

Vol. XIV. No. 9.

September, 1922.

# THE PLEBS

AGITATE EDUCATE ORGANISE

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A line for Industrial Pacifists:

WOE to him  
who seeks to  
pour oil upon the  
waters when God  
has brewed them  
into a gale!

*"Moby Dick"*

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Monthly

Six Pence

# THE PLEBS LEAGUE

is an organisation of class-conscious workers who believe that Education is one of the most pressing needs of the Labour Movement. ¶ Not, however, Education of any description; but Education of a particular kind, and with a definite aim.

The Education the League stands for is Education designed to help the workers fight their

**CLASS BATTLES**  
and to wage successful war on

**CAPITALISM and  
WAGE-SLAVERY**

If you are in sympathy with this object, send a shilling to the Plebs Office, 162a, Buckingham Palace Road, London, S.W.1., get enrolled as a Pleb, and be put in touch with other like-minded workers in your locality. Do it NOW.

# THE PLEBS

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

Vol. XIV

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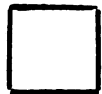
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## OUR POINT of VIEW

**S**EPTEMBER once more—and the beginning of another winter campaign. Is it to be the biggest and most effective campaign yet? It ought to be—and it can be, if we are prepared to seize our opportunities. Everywhere, the cause of *real* workers' education is gaining ground. Everywhere, perception of the vital importance of education—the right kind of education—to the workers is increasing. With the

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▲

Building Trade Workers' national scheme backing up our own existing local centres, and making it possible for us to break fresh ground in districts not previously worked, we have far greater chances of a big forward move during the coming months than ever before.

Are we going to make the most of them?

That depends on the human factor; on you and me, in fact. Conditions are ripe—but the harvest won't gather itself of its own accord. We Marxists are strong on insisting that, if our efforts are to be successful, they must be "in line with historical development." Quite so. But it's no use merely standing in line with historical development. We—individuals holding certain convictions—have got to get a move on. Historical development doesn't hurry itself. That's where you and I come in.

Therefore: Decide what job you're going to tackle for the movement this winter. And, having decided, put your back into it!

One really important question to be argued out, and settled as speedily as possible, is the precise function of the Plebs League,

*The Plebs  
League.*

and of individual Plebs, as Plebs, in the work of our movement. Contrary to an opinion apparently prevalent here and there, the Plebs League did *not* dissolve itself when the National Council of Labour Colleges was founded last autumn. It is in our view vitally important that the League should not merely remain in existence, but that it should have allocated to it certain clearly defined activities within the N.C.L.C. This does not of course mean that a Pleb would work only as a Pleb, and not as an N.C.L.C'er. It means simply that while in certain departments of N.C.L.C. work Plebs share responsibility with T.U. representatives and delegates, in other departments the work should be undertaken by Plebs alone—*i.e.*, by convinced educationists, men and women with a clear and definite idea of the kind of education, and the kind of educational methods, which the workers need.

This matter is further discussed in "The Plebs' Page" in this issue, and we ask all Leaguers to turn over the matter carefully in their minds.

The *Railway Review* (Aug. 11th), had an editorial article on "The N.U.R. and the Labour College" which calls for some comment. As we reported last month, a resolution

*The N.U.R. and  
Workers' Educa-  
tion.*

(moved by the Nine Elms No. 1 Branch) calling for a national organisation of *classes* "whereby the education provided for our students at the Labour College can be brought to and spread among *the rank and file of the Union*," was lost at the Bradford A.G.M.

by 41 votes to 27. The whole point of the resolution was that the time had arrived for *extending* the work of the Labour College, by instituting a properly organised system of classes up and down the country for N.U.R. members, or by supporting, in a properly organised way, the classes already in existence run on Labour College lines.

A perfectly sensible—and logical—plea ; and one, moreover, which the Building Trade Workers' educational scheme (not to mention the Iron and Steel Trades Federation and the W.E.T.U.C.) has shown to be within the sphere of practical politics. Yet what had the *Railway Review* to say about it ?

First, it misrepresented—or misunderstood—the terms of the resolution. It asserted that the resolution asked for “an immediate and definite policy” with regard to the Labour College—and declared in reply that “there had never been any ambiguity in the view of the N.U.R. in respect to the Labour College.” But nobody said there had been ! At any rate, the resolution neither said nor implied anything of the kind. The resolution asked for “an immediate and definite policy *with regard to the education of our membership as a whole.*” The *Review* writer, in fact, proceeded to quote the resolution in full—thus making his own earlier paragraph look decidedly silly.

He went on to assert that the resolution would have committed the Union to “an unknown financial responsibility”—which is nonsense, since, with the Building Trade Workers' scheme in front of them, the Union could without difficulty have decided upon a fixed sum, and taken steps to work within that.

Next he “smiled ironically” at the bare idea of “teaching the members of a union as a whole” ; giving as his reason his opinion that “quiet, intensive study” is only for “the few who can leaven the mass.” We leave it to the railwaymen who read the *Review* to express *their* opinion of this estimate of their intellectual capabilities ; merely observing that while the movers of the resolution probably never expected to make every single member of the Union a class-student, they were, we should think, quite justified in assuming that among the hundreds of thousands of railwaymen there were certainly more who would, if they could, take advantage of educational facilities than the ten or twelve men whom the Union sends every other year to the Labour College.

The plain fact is that, as we pointed out last month, the N.U.R., by this decision, definitely failed to live up to its own traditions as a pioneer in educational matters. Its laurels have been fairly and squarely won from it by the Building Trade Workers, whose educational scheme was planned in accordance with present-day needs.

*It's the Classes  
that matter.*

The day has gone by when support of the London Labour College, and the granting of scholarships to a mere handful of their members, was all that could be expected of "advanced" unions. In the early days of our movement it was necessary to concentrate on support of the College, as a definite centre of independent working-class educational activity. To-day, the primary need is for the *extension* of that educational work. The *classes* are the fundamentally important thing. A residential College is only important in so far as it is linked up with the classes, serves their needs, and strengthens their hands. At the present time the London Labour College can do very little in this respect. Why? Because whenever any plea for help is made by the provincial centres, the College Governors can only reply that the finances allowed them by the controlling unions are only sufficient for the work of carrying on the College itself, and that any "outside" activity is therefore out of the question. Yet the *Railway Reviewer* concludes his article by declaring that "if the members desired education, the scheme of the Labour College is at their command if they have sufficient initiative to command it!" The Labour College has no "scheme" to command—no scheme, that is, which the ordinary members of the Union can take advantage of. It was to remedy this state of affairs that the Nine Elms resolution was moved. . . . We beg the *Review*—and the members of the N.U.R.—to reconsider this matter.

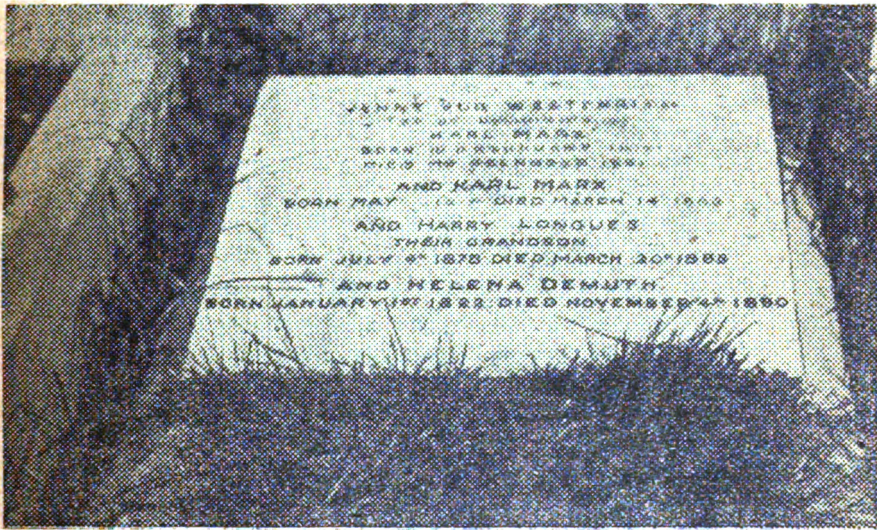
Here is a significant bit of news from Edinburgh :—At its meeting on August 8th, the Trades and Labour Council had before it the question of workers' education. The Exec. Committee, acting on the previous instructions of the Council, submitted a report on the subject, and moved that the Council affiliate to both the Scottish Labour College (Edinburgh Dist.) and the Workers' Educational Association. During a lengthy discussion, it was pointed out that, as the Scottish Labour College and the W.E.A. were based on entirely different principles, a Labour body *could not logically be affiliated to both*.

Now, in Scotland, considerations of logic do count. South of the border it would probably have been replied to the above argument—"logic be blowed! If they're different, all the more reason to back 'em both—then we're sure to be on the right horse one way!" But not so in Edinburgh. There, the delegates perceived at once that, to be logical, they must support one or the other. And accordingly, by 60 votes to 15, they decided to affiliate to the Scottish Labour College, and to cease to be affiliated to the W.E.A. This in spite of the fact that, only five weeks earlier, re-affiliation to the W.E.A. had been carried by 35 votes to 29.

A most excellent example for other Trades' Councils to follow ! And it is up to us to urge the desirability of acting logically in these matters. For once it is agreed that such questions should be settled in a logical way. All Trades' Councils, being *independent* Labour bodies, will see that their support must go to the *independent* workers' educational movement—*i.e.*, the National Council of Labour Colleges.\*

A CORRECTION.—We gave the figures of the voting at the A.U.B.T.W. Conference last month as 58 to 10 against the W.E.A. We were too generous. The figures were 59 to 1 against.

## MARX'S GRAVE



**A** COMRADE has drawn our attention to the fact that the grave of Karl Marx in Highgate Cemetery is in a shockingly neglected condition. Who is technically responsible for its proper preservation we do not know ; but we of the Plebs League, who salute Marx as our leader and master, feel that this small task is a duty which British Socialists owe to the international movement. Pilgrims from many lands visit the tomb at Highgate ; we owe it to our own self-respect that they should not be pained by finding it unkempt and uncared for.

We have ascertained from the Cemetery authorities that the cost of putting the grave in order, restoring the lettering, raising the

\* The total number of affiliations to the S.L.C. (Edinburgh Dist.) is now 102—and every affiliation, note, is a nail in the coffin of the W.E.A. A duplicated copy of the statement submitted by the College to the Trades Council sub-committee (three foolscap pages) may be had, postpaid 2d., from the Dist. Sec., Scottish Labour College 30 Newhaven Rd., Leith.

stone, etc., will be about £5; with a further annual charge of 30s. for regular maintenance. They are not large sums; but we are sure that many of our readers will be glad to share, by a small subscription, in this little act of respect to the memory of our master. The Plebs League E.C. has accordingly voted one guinea to open a fund; and we ask Plebeians to send us donations, as speedily as they can, in order that the work may be put in hand without delay.

We don't ask for large sums. We would prefer that the money should be raised by the participation of as many subscribers as possible. If, as we have not the smallest doubt, the money necessary for the initial work of putting the grave in order is forthcoming at once, the Plebs League will make itself responsible for the annual charge for future upkeep.

Send in your subscription, marked "For Marx's Grave," to PLEBS Office, 162a, Buckingham Palace Road, London, S.W. 1.

THE PLEBS E.C.

## OUR TEACHING METHODS

*The following notes on the need for revision of our teaching methods coming from so successful a teacher of the elementary student as Mary Marcy, will be read with interest by tutors and students alike. They are particularly timely just now, when a new winter session is about to open.*

**F**OR a long time I have wondered why we Marxists, who spend so much time and energy in propaganda and educational work, have not devoted more of our efforts to studying and working out scientific methods of teaching. Assuredly, the results of our labours are out of all proportion to what we hope to accomplish. It is a pleasure to note that THE PLEBS is interested in furthering this new and experimental branch of science.

It occurs to me that some of the new experimental schools both in Russia and in America may afford a number of helpful suggestions which we may successfully appropriate.

Naturally the first aim of the efficient teacher should be to secure the attention of the student-to-be by making his starting point from things and conditions of interest to the student. We must learn to connect these with the subject we propose to teach. We must show that history, psychology, and particularly economics, possess a relation to his or her own experiences and conditions.

Where new students have had no experience in the industries,



we must acquaint them with conditions, wages, profits, hours of labour, etc., through first-hand observations whenever possible. The beginner should never be approached with a study of abstractions of any science, but should be introduced to concrete, individual examples from which we can easily proceed to the abstract.

One reason why women and professional men so rarely actually absorb the fundamentals of Marxian economics, for instance, is because we have been accustomed to teaching from the abstract, and about abstract conditions and events foreign to their own personal knowledge and experience. These persons ought to be brought in touch with industry, either through personal visits to industrial plants or by close association with the workers in them, so that our theories may seem to them to apply to the actual conditions existing in society to-day. It would well repay those conducting classes to spend a few weeks in acquainting our women comrades or the professional students with industrial conditions, when their experiences have been in widely differing fields.

Careful questionings of students experienced in industry will often elicit replies truly Marxian from those wholly unfamiliar with the economic theories of Marx. Questions of hypothetical or actual conditions may be explained which students may themselves solve and explain. In this way the student learns to think for him or herself and feels that he is contributing toward the work the teacher is carrying on. The more we can interweave these contributions of students with the work we are trying to accomplish, the more eagerly will they study and investigate. And every step they take forward requires more study and more investigating in order that they may keep pace with their own knowledge and discoveries.

