3.—*Do you think that the revolutionary prophecies of the Communist Manifesto were true?*

Let Engels, as one who experienced the revolutionary ardour of that time, answer:—"History proved that we were wrong—we and those like us who, in 1848, awaited the speedy success of the proletariat. It became perfectly clear that economic conditions all over the Continent were by no means as yet sufficiently matured for superseding capitalist organization of production." This, written late in the 19th century, in no way suggests that the Marxian theories of historical development and economics are not [the most accurate explanation of] facts.

4.—*Why do some material conditions produce the martyr and the murderer?*

The M.C.H. is used to explain movements and not exceptional men. It does not claim to analyse the motives of a Sidney Carton or a James Connolly; but it does explain why the French Revolution came and what is the real economic content of Sinn Fein aspirations. Probably atavism would account for the darker side of the picture. "The ghost of the brute is haunting us yet." Apart from this, Ferri proves the close connection between poverty and crime in modern times, and other investigators reveal rape and murder in certain stages of development as being perfectly moral. Craft-consciousness—a relic of the past—makes a trade union a ladder for John Hodges to climb to Cabinets; the modern class-consciousness—arising out of a clearer perception of class interests—makes a Robert Smillie or a Tom Mann view labour organizations in a different way.

MARK STARR.

The Rhondda Socialist Society are running an Eisteddfod on April 30th. One of the competitive items is a review of Mark's Starr's book *A Worker Looks at History*, the writer of the best review to be awarded a 10/- prize. Conditions of entry, 1/1, must be sent with each attempt, to reach Sec. Mr. Maldwyn Evans, 1 Berw Road, Tonypany, on or before April 10th. A ticket of admission will be forwarded in return for entrance fee. The prize review will be published in the Magazine.

It is hoped that this will stimulate students to practise what they study. All are invited to join in.

Plebs Publications

There are queues in every street these days. And if we haven't exactly had a queue at the door of the Plebs Headquarters, we've had what amounts to the same thing—a thrice-daily stream of letters ordering ones, twos, dozens fifties, grosses, of Mark Starr's book. We gave our printer the order for the first edition somewhat in fear and trembling. It's no small risk in times like these—the printing and publication of a book. Were we ordering too many? Would Plebeians back us as we hoped they would? &c., &c. Our fears are set at rest. They have been supplanted by regrets that we didn't have twice as many copies printed. We're practically sold out already. *A Worker looks at History* has gone like hot cakes, or like Maypole margarine. We are endeavouring to arrange for a second edition, and we urge all our supporters to let us have orders, guarantees, and—wherever possible—cash, AT ONCE. Help us to rush the 2nd edition out in record time. We've no reserve capital. We depend on our voluntary agents everywhere—and they've proved themselves *some* sellers! (Though Mark's book sells itself—it was just what was wanted, as has been proved by the demand for it.) Don't fail to drop a line immediately, stating how many of the 2nd edition you'll undertake to dispose of.

Sorry we cannot yet make any definite statement about Ablett's *Easy Outlines in Economics*. His work of revision has been held up again by his new duties at Merthyr, but we're hoping to receive the completed script from him any day now, and we shall put it in the printer's hands as soon as get it. We know it's a disappointment to a good many Plebeians—it is to ourselves—that this much-needed text-book is not already on sale. Circumstances have prevented it. We ask our friends to believe that the delay has been unavoidable.

We've put a 3rd edition of THAT pamphlet in hand. We haven't a copy in the place. 20,000 sold since last July! 20,000 workers at least, therefore, have some idea of what the Plebs League and the C.L.C. stand for. We're ordering another 10,000, BUT—we're reluctantly compelled to raise the price to 1½d., and the price for quantities by 50 per cent. Can't help it—1½d. is practically cost price. If paper gets any dearer, paper money will soon be of as much value as genuine coin of the realm! We are certain the small advance in price will not affect the sales; and if people insist on paying you 2d. for the pamphlet, you'll be able to send a donation to the Publication Fund.

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Correspondence

REFORM OR REVOLUTION.