The capitalist class considers the workers as empty vessels into which they may pour their erroneous, preconceived ideas and thus educate them to follow the rules of conduct the capitalists desire. Fortunately the workers are not nearly so much concerned with capitalist ideas of moral conduct as they are with the mis-called Public Opinion which seems to endorse them. I do not believe the working class is half so devoted to the system of private ownership of the means of production as we imagine it to be. But they bow to the will of what the capitalist press has taught them to call Public Opinion.

If this is true, our educational and propaganda work ought to be more successful. If certain working men possess no actual opinions, it ought to make it easier for us to teach and help them to become correct thinkers. Perhaps our numerous failures in the past have been due to the fact that we have regarded the workers somewhat as the capitalists have considered them: empty vessels into which we might pour our correct, preconceived ideas.

*The old method of pedagogy does not develop students who think; who will be versatile in a labour or revolutionary crisis. Stuffing educational methods do not mean growth. New class struggles or labour struggles leave them repeating the old phrases over and over again. New methods of capitalist attack disconcert them and find them unprepared. They lack adaptability.*

Always, that which we teach must be shown to be related to life and industry. It must be shown to be vital to the working class.

Classes, lectures, courses are given for the benefit of the students and not the teachers. We must attract and interest the student. When we fail to do this our failure is proof that we have not yet evolved a scientific system of socialist pedagogy.

MARY E. MARCY.

## A PRIMER ON "THINKING"

**A**S our readers will note from the advertisement on another page of this issue, the Labour Publishing Co. will publish this month—besides A. Barton's *World History for Workers*—another little book of great interest and importance to Plebs. This is *Thinking: An Introduction to its History and Science*, by our old friend Fred Casey.

Its author's name alone will be sufficient recommendation for all those familiar with the work Casey has put in to our movement. But those who have had the privilege of looking through the MS. of his book describe it as filling a gap in our class literature which badly needed filling. The first part summarises the past history of philosophy, and gives a brief outline of cosmic evolution—of the beginnings of life and the differentiation of matter up to the brain of tool-making, thinking men. Part II. is an application of Dietzgen's teaching to various problems, past and present.

It is a book for students; not, perhaps, for the elementary beginner, since its detailed historical approach would be stiff reading for those with no previous knowledge of the subject. But it is doubly welcome, not only for its usefulness as a class textbook, but also because it successfully attempts to relate Marxism on the philosophic side to the various modern "philosophic" schools.

This book will be out before the end of the month, and orders can be placed with the PLEBS Book Department now. Class tutors should note that Com. Casey has designed a very useful illustrative historical chart for use with the volume, blue prints of which can be obtained from The PLEBS only, price 1s. (postpaid, 1s. 2d.).

## PARSON MALTHUS

WHO of us that have addressed Socialist meetings has not been interrupted by someone in the crowd declaring that the evils of which we complain are due to over-population, and that they can be cured only by restricting the number of births, and not by Socialism or Communism? These people call themselves Neo-Malthusians, and they take their name from the Rev. Malthus, who in 1798 wrote *An Essay on Population*. His disciples used the arguments set



out in that book to attack the early trade unionists and Socialists by means of the Wages Fund Theory and the Iron Law of Wages Theory.

Now, Malthus certainly made an important contribution to thought by indicating the importance of the population question; and we only put ourselves in a weak position if we deny this. Malthus' theory may for simplicity be divided into two parts:—

(1) He stated that population always *tends* to increase faster than the food supply. The number of mouths to be fed will increase faster than the wherewithal to feed them. This is due to the existence of the Law of Diminishing Returns on land. This law is that in the absence of new inventions an increased food supply can after a point only be obtained at an ever increasing cost in labour-power expended. This law is experienced by every worker on an allotment. After a certain point more potatoes can only be got from that piece of ground at the expense of a great increase

of time and trouble—so great as to make it possibly worth while to extend the size of the allotment, rather than to go on crowding the existing plot. Malthus showed that this tendency for population to grow faster than the food supply would involve poverty and a low standard of life, unless population was checked in either of two ways : (a) by positive checks—wars, famine, infantile mortality, etc. ; (b) by prudential checks—late marriages and conscious restraint. (Since Malthus' time the use of contraceptive methods has added another effective prudential check.) Malthus showed that if over-population is not checked by (b), (a) would inevitably come into operation.

(2) Since there was a "natural law" of population, viz., that a population of human beings tended to double itself every thirty years, poverty, disease, and wars were inevitable, said Malthus, unless by late marriages or sexual continence people voluntarily restricted increase. Hence all social reforms, Socialism, and trade union action were not only useless, but they would defeat their own ends. An increased standard of life among the masses would merely enable them to breed and rear more children ; and the population being increased, poverty would ensue again. Hence poverty, infantile mortality, and bad social conditions were not due to the social system, but to a law of nature.

Now (1), as a mere description of facts and a tendency, is a truism, but is none the less important. True, there may be inventions and discovery of new sources of food supply ; but inventions are uncertain, whereas increase of population is certain, and the food supply *per head* would be greater if the population were smaller.

(2), however, is completely fallacious for the following reasons :—

As Marx indicated in his reply to Malthus, there is no natural or absolute law of population. The ratio between population and food supply tends to be different at different stages of historical evolution. Both rate of increase of production, and rate of production are *relative to economic conditions*. For instance, in a predominantly peasant and petit-bourgeois society like France, the population is stationary. On the other hand, as Dr. Marshall points out, it was the bad conditions under which the proletariat of the early 19th century were forced to live that was chiefly responsible for the immense increase in the birth-rate in this country at that time. Moreover, prevalent codes of private and social morality exercise a powerful influence, and as Marxists we understand the relativity of morality to economic conditions. At the present time orthodox bourgeois religious morality is one of the greatest obstacles to the spread of birth-control. Imperialist ideology directly encourages a high birth-rate. The mother of sixteen children is complimented by jingo magistrates on rearing sons

for the Empire, and gets her photograph in the *Daily Mirror*. One of the chief arguments against concerted restriction of population is always the Imperialist one that it would weaken the nation's military position. Instances abound of the fact that Imperialism is a factor making for a large birth-rate, e.g., Imperialist propaganda for increase of population in France, legal restrictions on birth-control propaganda in U.S.A., and in Germany before the war; prohibition of public lectures by Mrs. Sanger in Japan. The law of population is not, therefore, a law of nature, a tendency fixed for all time. It is itself largely the effect of the economic system; a change in the economic system will change the ratio of population to food supply.

One of the most important things written on this subject recently has been the article by Prof. Brentano in the *Economic Journal*, September, 1910. The facts and figures given there abundantly prove the contention I have just made. He proves both that the birth-rate is higher among proletarians than among peasants, and that a rise in the standard of life tends to *decrease* the birth-rate, and probably to decrease it faster than the decrease of infant mortality (*i.e.*, the survival rate decreases also). He gives the following interesting facts:—

The birth-rate in the industrial departments Nord and Pas de Calais has fallen only very slightly during the 19th century; in the department Seine-Inferieure it has even risen; while in the more prosperous departments, Yonne, Cote d'Or, Garonne, Maine et Loire, Charente, etc., with their well-to-do peasant population, it has diminished by one-half. On the other hand, in Brittany as well as in the department of Corisca and Losere, where the peasant population is poor, the birth-rate is as high as in the industrial districts.... The more proletarian the department the higher the birth-rate....(and fertility decreases with increasing prosperity.

Loria expresses the matter clearly in his chapter on population in *Contemporary Social Problems*:—

It is a remarkable fact that those departments of France in which the number of children to a family is smallest are precisely those in which small holdings of land are most general; while the birth-rate is much higher in the departments having a large wage-earning population....When the workman is insufficiently paid he procreates madly....Precisely because it is owing to economic factors peculiar to the wage-system, the excess of population is an essentially historical phenomenon.

The following are figures of the rate of increase of population during the last fifty years in Great Britain:—

	1871—5.	1901—5	1912.	1917.
Birth-rate	35.5 (per 1,000)	28.1	23.8	17.8
Death-rate	22.0 (per 1,000)	16.0	13.3	
Net increase	13.5 (per 1,000)	12.1	10.5	

These figures show that the rate of increase of population has

been on the decline, though slowly, during the last fifty years. The following figures also show that the higher the standard of life the lower tends to be the birth-rate :—

	Births per 1,000 married males aged under 55.		
Upper and Middle Class .. ..	..	..	.. 119
Intermediate .. ..	..	..	.. 132
Skilled Workers .. ..	..	..	.. 153
Intermediate .. ..	..	..	.. 158
Unskilled Workers.. ..	..	..	.. 213

This is not to say that the population question is not an important one. It will certainly be a problem to be tackled in a Socialist community. But only in a Socialist community will it be a primary interest of society that there should be a rational restriction of population, so as to secure the maximum social welfare. Under capitalism the ruling classes are not *primarily* concerned with limiting the numbers of the working class, although they may be interested enough in practising birth-control themselves. A large labour supply is good for the capitalists; cannon-fodder is desired by the Imperialists. The economic emancipation of women in a Socialist community will also be an important factor in the restriction of prolific increase.

The Malthusian claim that excess of population is the cause of Imperialism and war, is supported by so great an authority on the population question as Mr. Keynes. But the facts do not seem to support this view very adequately. At any rate, the Marxian interpretation of Imperialism is a "working hypothesis" which explains the facts much more adequately. First, Imperialist policies are formulated and carried through by the ruling class. An increase of population among the workers does not harm the interests of the ruling class, except indirectly through social unrest caused by poverty. On the contrary, it benefits them by affording a cheap labour supply. Therefore it seems much more likely that the cause of Imperialism lies in some factor touching directly the interests of the capitalists, rather than in something affecting the interests, not of the capitalists, but of the workers. At the present time the Imperialism of France is producing propaganda in favour of increased population. In such a case the tendency to increased population is rather an *effect* than a *cause* of Imperialism.

Second, an important fact working against the Malthusian interpretation of Imperialism is that the percentage increase of world population was greatest during the pacifist, Cobdenite period of 1840—1870, and began to decline between 1860 and 1870, when modern Imperialism began. The rate of increase in the United

States had steadily declined since 1860, while the United States has become steadily more Imperialist.

	Percentage Increase of :—		
	World Popn.	Popn. in England.	Popn. in U.S.A.
1820	9.5	18	33.1
1840	12.2	15.6	23.7
1860	12.1	12	35.6
1870	8.7	13	26.6
1880	9.9	14.2	26.0
1890	3.4	11.5	24.9
1900	3.7	11.9	20.7
1910	4.7	11.0	21.0

These figures are not themselves sufficient to do more than throw a doubt on the Malthusian claim. But what is a stronger argument is that when modern Imperialism began round about 1870 the tendency to diminishing returns on land was not in operation, owing to the development and opening up of new fertile land in the Middle West of America. Not till *after* 1900, as Maynard Keynes himself admits, was "the Malthusian Devil, for half a century chained up and out of sight. . . . loosed again." "After 1870 the pressure of population on food. . . . became for the first time in recorded history *definitely reversed*. . . . Up to about 1900 a unit of labour applied to industry yielded year by year a purchasing power over *an increasing quantity of food*" (*Economic Consequences of the Peace*, pp. 7 and 8). Therefore "the Malthusian Devil" cannot be an explanation of the sudden change round about 1870 from the pacifism of the Manchester School to the Imperialism of the Birmingham School.

Once again, therefore, we see that whereas bourgeois economists flounder among partial truths, among "absolute principles" and "laws of nature" tinged by metaphysical assumptions, Marxism alone provides a scientific working hypothesis to correlate the complex facts of social evolution. Marxism alone enables us to dispense with the old *a priori*, absolutist conceptions in social science by viewing history as a *process*, and realising the relativity of social events to this historical process.

MAURICE H. DOBB.

P.S.—The current number (No. 6) of *The Reconstruction Supplement* to the *Manchester Guardian Commercial* (1s.), is devoted to this question of Population and the Food Supply. The *a priori* approach to the problem, to which I have referred, is in places in evidence, when social policies are under discussion. But the articles

by Keynes on Malthus, by Dr. Brownlee on The Census, by Sir H. Rew on The World's Grain Supplies, by Prof. Sering on the Agrarian Revolution in Central Europe, and by Louis Levine on the Agrarian Problem in Russia contain much useful information.—M. H. D.

## An OLD MINUTE-BOOK

*The third and concluding instalment of Fred Shaw's "Pages from Trade Union History," previous sections of which appeared in our June and July issues.*

**A**MONGST the items chosen for this month are those relating to the Plug riots. The year 1842 was one of extreme depression, and it was in this year that the Chartists urged a general strike. In our ledger the last two weeks in this August are exceptionally heavy, with the significant item "for Plug week" at the top. Later on a collection is taken in the branch room to assist a "Plug week" case.

As well as bad trade and the Chartist Agitation, there was the Factory Act movement and generally things were moving. Distress was widespread. At Leeds the paupers' stone heap accumulated to 150,000 tons, and the Guardians were offering 6s. per week and no test work rather than 7s. 6d. for breaking road metal. A quarter of the population of Carlisle was starving. In Stockport the workers thronged the streets unemployed, whilst the masters were going bankrupt weekly. Throughout Lancashire there were over 50 per cent. unemployed. At Stalybridge the steam-loom weavers stormed the factories and turned out the employed. The idea spread rapidly, and was followed by machine breaking, and within a week all Lancashire was practically shut down.

During the middle of August a large procession left Ashton and Stalybridge, marched over the Stannedge road across the Pennines, and proceeded down the Colne Valley towards Huddersfield and the West Riding woollen area. The woollen workers joined in, and across hill and dale, throughout all the scattered villages and townships, the propaganda by deed was carried out. The mills were rushed, the boiler house entered, the fires drawn, the steam blown out, and the plugs taken out to be thrown away or destroyed. The mill dam shuttles were lifted and the water needed for the boilers and condensing was allowed to run into the rivers and becks.

The huge crowd of workers from all these valleys flocked into Huddersfield and found the 4th Lancers waiting for them. Other contingents journeyed towards Halifax, Bradford, Leeds and Dewsbury, and by Saturday, August 18th, practically one-half of the woollen mills were stopped. At Leeds 30,000 staves were handed out to special constables, the military were in full force, and this was one of the few occasions when Royalty led their valiant forces on to the field of battle—Prince George and his lancers were present charging the workers. Over 38 arrests were made in Leeds, and



the men subsequently tried at the York Assizes, with varying sentences up to eighteen months.

To those interested in banking and finance the three items of light gold, etc., will be interesting. This was due to the sweating and clipping of gold coins by the more mundane advocates of the gold basis theory, and when the branch treasurer went to the bank the coins were weighed by the receiving clerk. Milling of coin edges was introduced to counteract the practice.

A very interesting, but ordinary, item of branch expenditure is the one relating to "tramps." In all the twenty years covered by the ledger, there is rarely a club night on which this item is not mentioned. Sometimes as many as twelve cases appear in one branch night (*e.g.*, 20—8—42, 12 tramps, £1 5s. 8d.). We get (16—2—39) "1 tramp with provisions and mileage to Leeds" 3s. 10d., or again, "1 tramp from Halifax with bed" 4d.—roughly about one penny per mile was allowed by rule. Railways had not become generally adopted, whilst hotels had far more stabling than bedrooms. Many of our present highways were then only pack-horse routes. Walking was the only mode open to workers, and a walk around the adjacent towns seeking a job—a walk lasting anything up to five weeks (see items)—was the common lot. "With provisions" meant a pint of ale, bread and cheese, or an onion for a change. To travel from Halifax to Bradford after a job would be equivalent to a man calling in at the Labour Exchange to-day. In periods of depression, judging from these entries, at least 12 per cent. of the members of the early craft societies would be on the road as "tramps," and in at least one society (the Iron Founders, 1809) a member could only receive donation by going on the road for a job.

The word "tramp," then, has no connection with the present "tramp." So common was it that the worthy president of the branch and very active worker, John Atkinson, has it entered up (12—8—27) that he has just received 5 weeks' donation from branches all over, and, as an appreciation and a lesson to other members, it is entered to show that just as the branch pay "tramps," so do their own worthy brethren become tramps in the fullness of time.

From other items one could easily write up an Ode to Beer. Whilst officers' liquor is an item for each club night, there are many incidentals such as (15—2—38), "General meeting," 8s. 6d. ; "Beer at the general meeting," 8s. 2d. About four and a half gallons of good ale has assistance upon tactics and policy ; to-day whole conferences sit working out policy even up to revolutionary procedure without a lemon squash ! Back to beer and the stirring periods again !

An audit varies in beer cost from 3s. 9d. to 8s. 6d., according to its cultural level—a really top-hole audit (such as 21—6—34, “Expences for Comity Liquor,” 7s. 6d.) could be as good as a general meeting any time. Perhaps, Mr. Editor, the return of “Officers’ Liquor” might do good to the Plebs movement to-day.\*

The items in the examples are taken at random without regard to income or expenditure sides of the ledger, and thus do not represent actual pages, but simply those items likely to be of interest.

All these extracts when in cold print only faintly touch the real interest aroused by the musty old ledger itself. It is musty and has a smell worth coming miles for. Its crossing-outs, wrong reckonings, subtract or add or please yourself, in some places like 34 and 35, as though the writer was carving epitaphs on a tombstone, the auditings and so on, make it very interesting. But I hope the extracts given, especially the complete pages, will prove of interest to our class work, and will stimulate a little research work in the localities.

FRED SHAW.

*Items at Random.*

1832			Sept. 14	Repairing Box .	11	11			
May 26	To 1 parsil from Manchester ..	1	0	Sept. 28	1 ink stand, 1 quear of paper & pens & Sealing wax ..	2	11		
	Do. Comitty Beer .. ..	1	0		paid to tramps	13	0		
June 23	John Firth Delegator to Manchester Expences	1	12	0	28	Sataled up to this day ..			
July 7	1 tramp releved	3	0		Aug. 31	Dis burstburstment .. ..	5	2	
Sept. 12	Expenditor for last ½ year ..	4	1	2					
Nov. 24	1 letter from Manchester ..		8		1834				
	Do. from Marsden .. ..		2		Feb. 1	Wrighting paper Comitty ..	3	8	
Dec. 8	paid to John Jarvis for posteige for letters		6		Ap. 26	Expences for Club room ..	10	6	
26	Received from Manchester ..	10	0	0	June 21	Delegat Expences to liverpool ..	3	15	10
					July 18	Letter from Oldham .. ..		8	
1833					Oct. 25	One check to Manchester ..	4	8	9
Feb. 1	wrighting paper		6			One check to Oldham ..	18	5	1
Jan. 5	paid to John Firth for 1832 years Salery as Secretary ..	10	0			Paid for stamps	1	0	
Jan. 19	Seal wax pens & paper .. ..		6		1835				
June 8	Delegates Expences ..	2	8	0	Jan. 31	Sattadeled by this meeting and			

\* Hear, hear!—*The Plebs E.C.*

	Condensed				One propersition		
	that those book				returned ..	2	6
	Are Correct			July	DelegateExpences		
	as witnefs our				to Brighthouse ..	2	6
	hand				Seal wax ..		3
	(ECT.)			Aug. 13	1 parcil from		
					Liverpool ..	1	0
1835					1 letter from		
	No. of members			Sept. 24	Stockport ..		9
	15.				George Ardail		
March 5	Expenderit with				Pid for not		
	the Defraud ..	26	14		sringing affair ..	1	0
„ 14	righting paper .				D. Leuefs Shaw		
	2 Memerhandam				Paid ( <i>lewis for</i>		
May 9	2 pints of Ale for				<i>not accepting</i>		
	Attendance ..			Dec. 3	<i>office I think</i> ) ..	1	0
„ 23	2 pints of Ale ..				Attending the		
	1 quear of paper				Bank ..		9
July 4	1 letter from Hali-						
	fax .. ..						
	Do. 1 bottol of						
	ink .. ..			1837			
Aug. 1	1 letter from			Jan. 1	to Quils and seal		
	Dundee ..	1	11½		wax .. ..	1	3
29	Lock repairing			28	1 lock repairing		7
	and New Kea..			Feb. 11	1 letter from		
					Bristol ..		11
Sept. 12	1 tramp from			Feb. 25	Delegates Ex-		
	Oldham ..	2	0		pences to Leeds	2	14
26	John Kaye 1			March 11	1 Tramp stopped		
	donation ..	10	6		on Sunday ..		7
Nov. 7	1 letter returned			Ap. 20	Sent to Black-		
	John KayeWhite				burn .. ..	25	11
21	funeral ..	3	0	24	Cash on hand as		
	1 letter from				witnefs our		
	Bradford ..				hand but 3s. 4d.		
	1 pint of Ale for				short ect. ..	92	4
	Atendance ..			July 1	6 tramps ..	1	15
Oct. 5	Secretarys Sallarey	10	0	June 17	1 letter Sheffield		
					1 letter Staley-		
					bridge .. ..		8
1836				July 17	Paid to Wm.		
Feb. 13	Contrabutions ..	13	0		Sykes Clarks		
	1 Making ..	7	6		Salerey ..		5
	1 Rule 1 card ..		8	29	to Bill paid by		
	2 propersitions .	5	0		Old Society ..		6
	1 Fine .. ..		6		9 tramps ..	1	15
				Aug. 12	John Atkinson		
					received 5		
		1	6		weeks Dona-		
		42	9		tion from the		
	on hand..	43	16		Old Society		
					John Atkinson		
	27 2 Tramps from				24 days Dona-		
	Leeds to Not-				tion .. ..	2	0
	tingham ..	14	6		1 letter from		
Ap. 8	Reports from				Greenock ..	1	0½
	Leeds .. ..		7		2 Delegats to		
May 7	Check from				Bradford ..	15	0
	Manchester ..		8		Officers Beer ..	1	8

	E. Balmforth				provisions and		
	Livered in Be-				mileage to Leeds	3	10
	longing the			Ap. 27	General meeting	8	9
	Donation ..	10	0	June 8	Annual Dele gat		
Sept. 9	Henry Atkinson				meeting ..	4	2 8
	took the Books	40	11, 6½				
	In the Box ..	40	11 6½	1840			
Oct. 7	8 Tramps ..	1	5 3	May 23	money received		
21	Paid for Reports				from Rochdale	30	0 0
	from Leeds ..	1	2		For the turn out		
	Auditors Allow-				at Preston ..	19	8
	ance .. ..	2	1		For the men with		
Nov. 23	Received from			Sept. 26	an Accident. .	15	6
	Halifax ..	4	4 4	Oct. 11	Dinners ..	5	3
Dec. 16	Letter from				Attending to		
	Johnstone ..	2	1		pay the Funeral	2	0
" "	Received from			1841			
	JohnstoneEqui-			Feb. 6	General meeting	7	6
	lization money.	39	17 7		Box repairing ..	6	3
	Belonging to the				Box inges ..	3	6
	Old Society for				removing the Box	1	0
	an advertise-			May 29	Wm. Dawson		
	ment	9	6		Funeral Money	7	0 0
1838					Attending to pay		
Feb. 15	General Meeting	8	6	June 12	FuneralMoney.	2	0
	Bear at a General				Expences to		
	Meeting ..	8	2	" 26	Delegate Meet-	6	0 0
Ap. 7	Delegats Ex-				ingfi .. ..		
	pences to Man-	4	0 0	" "	Equalization		
	chester ..				Money from		
	New plate ..		4	" "	Belfast ..	30	0 0
May 5	½ yearly Reports			" 18	Check Cashing..	1	0
	fromManchester	1	3	Sept. 4	PostOffice stamps	1	0
	19 New Rules from				3 shillings dout-		
	Manchester ..	1	6		full .. ..	136	5 3
June 16	Eleven new Cards	1	6	1842			
	Two new Rules		8	Ap. 2	Thomas Smiths		
1838					Bed .. ..		4
Aug. 25	Candles ..	1	0	May 3rd	received from		
	Committee Beer	1	2½		Dundock ..	20	0 0
Sept. 8	200 Sumiens				received from		
	printing ..	3	6		Sunderland ..	8	0 0
Oct. 6	1 Tramps Bed .		4	" 28	Two Beds ..		8
	we the under-			Jan. 7	Mr. Bagshaw 2		
	signed find				years Gafs. ..	12	0
	these books cor-			July 9th	Light soverigns		4
	rect with the			23rd	Paid for light		
	exception of six-				gold ..	1	3
	pence (ect.)				light gold ..	1	0
Dec. 22	1 Tramp from				George Wood		
	Leeds with Bed		4		Funeral Money	9	16 0
	1 tramp from				PLUG WEEK.		
	Halifax with Bed		4	Aug. 20	Donation ..	4	10 0
1839					12 Tramps ..	1	5 8
Feb. 16	Joseph Moody			Oct. 1st	Relife for the		
	1 days Dona-				plug member .	6	6
	tion .. ..	1	8		Relife for the		
	and mileage to				Accident ..	3	6
	Leeds .. ..	1	4	Oct. 29th	pay for the		
	1 Tramp with						

	accident at Manchester ..	2 6	1844	Jan. 22	Room Rent half year .. ..	12 0
Nov. 26	2 Dinners ..	3 0			General meeting and club Box moving ..	8 6
	Henry Haigh Plug week ..	3 0			SecretarysSalary	1 8 0
1843				May 27	Remitted toDub- lin	45 0 0
Feb. 18th	Brough over the two shillings that was rong in subtraction	2 0			„ War- rington	11 0 0
	New Key ..	3			„ „ Bir- ming- ham	14 0 0
March 4	Wilfred Hirst instead of stand- ing the Vice ..	1 0		Dec. 23rd	Contributions ..	3 12 6
June 3rd	Preston equi- lization ..	10 0 0			John Knight Fine for not in- forming the Secre- tary .. ..	2 6
	Post Office Order	1 0			Original Bower remainder of making ..	12 6
Aug. 5	To Gafs at Bag- shaws ..	3 0			Jerry Foster re- mainder of making ..	12 6
	removing Box .	6				
	Delegate Ex- pences ..	3 10 0				
	Hall rent ..	1 1 0				

## WHAT WE STUDY—and WHY Easy Outlines for New Students.

*We publish this month the first two of a series of six talks, for beginners, on the subjects forming the chief part of the programme of Labour College Classes. They have been written in order to give new students a general idea of the scope of each subject, and the point of view from which we study it. Next month we shall publish two outlines of "Economic Geography" and "Imperialism"; and the month after, "The History of Trade Unionism" and "The Science of Reasoning."*

### OUTLINE I.—INDUSTRIAL HISTORY.

**I**N starting this short course of talks on our chief subjects of study, there is one point that needs special emphasis. It is this: education—our education, at any rate—*can be quite easily understood by everybody.*

Many workers are apt to fight shy of education; they think that it isn't for "the likes of us," and that it's only people who can go to colleges and can devote their whole life to study, who can hope to become educated. But that all depends on what we mean by education, and being educated. We can get on quite well in life without knowing anything about many of the things

studied at universities, because they do not touch the problems of our everyday life—though they may be very interesting and, in some respects, very valuable forms of knowledge. But there are some questions forever facing us in our daily life and labour, which very few of us can answer, and which yet are of vital interest to us and our fellow-workers. These are questions of work and wages, strikes and lock-outs, etc.