DEAR EDITOR,—“Bonnie Scotland” appears to be indignant at your suggestion that he was unduly frightened at the word “Reform,” and proceeds to repeat that Revolution is the only thing worth fighting for—and that this can only be successfully achieved by the I.W.G.B. He quotes Marx—“Workers of all lands, unite.” But Marx did not say “Unite through the I.W.G.B.” At the present time, the Bolsheviks are acting on true Marxian principles, yet none of them, I presume, are members of the I.W.G.B. Our straight-cut critic should remember that “Things are only known in relation to other things,” and he would be less prone to put “absolute” meanings on to “relative” terms. A Marxian should hardly need to be reminded of this..

Not satisfied with pulling to pieces your gentle remonstrances, the Bonny one also tries to sweep the arguments of his amalgamationist friends into oblivion by the mere statement that he “holds an opinion.” We, of course, respect his opinion; but we should respect it more if he informed us of the line of reasoning which led him to that opinion, and the facts on which he bases it. I trust he will satisfy our (quite respectful) curiosity.

Yours etc. FRANK JACKSON.

The Plebs Bookshelf

Craik's *Modern Working-Class Movement*, Paul's *The State*, Mark Starr's *Worker Looks at History*, Geo. Harvey's *Industrial Unionism and the Mining Industry*—the number of *our own* books is steadily increasing. No shortage of text-books now, at any rate, whatever the case as regards teachers. It was time, indeed, that some of our men got to work. We all owe a big debt of gratitude to Kerr's (and must continue to do so); but it was not good that we should be entirely dependent on a single publishing house, and that not in this country. We have a movement, a movement growing in depth and strength every day, and it was high time that it became articulate—in book form. There are stacks of books to be written; every chapter, almost every page, of the volumes named above is full of suggestions for further detailed studies. And we've got the men! I hope Ablett will soon have his *first* book ready. I hope Newbold will give us a class text-book on some department of “applied economics”—we can't afford to let him spend all his time on newspaper articles. I wish we could keep Eden and Cedar Paul busy on translations of good stuff by our comrades abroad. . . . Meantime, I look at those four books above, and think “We've started!” And if we go on as we've begun with Mark Starr's, the Plebs Publishing Dept. will be a thriving concern in the near future. A good many commercial publishers would have liked to handle such orders!

There is nothing startlingly new—either about Ireland or about Shaw—

in *How to Settle the Irish Question*, by Bernard Shaw (Constable, 6d. net).^{*} But it is sixpennyworth of characteristic G.B.S., and if you don't get quantity, the old and only genuine quality is there all right. Anyone who possesses *John Bull's Other Island* should get it, as a juicy little postscript to that play. I have copied out, and torn up, some half-dozen sheets of extracts already. There are only about 30 (not very large) pages in the pamphlet, and one itches to quote the lot. But it can't be done. One or two characteristic samples must suffice.

"I have no novelty to offer," Shaw declares, "except the presentation of the Irish problem in something like reasonable proportion to the rest of the world's business." (After all, that *is* something of a novelty, as International Socialists will agree.) "The hard (Irish) nuts to crack" are Ulster and Sinn Fein. (The Home Rule Parliamentary Party is briefly dismissed—"hammered and worn down into opportunism . . . they will accept any settlement that may enable them to come to their constituents as the saviours of their country"). The problem is to find a solution which reduces both Ulster and Sinn Fein to absurdity; and since "Ulster talk and Sinn Fein talk are mostly baby talk," G.B.S. goes forward undaunted. He begins with Sinn Fein:—

Sinn Fein means We Ourselves—a disgraceful and obsolete sentiment, horribly anti-Catholic, and acutely ridiculous in the presence of a crisis which has shown that even the richest and most powerful countries, twenty times as populous as Ireland and more than a hundred times as spacious, have been unable to stand by themselves, and have been glad to accept the support of their bitterest traditional enemies. . . .

There is a characteristic interjection here about Sinn Fein's sense of superiority "to all who have had the misfortune to be born in other countries, which I share, quite irrationally." And there is the essentially Shavian epigram—"When people ask me what Sinn Fein means, I reply that it is Irish for John Bull. . . ." Sinn Feiners insist on the Irish question being settled at the Peace Conference:—

By this they mean that when the quarrel between the Central and Ottoman Empires on the one side, and the U.S.A., the British Empire, the French Republic, Italy, Japan, &c., &c., &c., on the other, comes to be settled, the plenipotentiaries of these Powers, at the magic words, "Gentlemen, IRELAND!" will rise reverently, sing "God Save Ireland," and postpone all their business until they have redressed the wrongs of Rosaleen. . . . A wise Irishman might well pray that his country may have the happiness to be forgotten when the lions divide their prey. . . . Sinn Fein is not troubled with any such modest misgivings. It really does think that the world consists of Ireland and a few subordinate continents.