Now, who are the people most capable of understanding these problems? We may admit that, for the most part, the workers do not understand, and as we shall see there is a quite good reason why they do not; yet surely it is the people who handle wages, who have to earn them before handling them, who are most capable of understanding them. Surely, if anyone is in a position to grasp the nature and history of Trade Unionism, it is the Trade Unionist. And this is the education for which we are pleading—an education which quite definitely sets itself to understand these problems; an education which deals with questions of vital importance to the worker, and which his daily experience specially fits him to understand. Let no one, then, be alarmed at the thought of education.

Here we are dealing with History—the worker's view of History. We all know something about History, however little. If nothing more, we have at least heard that slavery once existed; perhaps we have heard also of the feudal system. We know, too, that slavery, in that old sense, and feudalism no longer exist—in this country, at any rate. Even from that much—or rather that little—knowledge, we can draw a very important lesson. That is, that *things have not always been what they are to-day*. Evidently, then, there is something wrong about the glib assertion we so often hear, that things always have been, and always will be, what they are now. In fact, one of the most valuable lessons, a lesson that we should get set and rooted in our minds so that we shall never forget it, is that everything is always changing. Why, even our own bodies are constantly in process of change. Every movement of every limb uses up a certain amount of muscular tissue, every thought we think uses a certain amount of brain tissue, which has to be replaced; and so our whole body is gradually being renewed. *Everything is always changing*. History deals with the general changes that take place in the relations of men—the changes from feudalism to our modern system, for example.

But you will have noticed that our subject is not simply History, but Industrial History. There is a good reason for this, which we must now make clear. If we ask what are the most important and interesting things going on at any particular moment, we shall no doubt be referred to the daily papers. Or better still, let us try

a Sunday paper, since they are the most widely-read, and therefore, one may assume, the ones that contain the matter most interesting to the masses who buy and read them. What do we find them to be full of? Practically speaking, two things only—crimes, especially murders, suicides and divorces, and secondly, sports. Yet what have these things to do with the ordinary man in the street? Few of us have committed a murder; and it's clear that none of us has committed suicide—yet, at any rate! Divorce, too, though certainly quite fashionable, can hardly be said to be popular. These things do not touch the life of the ordinary folk. The cases which fill the papers for a day or a week are as quickly forgotten, and their places are taken by something else equally passing in their interest. Even the most exciting and dramatic of them can hardly be said to be “nine days' wonders,” since every morning's paper brings its fresh crop of startling cases and notable events.

But even these passing shows are worth a moment's examination, an examination rarely given to them. Whatever their character, these crimes and these notable events all require a highly organised machinery. In order that a prisoner may be convicted, a whole legal system, with its judges and jailors, its police and its prisons, is necessary; and this in turn rests upon—what? Upon the work of agricultural labourers, bakers, butchers, and building workers—upon the labour of the masses who provide this army of the law with the necessaries of life and the equipment for their several offices. And so everywhere. However remote from the vulgar life and labour of the masses the doings recorded in our newspapers may seem, whether it is some sordid story of fraud or murder, or whether it is a gathering of the great ones of the earth to see and be seen in purple and fine linen—*beneath the surface is the work of the masses.*

And that is the second lesson of History. The whole vast and complex social organisation has for its foundation the labour of the people. Look at the matter for a moment. The ordinary individual—you and I—must order his life in accordance with the way in which he does his work. He starts his day by rising at an hour nearly always determined by the time at which he has to start work. When he gets out of bed, he gets into a suit of clothes more or less adapted to the kind of work he's going to do. All his life has to be fitted in with the work to be done. If he changes his work, he has to remodel his life according to the new job. There are, of course, many differences between the life of an individual person and the development of society, but that reference to the individual may serve as an illustration of a highly important, indeed the most important, law of society; namely, that the whole social organisation is based upon the labour of the masses, and as the methods

of performing that labour change, the whole of the life and institutions must sooner or later change accordingly.

Think, for example, of the vast changes wrought by the Industrial Revolution a century and a half ago—the change from “home” industry to the Factory System of production. It was, as its name indicates, first and foremost a change in the method of doing the work of society, but it very quickly changed everything else as well. The political life of the country and men’s outlook on the world were revolutionised no less than the methods of industry. No clearer example can be found of the law that it is the economic life which is foundational, and that changes taking place in that economic life quickly reflect themselves in the general social, political and intellectual life.

Among the other changes caused by the Industrial Revolution was one which is still proceeding as the economic life changes and develops, and which is of special interest to us as workers. This is the change which goes on in the class outlook and class organisation of the workers. The change is, as we say, still going on, because economic developments are still proceeding and affecting directly the conditions of the masses. The great Labour unrest which commenced at about the beginning of the present century was due to such economic developments—to the changes in the methods of work, the speeding-up of production, the dilution of labour, and to the rise in the cost of living. And it is in response to these changing conditions that we see the present-day tendencies in the Trade Union movement towards industrial unionism instead of craft unionism, and all that this implies.

Finally, let us remember that History is not of the past alone. We ourselves are helping to make history to-day and every day. During the Great War we must have been more or less conscious of that, but it is equally true to-day.

Thus, as individuals, as unions, as a national working-class, we are dependent on other individuals, other unions, other national working-classes. It is the fact of our being workers that binds us together in mutual interdependence—whether we will or no. Our salvation lies in recognising that interdependence in a practical way, and in organising our labour for our common well-being.

## OUTLINE II.—ECONOMICS.

We have seen that the foundation of social life is the labour of the masses. Our present subject is Economics: this deals with the laws which underlie that work of the masses; it examines the relations between the sections who do the work in the different industries, and between workmen and employers.

Let us first ask ourselves—why work at all? The reason is,



of course, that we have certain bodily needs which must be satisfied. We must eat and drink, we must be clothed and have a roof over our heads ; it is to get this food and clothing and shelter that men must work. True, Nature provides an abundance of all the materials for our life, but before they are ready for our use, they have to be transformed into other forms or transferred into other places. The coal for our fires is deep in the earth ; before it is ready for human use it has to be brought to the surface by the labour of the miner, and then carried from the pithead across the country—across a continent or an ocean, maybe. The bread we eat—what a long series of human activities must be performed before it is ready for consumption. This transforming and transferring of nature-given materials to the form and place required is the necessary work of man.

But, it may be said, quite a considerable number of folk manage to live without working. And here, indeed, we have a striking distinction between the masses, who regard a permanent job as the highest good, and the classes who shrink from work as the devil is said to do from holy water. Someone has said : “ The fear of Bolshevism is the fear of work ”—a saying well worth thinking over.

But if many manage to live, and to live very well indeed, without working, that does not mean that the work is not done. If they don't do it, someone else must. We shall see how this is done later on.

Now work, we said, is done for the satisfaction of our bodily wants ; but it is not for the direct satisfaction of our own bodily needs that we are working. For instance, the building worker may live in a house that he “ built himself.” (It is much more likely that he does not.) In any case, many more joined in the building of the house ; and before that again, many others had to secure and prepare the materials for their labour. Before the bricklayer can start his work, clay had to be obtained from clay pits, and the clay had to be moulded and baked into bricks. Before the plumber could lay his pipes, lead had to be mined. Then, again, while all these people are at work, they have to be fed and clothed ; and so, in our day, our labour is linked with the labours of numberless workers whom we have never seen, oftentimes in far-away lands. In that very real and fundamental sense, the workers are “ members of one body.”

If, then, we are not producing directly to satisfy our own needs, what does actually happen when we have done our work ? This : Our products, after being produced, are thrown into a general market, for sale ; and to withdraw them from that general market—to buy them, as we say—something else is necessary, namely, *money*

And unless we have money, or can show that we shall have money within a given time, it is no use going to market. Money is the means by which the exchange of the products of labour, commodities as they are called, is carried on ; and without it, in our present-day world of industry and trade, we cannot get access to the material wealth which fills the shops and stores. However much we may want certain commodities, the doors to them are closed—and only a golden key will open them.

In these circumstances everybody wishes to add to his amount of money. Although “ money is the root of all evil,” we are all trying to get more of the root ! True, those people who have plenty of money are forever telling us who have none that money won't buy everything ; which is very true, but no reason at all why we should be content to remain without money and so without the things it undoubtedly will buy.

However, this fact of the necessity of money under our present system has given birth to a huge mechanism of the market, Banking, the Exchange, etc.—and the structure and functions of this machinery of exchange forms another part of the study of Economics.

Here we need only say that the whole of the money in society may be divided into four parts, *viz.*, Interest, Rent, Profit and Wages. Now what precisely are these four forms of money ? What is Interest, to start with ?

We sometimes speak of a man “ living on his means ” ; we say that “ he has money.” Now let us take an actual example. Take the case of a man with £10,000. Does that man keep £10,000 in a stocking ? No ; he invests the money, and it is upon the interest from the investment that he lives. Suppose he gets only 4 per cent. for his money ; he is a cautious man and prefers an absolutely safe investment at a very reasonable, not to say a low rate of interest. That means that for every £100 he invests he receives £4 a year as interest. Altogether, then, he will receive £400 a year. Not enough to array himself in purple and fine linen certainly, but from our standpoint, enough to keep him in tolerable comfort. Now what happens ? If he lives to enjoy his interest for 25 years, he will have received in interest 25 times £400, that is £10,000—the amount he started with. BUT—*his money, his £10,000 is still there.* Next year, he will still draw £400 and so, to the extent of £400 a year, he may go on living happily ever after ; and his children after him. He began with £10,000 ; he has had £10,000 ; and yet he has still got £10,000. It reminds one of the barrel of meal and the cruse of oil which were for ever being used and yet were never consumed. Our present system makes that miracle a commonplace, everyday happening ; it has solved the problem of how to eat your cake and yet keep your ha'penny !

But let us look rather more closely at the matter. Suppose we had the good fortune to receive an invitation to dinner from our friend. We certainly should not have found him wearing the notes or eating the coins that he'd received as interest on his £10,000. No ; he is wearing a suit he bought from the tailor last month ; the bread and meat on the table were got from the baker and the butcher the same day. His house has to be renovated and repaired from time to time by building workers.

All these workers are at his beck and call—to the extent of £400 a year. And when he dies his next-of-kin will take his place, and draw out of the common market of commodities the value of £400 year after year until he, too, is gathered to his fathers and someone else takes *his* place. So it might go on for untold generations. What the interest-drawer is doing is to take out of the products produced by labour from day to day an amount equal to the value of his interest. In fact, Interest is really the relation between the interest-drawer and the workers, by which the former is able to draw upon the labour of the latter every year and every day of the year for an amount of the products decided by the amount of his interest. The interest-drawer says in effect to the workers : “ You must till the earth, harvest the corn, bake bread, build a house, weave clothing for me and mine—instead of for yourselves and your own. And after we are gone, your children shall continue to work day after day, year after year, for mine, and so for all the generations. We shall continue to provide you with work—in order that we may enjoy the fruits of your labour.”

Now we all know that that's precisely what is taking place ; yet how many of us have looked at it from that point of view ? The masses are thankful to the classes for providing them with work—when, in fact, it is obvious that the longer they have to work for someone else, the less time and energy they have for working for themselves.

*Rent*, again, is a similar power over the labour, and therefore over the life, of the masses. It is, however, specially interesting in this respect—that it is a purely negative power. What is this ownership of land ? It is not simply the right above all other people to use the land and enjoy its fruits. It is something more and something different from that. In fact, the owners of the land do not want to use it themselves. They are not interested in the land itself at all ; they wouldn't soil their hands by touching it. No ; the ownership of land is the negative power of denying others permission to use it, except on the terms of the owner. The land-owner says (in effect) : “ Oh, yes, you may use the land, certainly. I have no use for the land myself. I shall be quite willing to allow you to cultivate it or build upon it, provided that you can pay me

the rent per acre that I require. And then, of course, when you have transformed this waste land into a garden or a busy town, we shall have the pleasure of discussing how much increase of rent you must pay." Of course, the landlord doesn't say that quite in those words. But that is precisely what happens in practice, and once more the rent, when realised, gives to the landlord the power to draw upon the general labour of society to the value of his rent, great or small, as the case may be.

In regard to *Profit*, we find a tendency to-day for this to be transformed into Interest. In the early days of the machine system the profit-maker was the manager of his little factory. At a later stage, he appointed managers, foremen, etc., from his workmen to do this work, while he himself retired into the office, busying himself, not with the tasks of organising the work of his own factory, etc., but with "buying in the cheapest market and selling in the dearest." To-day, when the typical form of business is the Joint Stock Company, the whole work of buying, selling and organising is in the hands of the directors, managers, etc.—all *paid officials* of the company (although the directors are themselves holders of capital in the business). But the people who provide the mass of capital have nothing to do with the actual running of the business and only put in an appearance at the yearly or half-yearly meeting; there they apportion their praise or their blame to the people doing their work—according to the rate of interest declared; if the rate is satisfactory, then the meeting of shareholders will be a kind of mutual admiration society; if unsatisfactory, then someone must be called to book. The mass of the profiteers in industry to-day are mere dividend-hunting shareholders in the many Joint Stock Companies.

Finally, as to *Wages*, the workers' share of the money of society, we have space only to mention one aspect. It is this: the worker *must* sell his power to labour for wages, because that's the only way in which he can live at all. And since the moment he stops working his wages stop also, while his and his family's need of food and clothing, etc., still go on, he is placed at a great disadvantage in bargaining for high wages in return for his work. And if, as frequently happens, there are far more workers than there are jobs, and the workers compete one with another for those jobs, each offering to do the work for less than his neighbours, then the wages of the workers are likely to suffer still further. Here we see the root of the difficulty that the workers have in maintaining and still more in trying to raise their standard of life.

Such are the four great divisions of *Money*—Rent, Interest, Profit, Wages; and the most important of the practical problems of Economics is to find what are the laws which determine how

much of the money of society is to go in the form of Rent, how much as Interest, as Profit and as Wages. These laws are not something apart from men and the relations of men one towards another. They are not cast-iron laws, as unalterable as the laws of the Medes and the Persians.

On the contrary, the outstanding feature of these various kinds of money is the constant struggle waged by the owners of rent to make their share greater—at the expense of the others. And not they alone—each section is striving to increase its own share of the social money, and that means of the total product of social labour. And behind all, more important than all, is the struggle between the first three (Rent, Interest and Profit) on the one side, and Wages on the other; the struggle between those who live *on* Labour and those who live *by* Labour; between those who do the work, and those who enjoy the best and finest fruits of the work.

T. ASHCROFT.

## STUDENTS' NOTES and QUERIES

**B**ENTLEY Social Science Class has been having some unsatisfactory discussions about pp. 49 and 50 of Ablett's primer\*, which have also been criticised in a recent issue of the *Socialist Standard*. The comrade who raised the matter there evidently thinks that to accept inflation of the currency as a cause for higher prices is to deny the Labour Theory of Value. It seems to us a striking confirmation of it, for if enough currency notes were issued then they would exchange precisely on the basis of the socially necessary labour needed to reproduce them. Value cannot be created by marking £1 or 10s. on Fishers.

Comrade Littler will also be interested to know that he could at the present moment buy more with a sovereign *outside* Great Britain than he could with a Treasury note. And one reason for the introduction of Treasury notes and their retention is that the gold which would otherwise have to be used is satisfying people in other countries to whom paper Fishers are of very little use.

The cost of living has certainly gone up in America (although she retained gold as a medium), but not so much as it did here; and surely the soaring prices in Russia, Hungary and Germany are caused largely by over-issue of currency notes.

The *Standard* writer, instead of simply answering a question,

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\* Now out of print.

recites his little piece about how the S.S. has always denied inflation ; and it is his remarks apparently which have worried the Bentley Class.

Every Plebeian will agree with him that juggling with the currency is no way out for the workers ; they will agree, also, with his summary of how the " king " commodity gold took on the special work of expressing the value of other commodities and of how paper representatives can act instead of gold. We can accept the causes of high prices that he mentions ; increase of demand and the enormous extension of credit. But increase in credit and increase in currency react upon each other and it is certainly wrong to deny that inflation of currency was not a factor behind high prices in our own country. The fact that the " Fisher " is convertible does not prevent inflation, for it is only convertible in theory.

A Luton correspondent sends the following quotation from Leckie's *Economic Causes of War* for explanation :—" It is a peculiar phenomenon that despite an increased wealth production, the rate of profit is falling."

Take the capitalist of the first generation, who to start a business needed £100, £90 of which bought raw material, machinery, etc., and left £10 for buying labour-power. If the rate of surplus-value was 100 per cent. he would get a total of wealth produced of £110 and he would reckon his profit at 10 per cent.

No. 2 generation capitalist, coming after, finds competition has been at work speeding up productivity by mass production, and he will now need £200 to start in business. £10 only is spent in labour-power as before, but now the same labour-power transfers a great value. If labour-power has not been cheapened or the intensity of its consumption increased and therefore the rate of S.V. still remains at 100 per cent., after the turnover the capitalist No. 2 will hold values of £210 in comparison with the £110 of No. 1. But the rate of profit has fallen from 10 per cent. to 5 per cent.

It is to be hoped that PLEBS students will make the most of the revelations concerning that super-king of charlatans, Horatio Bottomley. Not only do they provide a fascinating study of the type of man that comes to the top in a decadent society, but H. B.'s dealing in shares throws a vivid light on the " directive ability " of the modern capitalist and the speculation and roguery possible when paper claims on surplus value potential and actual are scrambled for by would-be coupon-clippers. And there is the interesting exposure of what actually happened when a mere wage-slave " wrote to *John Bull* about it." One wonders just how many workmen were victimised for complaining about their employers when H. B.'s threat of exposure had been brought off !

The effects of indemnity payments were treated on this page in May, 1921. There is no mistake about "making Germany pay" having been a huge success in assisting the world offensive of the capitalist against wages and hours. That some sections of the capitalist—the fishing companies on the East coast for example—have lost markets and have felt the pinch is not denied. Now the saner and more farsighted capitalists are asking for an all-round cancellation of indemnities and debts for *capitalist* reasons. Uncle Sam is not going to forego his whip hand, and that £850 millions will be funded and bear him interest for many a long year, during which time he will divert his industries to serve newer markets, helped by the hampering of his rivals. Meanwhile productivity will be speeded up—until the quart won't go into the world pint-pot, and the spilling over will mean war.

I. F. (Bethnal Green) sends a long and interesting letter in which he disputes several passages from Prof. Cunningham's findings in the *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. I., section 15. Circumstances prevent personal reference to the passages he quotes, and therefore rule out a full reply. (1) We agree that the merchant merely *transferred*, not *created*, values in the act of exchange. (2) The cause and effect of the Crusades and the rise of the commercial capitalist class are only briefly treated in our textbooks. Maybe I. F. will do as he suggests and supplement them with longer and special treatment in our pages.

One of the best points of his letter is the contradictory opinions of Thorold Rogers and Cunningham on the effects of the War of the Roses upon the workers of that time; the former declaring that the worker was unaffected and enjoyed his "golden age"; the latter that these conflicts affected the working-class population detrimentally.

Those who read the recent PLEBS articles on America will find the intellectual side of American Imperialism ably discussed in the July *Contemporary Review*, by S. K. Ratcliffe—"The Intellectual Reaction in America." The restraint and timidity in political discussion which makes criticism of the divinely inspired American Constitution and Monroe Doctrine a criminal offence; the extreme hostility directed against labour organisation and against any movement which thinks that capitalism is not eternal; the persecution of radical professors in the colleges; and the revival of messianic hopes and the popularity of men like Billy Sunday—all these are well summarised with apposite quotation.

M. S.

## REVIEWS

*Labour and Capital in the Engineering Trades.* (The first of a series of Studies of Labour and Capital.) Prepared by the Labour Research Department. (Labour Publishing Co. 1s.).

**T**HIS is a study in contrasts between Labour and Capital ; between dis-organisation and organisation. It shows how highly centralised and efficiently organised is Capital and how decentralised and badly organised is Labour.

Do you want some *facts* about the Engineering Industry ? Then buy this book. You would like to know how the War Period and the aftermath has affected Vickers' Limited, for example :—In 1913 their total capital was £9,483,639 ; by 1921 it had increased to £30,916,800, an increase of 226 per cent. Is this all ? Certainly not ! There are the ninety companies, at home and abroad, with which they are associated—or which they control. Take again another firm in the Vickers' group—Wolseley Motors Limited. In 1913 their total capital was £200,000 ; it had increased to £2,964,828 by 1921, an increase of 1382 per cent. Good business ! ! !

The part this inflated capital plays in the determination of prices, and how it affects the wage worker and export trade is clearly explained :—

It is clear from the facts already described that these inflations of capital have contributed to the present unemployment, and are preventing the recovery of the industry, but they also have a close connection with the immediate policy of the employers. Having "re-organised" a section of the industry on an inflated basis, the next step is to make the usual or a higher rate of profits on the inflated capital. As the demand has fallen off, prices cannot be kept at so high a level as to secure these profits. *But there is another resource—* to take the increased profits at the expense of the workers. In order to do this on a scale great enough to provide the extra profits, *the Unions must be smashed and safeguarding conditions must be swept away.*

Taking into consideration the facts here presented, what chance have the Trade Unions—as at present organised—of successfully fighting the bosses ? As much chance as a fly has of pushing over an elephant !

This is a handy volume, well bound in stiff boards, and beautifully printed on good paper.

All Plebs should get it.

C. T. PENDREY.

*Post Industrialism.* By A. J. Penty. Preface by G. K. Chesterton. (Allen & Unwin, 6s. net).

It is a mixed impression that one gets from this book. In his criticism of the present state of social affairs Mr. Penty has some



racy and refreshing paragraphs. But his arguments are vitiated all the while by his failure to grasp even the elementary principles of Modern Socialism.

His complaint is not so much against Capitalism as against machinery and industrialism. From such a premise it is easy to understand the golden halo of romance that he weaves about the pre-machine age. And he wants to return to this golden age : In his own words, the modern world must retrace its steps (p. 54). Mr. Penty rightly sees that the modern use of machinery is tearing at the roots of social life : man is a slave of the machine. To avoid this he advocates less machinery ; the Socialists adopt a different policy—the different use of machinery.

With his contention that we must study the past we thoroughly agree. But to look at the present through the rosy-hued spectacles of the past leads us to quite as much confusion as does a judging of the past by the standards of the present. And this book proves it.

Inevitably the name of Marx appears repeatedly. We find the old complaint that Marx has not outlined the structure of the future Society. It would be interesting, however, if Mr. Penty gave us the source of the following gem : “ Marx proposed to use them (the unemployed army) for the purpose of overthrowing the Capitalist State ” (p. 114).

D. J. W.

#### AN EXCELLENT PAMPHLET.

*The Economics of the Irish Question.* By W. McClaine. (Communist Party, 2d.)

This pamphlet to some extent meets a long-felt want, *viz.*, the presentation in brief, clear (and cheap) form of the salient features of the sordid as distinct from the sentimental history of the relations between “ John Bull ” and “ Dark Rosaleen.” Here we see all the tragedies of that forced marriage.

The very nature of the case has made it almost impossible for English readers to get anything like a clear conception of the real issues involved in that generic political term, “ The Irish Question.” For if a “ History ” of Ireland was written from the standpoint of Irish workers it was carefully censored in the interests of Lor-an-order, or in a thousand and one ways obstructed in circulation (*e.g.*, treatment of *The Historic Case for Irish Independence*, 1920, by Darrell Figgis). By confining himself almost strictly to the economic aspect, however, Comrade McClaine has put within reach of every worker student a wealth of data rarely to be found in more pretentious and expensive volumes.

The ruthless manner in which Ireland was exploited is here clearly indicated. “ Let’s try it on the Irish ” was the thought if not always

the word of English statesmen. The baneful effect of the Union on Ireland may be gathered from Exchequer figures here quoted. Instance national expenditure : comparing 15 years before with 15 years after union—expenditure more than trebled after Union.

This little work indicates several lines of inquiry and should whet the appetite of serious students.

A. CLARKE.

#### A BOOK FOR TRANSLATION.

*La Crise du Socialisme Mondial. (De la IIe. à la IIIe. Internationale).*

By Paul Louis. (Paris : Alcan, 8 fr.)

George Slocombe has described this volume as "the first compact history yet written of the International Socialist movement from the death of the first International to the present day." But it is more than a mere history. For what Paul Louis has succeeded in portraying, with a masterly power of incisive French—he is French in the best tradition in the deliberate coldness of his analysis—is, in a sense, the ideological tragedy of the European working-class movement from the fall of the Commune and the formation of the second International to the outbreak of war in 1914.

One can imagine no more smashing condemnation—the more smashing because it is so dispassionate—of the Second International and the way in which the canker of reformation, of social solidaritarianism, ate into the entire ideological fabric of this, the world organisation of the workers. The phrases about the class war (the "descriptive fact," you know !) were still mouthed ; but there was no reality behind them. In the hour of crisis the Second International crumbled to rottenness like the decaying thing it was.

It remained for the proletarian Revolution in Russia to bring forth a new International based on the fundamental principles of Marxism, on the Class Struggle and the historical role of the proletariat therein.

This is a book which ought to appear in an English translation quickly. It would make an invaluable addition to the Labour Publishing Co.'s "Workers' Library" series ; and then worker-students in this country would be able to study, in the work of this brilliant French Communist the most illuminating analysis and exposition of the fundamental philosophy of the Workers' International yet penned.

G. A. H.

#### A USEFUL DICTIONARY.

*Collins' Etymological Dictionary.* School Edition. (Collins, 1s. 9d. net. Postpaid from PLEBS, 2s. 1d.)

To recommend a dictionary is a serious thing. One never has time to do more than test it upon certain "catch" words, and may perhaps miss some grave errors. One may be excused for recom-

## TWO BOOKS FOR CLASSES

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mending, say, a history book that contains mistakes, because no student limits his reading to one history book. But a student buys a dictionary for good, and does not reckon to have to buy another or go to a free library.

But, tentatively at least, I think I may recommend this one. It contains etymologies which are sometimes useful (sometimes, as in "*Jacobin* [French from Latin *Jacobus*, James,] " merely misleading), and in an appendix there are signs that a real effort has been made to keep it up to date. It appears to me that the body of the dictionary is a reprint of an older one, of average merit and containing some old-fashioned matter—*e.g.*, this same word *Jacobin* is defined as "an opponent of constitutional government." To this have been added Addenda which contain scientific words and modern terms which show real alertness. Some of the words one does not expect a dictionary to have found at all—*e.g.*, Archies, Aerton Fan (is it not Ayrton ?), Alexia, Bertha, Banjoframe, Blimp, Boloism, Bolshevik, Doughboy, Freudian, Gadget—no attempt at etymology is made on this—Guild Socialism, Jack Johnson. . . .