Shaw's comments on Sinn Fein's aspirations for complete independence are interesting reading—particularly if compared with Kautsky's remarks on small States:—

Before the war . . . there was some excuse for the popular belief that the treaties by which Great Powers, for their own purposes, guarantee the independence of little States as buffers and the like, are something more than scraps of paper. That is to say, the independence of Belgium and Greece seemed worth having then. Does anyone think it worth having now?

^{*} By post, 6d., from Reformers' Bookstall, Glasgow, or Henderson's Charing Cross Road, W.C. 2.

Sinn Fein's other "pseudo-practical" cry—for Fiscal Autonomy—gets about a dozen lines, with a knock-out blow in each, devoted to it, and we go on to Ulster. "As a Protestant myself (and a little to spare)," Shaw confesses to some sympathy with Ulster's spirit. He also believes that a *united* Ulster could carry out a good deal of what she has threatened to do.

But there is the *If* to be got over. *If* Ulster were united. Now Sir John Lonsdale has no misgivings on that score: he has told us that on this question he and his poorest labourer will stand shoulder to shoulder to the death. He has no prevision of what very cold shoulders they would be when the situation began to develop. For Sir John Lonsdale, speaking authentically with the voice of Protestant Ulster, never was more mistaken in his life than he is about that solidarity of his with his poorest labourer.

"Something that neither Ulster nor Sinn Fein foresees" will break up the solidarity safely enough.

At the first breath of Socialism the solidarity of Ulster will vanish like the mirage it is. The Ulster employers could say, no doubt, "We shall not put up an Ulster Protestant to contest a seat in this Parliament of rebels; and our workmen will see that no Catholic does it; so there will be no election." But what about a Labour candidate, with his Fabian pamphlets (!) and his Labour manifestoes, and his Whitley Report (!!) and his 8-hours day, and his minimum wage, and his denunciation of profiteering . . . culminating in the glad news that the Ulster seats can be won for Labour without a blow, as the employees are sulking against Home Rule. . . .

Shaw's Socialism is, of course, "Socialism in Parliament." Ulster will probably get some propagandist literature with a little more "ginger" in it than Fabian pamphlets and Whitley Reports; and it may not be necessary to wait for a Parliamentary election before demonstrating that Ulster's solidarity is a mirage. However, the moral of it all is excellent, though the phraseology does strike one as a bit old-fashioned for so young a man as Shaw. And this following sentence "gets there" again:—

Is it not clear that the Ulster boycott of the Irish Parliament would break down at the very first glimpse of the possibility of this, and that the employers would rush to contest all the seats, and, if they won them, would be only too glad to combine in the Irish Parliament with the Catholic farmers of the south to curb the pretensions of the industrial proletariats.

We come to the solution of the whole problem. It is "Home Rule for England." Separate national Parliaments; a Federal Parliament; Decentralisation, in short. And an Imperial Conference for the Empire ("for convenience sake I use that offensive and inaccurate term"). "Dominion Home Rule"—"Ireland is to be like Canada and Australia and S. Africa, and not like Egypt and India. And this means a federation of the British Islands. . . ." The solution is a bit of an anti-climax—it is "nice" and "safe and Liberal, and hardly "advanced" even for a Fabian. This sounds more interesting:

Both in England and Ireland the present system of local government by counties will have to develop into local government by industrial workshops, so to speak. . . . There would be ten times more sense in making two separate Irish Parliaments for agricultural Ireland and city Ireland (say Belfast, Cork, and Dublin) than for making one Parliament for Antrim and another for Donegal.

I think I've quoted enough to show that this slight pamphlet is well worth the price of a seat at the pictures !