On political definitions, in which the dictionaries since Dr. Johnson have shown their weaknesses, it is unexpectedly accurate. For example, "*Soviet* (Sov-yet) n. [Russ.] a council, *esp.* of workers or soldiers," is quite a creditable effort.

It has appendices containing Prefixes and Affixes, Abbreviations, Foreign Words and Phrases.

B. P.

### PSYCHOLOGY

*Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis.* By Sigmund Freud. Trans. by Joan Rivière, with a preface by Ernest Jones. (Allen and Unwin, 18s. net.)

The object of the study of psycho-analysis, writes Freud (p. 82), is that of all scientific endeavour—"namely, to achieve an understanding of the phenomena, to establish a connection between them, and. . . . wherever it is possible to increase our power over them." The aim of the Plebs League is to understand human society from the proletarian standpoint, and to increase the power of the working class over society. The object of those members of the League who planned and wrote *An Outline of Psychology* was to use psychology for the furtherance of these purposes. They held that the advance of the working-class movement was being retarded by an obsolete and inadequate psychology, and that a study of the newer lights in this field was absolutely essential to the class-conscious proletariat. The immediate success of the *Outline* has shown that the movement as a whole was waiting for this lead.

It was impossible in a half-crown volume to give more than an

epitome of the subject. Lectures on psychology and class-leaders on this topic will need a good deal of supplementary reading, and Freud's *Introductory Lectures on Psycho-analysis* may usefully be added to the list of volumes recommended for study at the close of the Plebs Textbook. It is not an ideal introduction to the subject (no such work has yet been published in English); it is, for the general reader, unduly "medical" in its treatment; it suffers greatly from the lack of a glossary; but it should be added to the reference library of all Labour colleges, and should be read by advanced students—for an understanding of the Freudian outlook is as indispensable in psychology as an understanding of the Darwinian outlook in the study of evolution or an understanding of the Marxist outlook in the study of economics.

How Freud's own thought is linked with Darwinism and Marxism, the present writers have shown elsewhere (*Creative Revolution*, chapter XI.). They may fitly conclude this brief note on the *Introductory Lectures* by quoting from p. 262 a passage in which Freud himself displays these links. It is full of controversial matter, which we shall not attempt to discuss. It is not very simple, for Freud, like all competent writers, has (p. 238) "a strong dislike of simplification at the expense of truth." But it is thought provoking, and as full of meat, present and prospective, as any egg. Without further preamble, here it is:—

"One of the most important tasks of social education is to restrain, confine, and subject to individual control (itself identical with the demands of society) the sexual instinct when it breaks forth in the form of the reproductive function. In its own interests, accordingly, society would postpone the child's full development until it has attained a certain stage of intellectual maturity, since educability practically ceases with the full onset of the sexual instinct. Without this the instinct would break all bounds and the laboriously erected structure of civilisation would be swept away. Nor is the task of restraining it ever an easy one; success in this direction is often poor, and sometimes only too great. At bottom society's motive is economic; since it has not means enough to support life for its members without work on their part, it must see to it that the number of these members is restricted and their energies directed away from sexual activities on to their work—the eternal primordial struggle for existence persisting, therefore, to the present day."

E. & C. P.

### REAL EDUCATION FOR WORKERS

*Secondary Education for All.* Edited by R. H. Tawney. (Labour Party. 2s. 6d. net.)

The information, facts and figures contained in this publication illustrate forcibly what the PLEBS has been preaching for years,

and forms another link in the chain of evidence in support of Independent Working Class Education. The notion that the ills of the Educational Movement of this country will or can be cured while we are still under the domination of the capitalist system shows that the nature of this order of society is still unknown to a number of people.

Even if we had "Secondary Education for All," the only benefit that could accrue to the children of the workers would be the delay for a short time of their entrance into the soul and body destroying routine of the modern factory. Of course, I have left out of consideration the "getting on" stunt of some particular worker's child, which, from the ordinary standpoint, means getting on the workers' backs.

When Mr. Tawney, in a burst of optimism, tries to minimise the power of the Federation of British Industries, and prefers to ignore such statements as the following (which he quotes), we cannot follow him :—

"At the same time they would very strongly advise that in selecting children for higher education care should be taken to avoid creating, as for example in India, a large class of persons whose education is unsuitable for the employment they eventually enter."—(Federation of British Industries, Memorandum on Education, January, 1918.)

When will some people realise that the modern conception of education has not in orthodox circles altered much since 1870, and that educational institutions are still regarded as manufactories for turning out more proficient profit-producers?

For members of the working class serving on local Councils and Educational Committees this little book contains valuable facts and figures. It is also a damning indictment of the present educational system. But a reading of it makes clear a point which it never mentions, *viz.*, that the workers must not only have more education, but education of a different kind.

J. HARRISON.

*Free Thought and Official Propaganda.* By the Hon. Bertrand Russell. (Watts & Co., 1s. net.)

This is a reprint of a lecture delivered last March. It does not contain anything that will be strikingly new to the average PLEBS reader, but it does put some old points in a new way. For instance, Mr. Russell shows that persecution for unorthodox religious opinions is dying out, but that its place has been taken by persecution for unorthodox political opinions. He does not, however, explain as clearly as he might *why* the capitalist has pangs when he discovers a Communist in his employ, but doesn't turn

a hair when he finds a Seventh Day Adventist or a man who denies the theory of evolution.

Mr. Russell shows how "freedom to doubt" is permitted in natural science but not in political science, although the conclusions of the latter are not usually looked upon as nearly so exact as those of the former. He illustrates this by taking the case of Einstein.

"We have had in recent years," says Mr. Russell, "a brilliant example of the scientific temper of mind in the theory of relativity and its reception by the world. Einstein, a German-Swiss-Jew pacifist, was appointed to a research professorship by the German Government in the early days of the war; his predictions were verified by an English expedition which observed the eclipse of 1919, very soon after the armistice. His theory upsets the whole theoretical framework of traditional physics; it is almost as damaging to orthodox dynamics as Darwin was to *Genesis*. Yet physicists everywhere have shown complete readiness to accept his theory as soon as it appeared that the evidence was in its favour...."

"What would have happened," continues Mr. Russell, "if Einstein had advanced something equally new in the sphere of religion or politics? English people would have found elements of Prussianism in his theory; anti-Semites would have regarded it as a Zionist plot; nationalists in all countries would have found it tainted with lily-livered pacifism, and proclaimed it a mere dodge for escaping military service. All the old-fashioned professors would have approached Scotland Yard to get the importation of his writings prohibited. Teachers favourable to him would have been dismissed." Mr. Russell gives the palm to the Bolsheviks of Russia for the persecution of political opinion. He would like the Russians to cultivate the spirit of scientific doubt.

As the booklet is very small and has only paper covers, it is a little too dear.

J. P. M. M.

## TRA LA MONDO : Esperanto Notes

**A BOLSHEVIK LANGUAGE.**—The daily press has given publicity to the prohibition, by the Minister of Public Instruction, of the teaching of Esperanto in French colleges. The views of highly-placed educationists have been freely quoted in England. M. Alfred Capus thinks that Communist ideas can be expressed in the international language because they are primitive, but higher (capitalist) ideals need a rich language like his own! Workers should ignore the controversy French *v.* English, and take their stand on the sure ground of neutral Esperanto.



ESPERANTO: A CLINCHING ARGUMENT.

"If the peoples began to understand one another, what would become of us?"

[Cartoon from *Ere Nouvelle*, Paris.]

#### *The A.B.C. of the International.*

London organisations should book up at once for lectures on this subject. Write to B.L.E.S., Gen. Sec., C. W. Spiller, 6, Windermere Avenue, N.W. 6.

#### *Sennacieca Asocio Tutmonda.*

The Year Book for 1922, which is issued only to *Satanoj*, gives the addresses of 1,064 members. There is a great deal of useful information, with many illustrations, including full-page portraits of Jaurés, Liebknecht, and Rosa Luxemburg.

#### *Albanio.*

Per oficiala letero al D-ro Privat, prezidinto de la Konferenco pri Esperanto en Lernejoj, la Registaro de Albanio informis, ke la Ministraro decidis la devigan enkondukon de Esperanto en ĉiuj duagradaĵoj, superaj kaj komercaj lernejoj, per dekreto n-o 475 de 3 junio 1922. (*Esperanto Triumfonta.*)

#### *Holando.*

(De *Nederlanda Laborista Esperanto Servo*, Alleeweg 9, Enschede, Holando.)

Holando—la lando de butero, lakto kaj fromaĝo. Sed ankaŭ lando de senlaboreco kaj loĝejomanko, de neprogresema kaj reakcio.

Jes, kamaradoj, ankaŭ en tiu ĉi landeto apud la maro reĝas la reakcio. Ĉu vi ankerau memoras la tumultajn Novembrotagojn? Ho, tiam Sajne trafuis ondo de progresema tutan Holandon. Eĉ konservemuloj fariĝis progresemaj.

La posedantoj pliatigis la salajrojn kaj malpliigis la labortempon. La reĝino parolis pri la 'pulsobato de la tempo'. La registaro promesis ĉiuspecajn plibonigojn. Sajnis, ke venus pli bona tempo. Leĝigis projekto pri 8 hora laborotempo. La virinoj akiris la elektraĵon. Sed ankaŭ la parlamento akceptis leĝon kontraŭ revolucia agado kaj ribelo.

Tamen, iom post iom aliĝis la situacio. Montriĝis, ke nenio minacis la Holandan burĝaron. Montriĝis, ke ĝia timo estis senbaza. Tiam estis tempo por retropreni la donitaĵojn. Kaj de tiu momento, en la diversaj industrioj unu post la alia la salajroj estis plimalaltigataj, interalie en la metalindustrio kaj en la torfosejoj. Okazis kelkaj strikoj, sed sensuksese; la laboristoj malvenkis kaj devis akcepti multajn malplibonigojn.

Cetere, la registaro baldau helpis la kapitalistojn. Tiuj ĉi ege plendis pri la tielnomata '8 hora leĝo,' kiu ja malhelpis la disvolvigon de la industrio. Estis projektataj kelkaj sangaĵoj en ĝi. La laboraŭro estis plilongigita al 8½ hora potaĝo kaj la ebloj por infana laboro kaj ekstra laboro esplimultigataj. Baldau la projekto estis pritraktata en la parlamento kaj akceptata.

## LETTERS from PLEBS

#### WORKERS' CONTROL

DEAR EDITOR,—In the February PLEBS appeared a letter from E. Faulkner containing the following paragraph: "...During the occupation of the factories by the workers in Italy, September, 1920, we saw the need for technicians. When the employers

withdrew the technical staffs, the workers had great difficulty in avoiding anarchy in the workshop, let alone maintaining productive efficiency"....

Now we do know that this Italian movement collapsed, but admitting, for the sake of argument, that "anarchy nearly existed in the workshops" can



this rightfully be attributed to the withdrawal of "technical staffs"? I know this is a very usual way in discussion of dismissing the possibility of the workers, by so-called "Bolshevist" methods, assuming control of works and factories; but can the matter be thus airily disposed of? The middle class Guildsmen and their supporters were fond of reiterating in the columns of their journals, such as *The New Age*, that the wage-earners could not really advance towards control without the aid of the "salaried" —i.e., the black-coated, collar-and-tie workers. But is this really so?

Is it seriously contended that a rivetter cannot go on fixing rivets into boilers without the presence somewhere on the premises of a "technical staff"? Does an engineering fitter who is fitting the pistons and piston-rods into a locomotive require the existence of a "black-coated salaried" in order to continue his work of fitting pistons, etc.? Does a locomotive-driver's capacity for managing a locomotive depend on whether Conservatives or "Bolsheviks" are in control of, say, the Midland Railway system? The correct answer is surely in the negative.

Once upon a time, in "the good old days" before the war to make the world "safe for democracy," I worked in a pattern-maker's shop. For the benefit of Guildsmen, "intellectuals" and other middle-class folk, I beg to point out that the work of the pattern-makers (as of the core-makers) is an essential preliminary to the work in the foundry of any engineering works. I made my wood patterns from drawings supplied by the draughtsmen in the "Drawing Office." Supposing I was making the patterns for a small gas-engine; I could have gone on making duplicate patterns "till the cows came home." My capacity for turning out these patterns would have been just as great whatever "authority" was administering the country, the county or the local municipality, but would of course be limited by the amount of wood in hand or available and of the obtainable coal or other source of power to drive the necessary machinery. Similarly these remarks would be applicable to the workers in other sections of any particular establishment. I know, of course, that foremen

and "leading-hands" have certain particular jobs to do in the way of "marking-out," supervising, etc., but these persons are, after all, only recruited from the general mass of workers in an establishment.

It would seem then that, so long as *new* designs and *new* models are not required, the presence of "technical staffs" is not absolutely essential to the running of a workshop or factory. During a period of political transition, therefore, it would appear that "workers' control" should concern itself mainly with the production of the already standard types of goods, whether these be locomotives or woollen fabrics, and with facing the "psychological" effect of the daring boldness of the new move.

Yours, etc.,

L.

#### SHOULD TEACHERS TEACH?

DEAR COMRADE,—The above question has been agitated several times lately, and no really satisfactory answer has been given.