* * * * *

If that Labour candidate of Shaw's is going to set the Ulster heather on fire, he will need to be armed with something a little more inspiring than the very latest Fabian tract—No. 184, *The Russian Revolution and British Democracy*, by Julius West (2d.). Julius went to Russia last year—along with Alexander (of the *Clarion*)—as one of the representatives of British Socialism ; and he might well adopt as a motto for future editions (if any) of his pamphlet a variant on the celebrated despatch of another Julius—" I came, I saw, I misrepresented." Or, perhaps, we had better credit him with honesty of intention, and say, " I misunderstood." So superior a person could hardly fail to misunderstand anything so gigantically simple as a Revolution. Imagine the sort of pamphlet Horace Walpole might have written about the French Revolution. Think of the hundred and one little incidents, all of them subject-matter for patronising scorn, which would have obscured the big facts for such a man. Well, Mr. West *can't* write quite as Horace could ; but he is just about as incapable as that famous " intellectual " would have been of writing anything valuable on a subject like this. When I want to know anything about Tchekhof I'm prepared to listen (not too long) to him ; but the Russian Revolution . . . or, for that matter, British Democracy ! . . . Mr. West may, as the foreword to this pamphlet states, be " Russian by birth " ; he is also very obviously bourgeois by birth—and training.

The dangerous element in the new movement has been the tendency towards Syndicalism. Workmen have attempted to take control of factories. . . .

Shocking, isn't it ?

If Russia has fallen into the hands of theorists and extremists, it is because the practical, experienced administrator of Liberal principles had not been previously allowed to exist.

" The practical, experienced administrator of Liberal principles "—and it is an alleged Socialist, mind you, who is sighing for him ! But it is difficult to convey, by an odd quotation or two, the condescendingly flippant tone of this superior Fabian's comments on the Russian Socialist movement.

The people who really matter are the Social-Revolutionists, the Mensheviks, and the Bolsheviks. All three groups are Marxian, especially the Bolsheviks. The other two recognise the, at any rate, temporary justification of the existence of the middle-class, or bourgeoisie (a member of which rejoices in the name of " boorjooy "). The Bolsheviks, on the other hand, want to get rid of the boorjoos out of hand. . . .

An intelligent sort of summary, isn't it ? And the Fabian Society publishes it ! . . . Well, I suppose they have estimated the level of intelligence of their readers. But British Bolsheviks may be forgiven for wanting to get rid of some " boorjoos," at any rate, out of hand ! . . . Mr. West's treatment of Lenin is worse than flippant ; it is thoroughly caddish. (For caddishness, go to your " boorjooy " intellectual every time.) And perhaps it is a little hard on him that recent events should have made so much of what he has written look so extremely foolish. There are some useful facts about the

Russian "artels," trade unions, and co-operative societies, and about the general conditions and development of Russian industry, in the pamphlet. But the ultimate impression it leaves on one is that of a very little man giving himself airs in the presence of really great events—and making himself look all the smaller in consequence.

Mr. Arthur Ransome was an intellectual. But his sojourn in Russia has made him an out-and-out Bolshevik, and his recent articles in the *Daily News* have been fine reading. He, in contrast to Mr. West, has tried to understand—and has realised that without sympathy there can be no understanding. There was, by the way, a quite interesting interview with him in a recent issue of *Common Sense*, from which I take the following paragraph:—

Since the Revolution there has been an immense sale of books dealing with sociological questions. If an officer was going to the city he would be asked by his men to buy books for them, and the greatest demand was always for Karl Marx and books of that type. Under the Tsardom such reading was hampered by the censorship, and the relief from the former restrictions has given a tremendous impulse to thought and discussion on the problem of social reform.

Whereas in Britain, one might add by way of comment, the restrictions of our present Tsardom have themselves given a tremendous impulse, &c., &c.

I must follow up that quotation (*cf.* also that from the *Welsh Outlook* in last month's Bookshelf) by one from the "Scottish Notes" in the *Herald* recently. The writer is reviewing the events of 1917:—

If strikes have been fewer than in 1916, thinking has been done on a larger scale. The growth of economic classes has simply been phenomenal, and their number in the West of Scotland is legion. . . . The doctrines of Marx are being woven into the life texture of thousands of young men and women, and the outlook for a revolutionary change in the social life is heightened accordingly.

That, after all, is the finest Centenary monument to Marx—and the one he himself would most have appreciated!

Words of wisdom from Mr. Arnold Bennet (writing in the *Daily News*, January 23rd, on "Labour's Bid for Leadership") :—

Take the supreme question of education. To multiply schools and the apparatus and opportunities of teaching will not be enough. The party of reform must insist on a thorough reform of education. The elementary mechanical subjects, like reading, writing and arithmetic, are fairly well taught. But the great scientific principles—such as the principle of evolution—are simply not taught, so that the pupil usually leaves school without a glimmering of any general idea which he can use to help himself to explain and judge the various phenomena of life.