First of all, what do we mean by "teacher"? There are two ideas raised by the name:

- (1) A member of the staff of an ordinary school;
  - (2) A person who knows what he is talking about and provides learners with correct information.
- Secondly, what do we mean by "teaching"? Here we may mean:
- (a) A pitched battle in a closed space between a herd of young animals and an old bear;
  - (b) The advising of the less advanced by the more advanced learner.

So far as I can see, a Plebeian can have a pathological interest only in (1) and (a), while (2) and (b) are not adequately expressed by "teacher" and "teaching." The truth is, that "teacher," like "democracy," is nowadays a discredited word.

It is typical of the W.E.A. that it supports (1) and (a) while paying lip-service to (2) and (b), just as the I.L.P. supports parliamentary democracy while worshipping "pure democracy." The educational world even more clearly reflects the organisation of society than a Marxian would expect.

Thirdly, it is a contradiction in terms for a teacher not to teach.

Only, teachers as "teachers" are not of much interest to Plebeians.

Fourthly, the progressive elements in the official educational world have somewhat badly expressed themselves by asserting that "teachers should not teach." What they mean is that "teachers" should be abolished, and that persons who know should be given a free hand in getting learners to learn what they want them to. This last formula seems to encompass what is right in the cry, "teachers must teach," and the progressive educationalists' demand for "letting children (or learners) do as they like." "Teachers must teach" is a useful slogan for combating W.E.A. confusionism, but it would be a mistake to shout it at the genuine experimentalists just because they have not expressed themselves happily.

Finally, in a recent article in the *Herald*, H. N. Brailsford contrasts the freedom of the Soviet schools with the censorship of the intelligentsia press. Clearly the Soviets believe that the intelligentsia must be "taught" in the only style it understands, while children, whose minds are not yet formed, must be "managed" by freedom methods.

E. and C. Paul have discussed the above points in *Proletcult*.

Yours fraternally,

J. G. C.

(A Teacher)

#### A QUESTION FOR THE N.C.L.C.

DEAR COMRADE,—How far can agreement be arrived at *nationally* in the matter of our educational methods?

What should be the *minimum course of study* which our classes should urge all students to take up? How many lecture courses, what length, and in what sequence?

We need, it seems to me, some unity of method as well as of aim. And a pooling of views on this question would be of the utmost assistance to new districts.

Yours fraternally,

TOUT-A-FAIT

#### SPINDLES AND SPINNERS

DEAR COMRADE,—My notes on cotton spinning in the February *PLEBS* brought

further data on the subject from Frank Jackson in the March number. I should have replied earlier, but for my being on tour in America.

Com. Jackson says he has some grounds for doubting the accuracy of my figures. The details which I compiled were supplied to me by a friend who I know possesses a practical working knowledge of cotton mill construction and erection.

What I omitted in my notes was a reference to the fine spinning mules and the maximum number of spindles. Jackson says he has made inquiries and found the number of spindles on a modern pair of twist mules from 2,000 to 2,400. This week I examined in one of the largest and most up-to-date mills in what he calls Cottonopolis (I happen to be in Lancashire) a pair of mules spinning Egyptian cotton, with 1,372 spindles a side—making a total of 2,744.

Perhaps someone can give us particulars of an up-to-date book on this subject containing general information about the cotton industry.

Yours fraternally,

HENRY SARA

#### LITERATURE CLASSES

DEAR EDITOR,—I am glad to see that the *PLEBS*, in recent issues, is paying some attention to the subject of Literature, in the more general sense.

I think the movement has made a big mistake in failing to recognise the value and importance of a knowledge of Literature. Some of our class tutors have even gone so far as to argue that such knowledge was of no use to workers in their struggle for freedom. The *PLEBS* will be rendering good service if it takes in hand the job of showing these individuals that they are wrong.

There is a difficulty in making use of the interesting Syllabus published in the June number. Few men among the industrial workers have read widely enough to be able to lecture on literature on the lines suggested. It is up to the *PLEBS*, therefore, to carry the subject further, and to give us more material on which intending tutors can work.

Yours fraternally,

J. T.

## The PLEBS Page

**N**OW that preparations for the winter campaign are once more in progress, active propagandists are discussing the various aspects of our movement. Once again we are all re-considering the best methods of work, and the lines of demarcation between the activities of the PLEBS League, the National Council of Labour Colleges and the local Colleges and Councils. Arising out of these discussions it has been decided to hold a meeting of Plebs League, N.C.L.C. and London Labour College representatives, to consider the work of these bodies, decide on "demarcation," and plan joint schemes for future activity. A report will be circulated in due course. Meanwhile, we can re-state the position of the Plebs League, and define for the help of members the general position which will be put forward at the meeting by the League's representatives.

The need for a re-statement of the reasons for separate organisation is apparent now that active Councils or Labour Colleges exist in all the principal centres. These Councils (or Colleges) are organised from representatives of T.U. branches, Co-op. societies, and all workers' organisations. The delegates are not necessarily convinced advocates of I.W.C.E., with a full understanding of our policy or point of view. They are merely more or less keen on education in a general way. The need, therefore, for a separate organisation which is continually stressing the *independent* point of view, and which exists solely to propagate that point of view, is clear. More and more as the N.C.L.C. develops, and the unions take an active interest in the work of educating their members, more and more as the control of the educational machinery passes into the hands of officials and central executives, the necessity for such an organisation as the Plebs League will become clear. It is safe, indeed, to say that were the League disbanded to-day, it would be found necessary to re-form it within a year or two at the outside.

The League should exist separately

from the Councils and Colleges for whose inception and growth it has been mainly responsible. It should be not only the "ginger group" in every district, but an organisation which could be used if the principles of I.W.C.E. were ever threatened, consciously or unconsciously, by the supporting bodies. The PLEBS group should be a "nerve centre" in every district, keeping alive the spirit of our teaching and looking out for possibilities of future work and development.

Now if the separate organisation of the League is desirable, it is clear that, in order to make that organisation a real thing, and not merely a "paper" one, some definite work should be allotted to it within the educational movement. There need be no difficulty in deciding what work the PLEBS group should undertake. The League has always been a propagandist body. Why not, then, allocate to its branches the propaganda and publicity work of the N.C.L.C.? Let Plebs Groups be formed in every district, and let these act as Propaganda Committees for the local College and classes. In this capacity, the main lines of activity would be fairly obvious.

(1) Certain members would undertake the work of addressing T.U. branches, etc. (In this connection, we may appropriately mention here that Robert Holder's "outline" address, published in last month's PLEBS, is being reprinted as a leaflet for the use of such speakers. Send for terms to Book Department).

(2) These same members—and others—would act as recruiting sergeants for the classes.

(3) Other members would take on the work of watching the local Press—Labour and otherwise—and taking part in every kind of controversy or correspondence into which reference to the N.C.L.C. and its work could be by hook or crook be worked. (The Ilford PLEBS Group has regularly used the local *Recorder* in this way—sent letters, had cartoons from the PLEBS reprinted, etc., etc.).

(4) Other members would concen-

trate on seeing that the PLEBS, and all PLEBS publications, were on sale in every class, and at every meeting. Where necessary they would be ready to act as Literature Secretaries. In any case, they would see to it that a PLEBS was put in the way of every class-student, and that all book orders were addressed to the Plebs Book Department.

If the N.C.L.C. agrees to PLEBS groups acting in this capacity, and if Plebs everywhere will get together and arrange activities on these lines, then we are certain increased efficiency all round will result.

Work has been going on apace recently in various centres, including London, Hull and Cardiff.

In LONDON a questionnaire was submitted to League members, and this at a subsequent meeting was discussed in detail, with the result that it was agreed to re-organise the League in London, to work as propaganda groups in the same districts as the classes of the London Council. A London organiser was appointed and a committee is being formed to arrange the work for the coming winter. This is necessary because of the great area covered.

J. Sanders (our Book Department assistant) is acting as organiser, and will be glad to have suggestions from any London Pleb; also volunteers for a speaker's class to train propagandists who will hold themselves in readiness to address T.U. branches.

It was agreed at the London Meeting to issue a Book Dept. Circular addressed to T.U. branches, and this is now in the press. This circular is being sent out along with the London I.W.C.E. Council's appeal to all T.U. branches, Trades Councils, union offices, etc. We have printed a sufficient number to send to T.U. branches and districts in other parts of the country. *In order to do this we have to ask all local Plebs groups, or individual Plebs, to send us the names and addresses of T.U. branch secretaries in their area.* The circular is intended to bring the Book Dept. to the notice of Trade Unionists generally. But it can't do this unless you will give us the above information.

HULL Plebeians have also been

busy under the secretaryship (or should we say the generalship?) of Dick Beech—who has been awarded the Order of the Question Mark for merit! There is a growing PLEBS group, well represented on a local Labour paper, the *Humber Worker*, to be published in conjunction with the Hull Trades' Council, and the Labour Party, on October 1st. The PLEBS group have secured a certain space in the paper for I.W.C.E. Classes are to be run at Trades' Council Club and a Bookshop has been started, so that the outlook in Hull is bright for the coming winter, as is also the prospect for increased circulation of the Magazine, so ably kept alive all these years in the Hull district by our good comrade, Robert Mell, of the N.U.R.

At CARDIFF an I.W.C.E. Council has been formed, and the local Plebs Sec., Allan Pope, writes hopefully of possibilities. Geo. Sims addressed the first meeting of delegates to form the Council. We trust that Cardiff Plebs will note the suggestions made in the paragraphs above, and will keep the group in being, for work on the lines indicated. In S. Wales, once a stronghold of I.W.C.E. work, our movement—owing to prevailing economic conditions—has suffered a sharp set-back. Nothing could better illustrate the need for a Plebs organisation than the (relative) slump in educational activity throughout the Welsh coalfield once the ordinary class machinery had broken down. PLEBS groups are now needed to preach the need for its re-establishment, and to build up the movement once again.

We have to thank Com. W. F. Hay for sending on as a donation to the PLEBS his "expenses" at a meeting at Bristol recently. May he have a long and "expensive" tour! And anyone else who cares to follow his example will earn our blessing.

Mrs. H. L. Jameson has presented to the Colchester Class a fine selection of volumes from the library of our late Comrade "Nordicus." No better trustees for this greatly appreciated gift could have been found than Comrades Pope and Calthorpe, in both of whom some of the unresting energy and keenness of "Nordicus" still lives.

W. H.

# PLEBS LEAGUE: Balance Sheet & Financial Statement, Jan. to Dec.

## 1921

							INCOME			£	s.	d.
Balance Jan., 1921	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	44	12	4	
Sales of Magazine	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,215	17	8½	
Donations	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	16	6	1½	
Sales of Publications:—												
<i>Short History</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	62	3	7			
<i>A Worker Looks at History</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	97	16	10			
<i>Easy Outline Economics</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	33	7	5½			
										193	7	10½
Pamphlets	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	38	19	11	
League Subs., Badges, etc.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	40	6	0½	
Books sold	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	507	9	5	
Sundries (Adverts., PLEBS Stamps, etc.)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	98	17	11½	
										2,155	17	4½
Pound Loan Fund	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	103	19	0	
Cheque to Balance from Sheffield account	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	73	8	4	
Sundries (Foreign money orders, etc.)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	12	6½	
										2,335	17	3
							EXPENDITURE			£	s.	d.
Printing	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,145	0	5	
Advertisements	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	16	6	
Books purchased	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	362	1	5	
Salaries	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	234	0	0	
Office Expenses	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	78	6	10½	
Postage, Carriage, etc.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	204	18	8½	
Repayment of Loan	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	0	0	
Sundries	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	11	0	
										£2,047	14	11
Cheque to Balance Sheffield account	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	73	8	4	
Bank Charges	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	18	1	
										2,124	1	4
Balance at Bank Dec. 31st, 1921..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	187	4	2	
Cash in hand, Dec. 31st, 1921	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	24	11	9	
										£2,335	17	3

BALANCE SHEET							
<i>Assets.</i>			<i>Liabilities.</i>				
	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Office Furniture	..	..	30	0	0		
Outstanding accounts	..	..	420	0	0	<i>Loans:—</i>	
Publications in stock	..	..	698	13	2	J. F. Horrabin	.. 120 0 0
Balance at Bank, Dec., 1922	187	4	2			G. Sims	.. 2 9 1
Cash in hand, Dec., 1922	24	11	9			Dr. J. Johnston	.. 20 0 0
						The late Dr. H. L. Jameson	.. 20 0 0

Assets ..	£1,360 9 1	£1 Loan Fund .. ..	£103 19 0
		Balance due for printing	
		<i>A Worker Looks at His-</i>	
		<i>tory</i> .. ..	150 0 0
		December PLEBS .. ..	97 4 4
		Rent due .. ..	17 10 0
		Outstanding accounts, Books	60 0 0
			591 2 5
		Balance .. ..	769 6 8
			1,360 9 1

Audited for the period January—December, 1921.

(Signed) {GEO. PHIPPEN,  
CLARA S. HENDIN.

## N.C.L.C. NOTES

At a conference held at PLYMOUTH on the 12th August, and attended by 100 delegates from Labour organisations it was unanimously decided to form a Plymouth and District Labour College. Work towards organising nearby towns will be started immediately and friends in the district willing to help should communicate with the Secretary, W. E. Bunney, 17, Old Road, Laria, Plymouth. As a result of a conference held at HULL on the 20th August, the Hull and District Labour College has been formed. All willing to help in any way or to enrol as students should communicate with the Secretary, R. Beech, Labour Club, Kingston Square, Hull. Both these Colleges arise under the A.U.B.T.W. Scheme.

Liverpool Labour College hold their Annual Meeting on 16th September. The Report of the year's work shows a distinct advance in all directions. The affiliated bodies now number 125—what has Auld Reekie to say to that?—and they are still coming in. Congrats to our friends at Liverpool and particularly to their indefatigable Secretary, J. Hamilton.

Glo'ster Labour College is on the warpath and determined to secure as much from the A.U.B.T.W. Scheme as possible. To friends in the district we say—see the Secretary, G. B. Lukers, 30, Granville Street, Gloucester, who can always find a job for willing folk. Worcester and Darlington Colleges are also busy—see Secretary's

address in Directory if you feel called upon to help! The S.E. Lancs. area Council Secretary is "hot stuff" and among the many issues sent out by him relating to the Council's work and arrangements I quote the "suggestions" in full:—

### NATIONAL COUNCIL OF LABOUR COLLEGES. SOUTH-EAST LANCASHIRE AREA.

#### SUGGESTIONS FOR LOCAL COLLEGES. IMPORTANT.

(1) Address Trades Councils and win support; get classes under the following:—Trades Councils, Labour Parties, Co-operatives, etc. Explain the Builders' Scheme and seek support.

(2) Get in touch with District and local Secretaries of N.U.R., *remind them that the N.U.R. jointly controls the Labour College* and win support. Explain A.U.B.T.W. scheme.

(3) Get in *immediate* touch with local secretaries of A.U.B.T.W. so that no overlapping will result; reason being:—That local secretaries of A.U.B.T.W. are also appealing to be allowed to address Trades Councils, etc. By working together you will cut out the above-mentioned danger.

(4) Draw up and let me have Prospectus of your winter work including syllabus of lectures. It counts for much, in being able to show that preparation has been made and argues well when before any organisation attempting to win their support.

(5) Let me have copies of all details and local schemes concerning your work. Also state whether you have in existence any classes; give details.

A.U.B.T.W. EDUCATIONAL SCHEME. POINTERS FOR ORGANISERS, ETC.

(1) Where Classes are already in existence arrangements should be made for linking up the Union Branches, the A.U.B.T.W. paying a quota of expenses by arrangement, upon the distinct understanding that the A.U.B.T.W. members may attend all lectures without any additional payment by such members.

(2) Classes started under the A.U.B.T.W. Scheme are open for affiliation to all Labour organisations or receive individual students.

Where any former Class organisation had been in existence the general scale of affiliation and class fees should be followed, as far as possible; where no previous organisation has existed affiliation should be arranged upon the basis of £1 is. (carrying with it two free scholarships) or in the case of large organisations at an agreed levy on the total membership, but not less than 2d. per member.

In the case of individual students, former customary fees to be followed—or, where no such custom prevails, at a charge of 6d. per lecture, or 2s. 6d. for six, and 5s. for twelve lecture Courses.

(3) Where Classes already exist and are only carried on during the Winter Session, arrangements should be made for Summer Classes; the A.U.B.T.W. being asked to guarantee the expenses incurred in the event of the Winter Classes support not being maintained.

The A.U.B.T.W. Classes will be arranged on an all-the-year-round basis.

(4) Note should be made of all forms of support in any Class area with a view to drawing up an estimate of probable expense of carrying on Classes for at least 36 weeks during the year. Estimates should be based upon:—(1) Like number of affiliations from Labour organisations; (2) Individual students. These estimates are necessary to enable the A.U.B.T.W.

Divisional Council to arrive at approximate figures of cost for submitting Estimate to its Executive Committee.

(5) A Corresponding Secretary for the A.U.B.T.W. should be appointed for each Class or group of students.

(6) Records of Class attendances of A.U.B.T.W. members should be kept.

(7) Where tutorial Classes cannot be arranged the following method should be adopted:—(1) Study circles—or (2) Correspondence students should be enrolled. In the case of Study circles arrangements should be made for a Class leader to receive Outlines of Study and to carry on all correspondence with Headquarters for the group work.

(8) Wherever possible organisation on N.C.L.C. lines should be set up to ensure proper working of the Scheme and continuity of Classes.

(9) Where A.U.B.T.W. Classes are breaking new ground Short Courses of a very elementary character are recommended, plus single lectures on questions of general interest. Part of all Courses should include single lectures of general interest and steps taken to attract a larger audience, with a view to strengthening attendance at Classes and securing additional affiliations.

(10) Where possible periodical visits to A.U.B.T.W. branches should be maintained. Failing visits, reports of Class work and forthcoming meetings should be sent out regularly.

(11) *Letter to possible supporters and prominent Labour people:—*

DEAR COMRADE,—

In connexion with the Education Fund Scheme of the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers it is proposed to start work in this district. For this purpose a delegate meeting of Labour bodies is to be held at..... on..... at..... p.m., at which the A.U.B.T.W. Scheme will be explained and the proposed activities in this district outlined. In view of the importance of this work it is hoped to secure your attendance and support. If you are unable to be present at this meeting may we rely upon your co-operation and support of any Scheme initiated as a result of this meeting?

Fraternally yours,

## N.C.L.C. DIRECTORY

*Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers* : "The Builders," Crescent Grove, South Side, Clapham Common, S.W.

*The Labour College* : 13, Penywern Road, London, S.W. 5.

*The Plebs League* : 162a, Buckingham Palace Road, London, S.W. 1.

## SCOTTISH LABOUR COLLEGE :—

*National Committee* : F. Raffner, 196, St. Vincent Street, Glasgow.

*Ayrshire District* : R. Climie, junr., 3, Fairyhill Road, Kilmarnock.

*Aberdeen District* : W. Morrison, 23, Holborn Street, Aberdeen.

*Dundee District* : E. G. Carr, 34, Lawson Place, Dundee.

*Edinburgh District* : J. Millar, 30, Newhaven Road, Leith.

*Fife District* : J. Clunie, 4, Market Street, Dunfermline.

*Glasgow District* : J. Queen, 93, Great Western Road, Glasgow.

*Stirlingshire District* : T. Bain, 66, Kerse Road, Front Grangemouth, Stirlingshire.

## SOUTH-EAST LANCS. AREA COUNCIL :—

E. Redfern, 1, Langdale Avenue, Reddish, Stockport. (*Affiliated Centres* : Manchester, Rochdale, Oldham, Ashton-under-Lyne, Altrincham and Blackburn).

*Accrington* : R. Pickersgill, 45, Devonshire Street, Accrington.

*Altrincham* : J. Winfield, 62, Brunswick Street, Broadheath, Cheshire.

*Ashton-under-Lyne* : R. Waters, 82, Furness Street, Dukinfield.

*Barry Dock Labour College Class* : S. Farrant, 20, Sydenham Street, Barry Dock.

*Blackburn* : H. Kenyon, Penny Street, Blackburn.

*Bradford and District Labour College* : W. Brooke, 76, Laisterdyke, Bradford.

*Cardiff and District Labour College* : A. Pope, 1, Ruthin Gardens, Cathays, Cardiff.

*Darlington and District Labour College* : E. Turner, 103, Waterloo Road, Middlesbrough.

*Derby Labour College* : W. Noland, 23, Oxford Street, Derby.

*Gloucester Labour College* : G. B. Luker, 30, Granville Street, Glos.

*Herald League* : G. Belt, 2, Carmelite Street, E.C. 4.

*Hull and District Labour College* : R. Beech, 11, Cranbourne Street, Hull.

*Leigh and District I.W.C.E.* : J. Brett, 47, Lord Street, Leigh, Lancs.

*Liverpool and District Labour College* : J. Hamilton, 99, Botanic Road, Liverpool.

*London Council I.W.C.E.* : R. Holder, 11, Penywern Road, London, S.W. 5.

*Manchester and District Labour College* : A. Lees, 9, Aldwych Street, Cheetham, Manchester.

*Mansfield and District Labour College* : G. Abbott, 37, Carter Lane, Mansfield, Notts.

*Midlands District Labour College* : T. D. Smith, 12, Old Meeting Street, West Bromwich.

*Newport (Mon.)* : W. G. Riding, 28, Conway Road, Newport, Mon. ; M. Selby, 27, Corporation Road, Newport, Mon.

*North-Eastern Labour College* : W. Coxon, 5, Byron Street, Newcastle.

*Oldham Labour College* : J. Hill, 217, Horsedge Street, Oldham.

*Plymouth and District Labour College* : W. E. Bunney, 17, Old Road, Laira, Plymouth.

*Rochdale and District Labour College* : A. Fletcher, 31, Rowland Street, Rochdale.

*Sheffield and District Labour College* : S. H. Cree, 21, Brathay Road, Sheffield.

*Taunton Forum* : W. Falkner, 9, St. Augustine Street, Taunton.

*Taunton Plebs* : A. W. Lovey, 29, Station Road, Taunton.



*West Riding Labour College* : J. Armstrong, 118, Rosemount Terrace, Elland, Yorks.

*Woolwich District I.W.C.E.* : C. T. Pendrey, 75, Arsenal Road, Well Hall, S.E. 9.

*Worcester Labour and Social Club* : W. L. Huckfield, 80, Lowesmoor, Worcester.

(Corrections and additions to this Directory will be welcomed).

## The PLEBS Bookshelf and the PLEBS Book Department

WITH the close approach of another winter session it is up to us to make due announcement of plans for new class textbooks, etc. The two books announced by the Labour Publishing Co. (see advert. on another page) ought both to be made good use of by our classes. Barton's "nutshell" *World History* should be invaluable for elementary history classes—and surely history classes are the best of all introductory courses for new students? Casey's book on *Thinking* should be equally in demand, especially since Craik's forthcoming book on the same subject has grown to a size rather beyond the limits of a textbook for class use. Barton's book will be ready in the course of the next few days, and Casey's before the end of the month. Both will be obtainable from the PLEBS Book Department, and we ask all class literature secretaries to send us their orders.

Now to turn to the books we hope to publish ourselves. We hope to have ready during October, PLEBS' Textbook No. 2—T. Ashcroft's *Imperialism*—mention of which has already been made in these columns. We had hoped for the support of the Labour College Governors in its publication, but as we understand that they have been unable to come to any decision in the matter, we have decided to go ahead ourselves, and rely on the support of Plebeians everywhere to make its issue a success. Everyone who has seen the chapters of the book as they have appeared serially in the

*Railway Review* will agree that it will be a tremendously useful and effective textbook. And since it covers an important part of the subject-matter of the Economic Geography textbook (the further delay in the completion of which nobody regrets more than the present writer) it should be promptly made use of by all classes in this latter subject.

This book will be uniform with the Psychology textbook, and will, so far as we can say at present, be published at the same price. Full and exact particulars next month.

Before December we hope to have ready an *Elementary Economics* textbook—also uniform with the other vols. in our Textbook Series. Details later; but make a note of this preliminary announcement.

Don't you think the motto on our front cover this month is an excellent one? It comes from an excellent book—Melville's *Moby Dick*—which all good Plebs are hereby heartily recommended to add to their libraries. I've known *Moby Dick* by name for some time, but only within the last week or two have I made his closer acquaintance. I entreat you to follow my example. You won't regret it. *Moby Dick* is a sort of proletarian epic. It was first published seventy years ago, and it tells of the adventures of the men who went down to the sea in ships and there hunted that Leviathan. Those who know about such things say that the book has the very taste and feel of the sea in it. I don't know much about the sea; but I know

that *Moby Dick* is so real that you feel when you've read it as though you'd added something to your own personal experience. Melville—when he wrote this book at any rate—was a very big man; and so were the whalers he here portrays so vividly. (Available in an ideal edition—World's Classics, Pocket Edition, 676 pp., 2s. 6d., post-paid, 2s. 10s.).

A correspondent writes that the recent articles on American shipping by Mark Starr, remind him that *The Harbour*, by Ernest Poole (Nelson, 2s.), is a real good American novel based on this very topic. The father of the hero "dreamt in terms of battleships and of a mercantile marine." He had seen the Civil War bust American shipping sky high. "Even before it began it had made the South so bitter that, just for the sake of attacking the north, the solid South in congress had joined the damn fool Farmer West and attacked our mail subventions. 'No more of the nation's money,' they said, 'for ship subsidies for New York and New England!' And so all government protection of our shipping was withdrawn. And when the war ended, with 40 per cent. of our ships grabbed, sunk or sold, it was ruination to build any more, for the British and German governments were pouring millions of dollars a year into the Cunard and the North German Lloyd, and we couldn't compete against them...." "'The first place on the ocean can still be yours.'

This was my father's great idea. This was his message to young America."

I remember recommending *The Harbour* in the PLEBS five or six years ago. It is, quite apart from the particular "topical" interest mentioned above, an exceedingly interesting novel—literally and precisely a "novel of to-day."

Another book which has been mentioned (and inadequately praised) more than once here is *Erewhon*, which Messrs. Jonathan Cape have just re-issued in a very satisfactory, cloth-bound half-crown edition (postpaid from PLEBS, 2s. 10d.). If you don't already know Butler's great satire, get it now—and chuckle over it. You don't have to read very far before realising where G.B.S. got at least a part of his inspiration from. Butler's way of making "middle-class morality" look ridiculous, by standing it on its head, is as effective as it is entertaining. And his irony is as satisfying as Anatole France's own.

Will Messrs. Cape now give us a cheap edition of Butler's masterpiece, *The Way of All Flesh*? We can promise that the Plebs' Book Department will do a good trade in it whenever it is forthcoming.

J. F. H.

"All good economics are necessarily propagandist—by implication." (Gerald Gould, in the *Daily Herald*, Aug. 9th.). You'll be joining the Plebs League yet, Gerald!

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