Nor are those inseparable subjects, history and geography, basis of political wisdom in an electorate, well taught. Geography is taught better than history, but the whole teaching of history in all schools is grotesque, rotten and vicious. There exists no school manual of history, and scarcely any history of any kind, in which historical values are not sentimentalised, falsified, and turned upside down in the most astounding manner. Economic history, which is nine-tenths of history, is nearly always ignored. Thus every school history will point out the idyllic relations that existed

between the ageing and chivalrous premier, Lord Melbourne, and the girlish Queen Victoria. But no school history will point out that Lord Melbourne's income was derived from mines in which boys of six worked in absolute darkness fourteen hours a day.

Without some grasp of economic history an electorate is bound to make a fool of itself in politics. Such progress as Labour has already achieved is the direct outcome of the Education Acts which began in 1870. And its further efforts towards advancement will depend for their success on its further interest in its own education.

Everybody can italicise for themselves the sentences they think most need emphasising!

* * * * *

Those notes by an old Pleb on G. D. H. Cole's *Self-Government in Industry* are taking shape (he writes), and I hope they will be ready shortly. Other books of which we hope to publish reviews shortly are J. A. Hobson's *Democracy after the War*; Geo. Harvey's *Industrial Unionism*, & the latest publication of the Fabian Research Dept., *Women in the Engineering Trades*. . . . I shall have to hold over until next month some exceedingly interesting notes and quotations sent by a S. Wales "bookworm." He mentions, by the way, that remainder copies of A. W. Benn's *Modern Europe* (Watts, 7/-—a survey of opinion from 1789 onward—are now obtainable for 2/6^v (presumably from Watts & Co., Johnson's Court, E.C. 4). . . . The price of paper goes up and up! We ourselves have to increase slightly the price of the new edition of *What Doss Education Mean to the Workers?* The S.L. Press announces a revised^v price list of the De Leon pamphlets. They remain marvellous value, and I for one shall be disagreeably surprised if the increase makes any difference whatsoever to their circulation.

J.F.H.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

The State: Its Origin and Function. By W. Paul. (S.L. Press, 50, Renfrew Street, Glasgow. Paper, 1/3. Cloth, 2/-.)

Women in the Engineering Trades. By Barbara Drake. (Fabian Research Dept. 1/6 net.) [Review next month.]

Notes for Trade Unionists on the Whitley Report. (National Guilds League, 17, Acacia Road, N.W. 8. 1d.)

Scientific Socialism: Its Revolutionary Aims and Methods. By W. Paul. (S.L. Press, 50, Renfrew Street, Glasgow. 2d.)

Socialism in Practice: What Labour Governments have Accomplished in Australia and New Zealand. By H. A. Campbell. (Reformers' Bookstall, 26, Bothwell Street, Glasgow. 1d.)

Will any Plebeian wishing to dispose of any of Kerr's publications (second-hand) write to W. Reece, 23, Chesilton Road, Fulham, S.W. 6.

It is with sincere regret that we announce a great loss to the movement by the death on Christmas Day of our friend Dick Hutchinson, of the S.L.P. and the C.L.C. classes in Blackpool. He worked hard in the cause of independent working-class education, and his loss will only be fully realised in the strenuous days ahead of us. That loss is mitigated by the knowledge that his life and work for the cause were an inspiration to us all.

"Come join in the only battle wherein no man can fail,
Where whoso fadeth and dieth, yet his deed shall still prevail."

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.

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The formation of local branches and classes for the study of social science, in connection with the Central Labour College (now the Labour College), such classes to be maintained and controlled, wherever possible, by Trades Unions, Trades Councils, or other working-class organizations; and the linking-up of these branches into Districts (or Divisions) with a District (or Divisional) Committee appointed by the branches.

The issuing of a monthly magazine, mainly devoted to the discussion of Labour questions, theoretical and practical.

The assistance in every way of the development of the Central Labour College (now the Labour College), or of any other working-class educational institution, and their maintenance of a definitely working-class educational policy.

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Open to all who endorse the object of the League;

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