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EDITORIAL

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OUR analysis of the conditions that obtain in the prevailing economic system of society, which we made in the July editorial, led us logically to the conclusion that the source of the struggle of the working class is to be found

**The Cause, Cure, and Curer.** in the mode of production which has at its one pole, *capital*, and at the opposite pole, *wage-labour*. These two mutually condition

each other; the disappearance of the one involves the disappearance of the other. As the owners of capital can exist and thrive only at the expense of the owners of labour-power, as they can continue to be capitalists only so long as the owners of labour-power are in the position of wage-labourers, the elimination of the capitalist relation and the struggle following therefrom is a task which falls to the wage-earning class for accomplishment. It is this class which is oppressed and which is driven to revolt, a revolt which takes organized expression in the Labour Movement. It is from *feeling*—the feeling of oppression—that the wage-earners are stimulated to come together for defence against the weapon that threatens their existence. One may, however, feel pain without apprehending what causes the pain. Such an apprehension is a necessary condition for the removal of the pain. Physiologically both the apprehension of cause and the removal are, as everybody knows, the work of a special group of trained people—doctors. Sociologically, however, it is they who suffer, they who feel the pain who must carry out the operation of removal. The task cannot be accomplished by any outside agency, by any group of specialists. Such a group of course exists, and are even now soliciting orders. Just as there are quacks in the individual organism repairing department, so in society are there to be found the sociological quacks, who

guarantee a sympathetic and sure-to-cure treatment, and this claim they back up by sundry parchments from which they derive the right to perform operations. Their stock in trade, their apparatus and medicine have been duly approved of and stamped with the seal of the *status quo*. And as it is from this latter that the suffering comes, it would be folly for the sufferers to look for relief from that quarter. So acute, however, is the pain and so little is known of its real source, that the high sounding titles, the sweet scented manuscripts, and the caressing catchwords of the pretenders to cure, very often succeed in alluring the sufferers to try the prescription. While we know that the time must come when these social soothing syrups will be flung back in the face of their manufacturers, we realize that such an attitude can only be taken up as a result of sound knowledge. It is our mission as an educational movement of the working class to hasten that time by promoting opportunities for the spread of such knowledge. We have, however, first of all to propagate the idea that knowledge of this character is necessary and that it can only flow through channels independent of those that receive their shape and direction from the existing order. The necessity for independent working-class education we have continued to point out, arises out of the economic struggle which divides society into capitalists and wage-earners; it is therefore an *economic* necessity. Knowledge of the economic world gives strength to the Labour Movement. It adds to feeling, an intelligent apprehension of the cause of the pain and suffering which is felt. Revealing the real nature of the menacing weapon, the truth is borne home to our minds that we can only defend ourselves by adopting the offensive, that we can succeed only in protecting ourselves and lessening the painful effects by acting on the aggressive.



THIS conviction will never come through the educational channels of the University or through any channel connected in any way with it. On the contrary, it is the intention of those who design the scheme of bringing the working class in contact

**The Schemes and the Schemers.** with the University to prevent any such ideas taking root. They never say so in their speeches or writings addressed to the workers. There is every reason why they should conceal any such

intentions. Indeed those people have no rivals in the Art of Concealment. But when there are no working people in the audience, such as at the weekly debates of the Oxford University Union, they throw off the mask and the mantilla and talk in language which their own kin can understand. At a recent debate under these auspices on the scheme propagated by the W.E.A.—that of bringing working men to the University—a Mr. G. E. Dodds, of New College, speaking in support, uttered the following gem;—

Only by such a scheme as was proposed would they be able to shake off those baser elements, the elements of the demagogue and of the political agitator, and only by teaching the working classes what true education was would they be able to do away with people like Keir Hardie.

This is how these oracles talk *about* the working class. The effort of Canon Masterman's at the recent Co-operative Congress at Plymouth to which we referred in our last number, is a sample of how the advocates of the W. E. A. policy talk *to* the working class. The citizen is the Alpha and Omega in this association's scheme of things. The individual is to be educated as a citizen. The subject of his study is to be citizenship. And in the end he is to emerge refined and purified as a *good* citizen.



### **The Canon and The Citizen.**

THE Rev. gentleman took for his subject "The Education of the Citizen," and the following extracts from his address will serve to show the kind of intellectual food that is intended for working class assimilation.

It was hardly too much to say that the main object of co-operative education should be to foster the ideals of good citizenship . . . He might define a good citizen as a man who learns to find objects of pride and enjoyment in the things he shares with his fellow man more than in the things that are his own individual possessions. . . . The model citizen would be an enthusiast for electoral purity and open spaces and everything that gave dignity to civic life.

What simplicity of soul is here! How cosmic in comprehension! How profound in penetration! How like yeast the brains rise and run over everything! Electoral purity! Open spaces! Civic dignity! After this—the millenium.

How unfortunate that the Rev. Canon in his impetuous enthusiasm for the *good* citizen, did not stop to define the *citizen*. For that is the point of departure for the educational policy which the W.E.A. advocate. The citizen is not a *good* citizen until he has been educated in accordance with that policy. What then is a citizen? In what does this category of citizenship consist? At the most the citizen can be regarded as an individual domiciled within a certain piece of territory and having political rights. Viewed from this standpoint, society is divided into citizens and non-citizens. Leaving the latter out of the question, do we find this citizen mass to be indivisible? Is it a body of unified interests? Lord Claud Hamilton and John Smith are both fellow citizens. We find,

however, that the latter is a member of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants. His lordship, however, does not carry the trade union card. That organization then is not a thing *shared in common* by these two citizens, and certainly Lord Claud can find no "object of pride or enjoyment" in it. According therefore to Canon Masterman's philosophy, he is not a *good* citizen. The Canon, like the simple soul that he is, has not discovered a fact well known to his lordship, that it is much more substantial to live on the *goodness* of other people than on his own; that to be a *good citizen* is to be a *bad capitalist*. On the other hand, the Great Eastern Railway capitalist finds organized kinship in an organization not only outside the trade union, but opposed to it. Why do these individuals not share in a common organization? They are both citizens. The diversity cannot arise out of this unity. Lord Claud no more shares in the A.S.R.S. than John Smith shares in the Employers' organization. And the reason? *Because one is a capitalist and the other a wage-labourer*. And further, why is John Smith, citizen, organized in an association which engages in conflict with his fellow citizens—Lord Claud Hamilton's organization? Conflict should not arise out of the same identical category of citizenship. The antagonism arises out of the polar opposition of capital to wage labour. Standing at the one pole, Citizen Hamilton derives his livelihood from the unpaid labour of Citizen Smith, who is placed at the other pole. The latter can only exist by the sale of the only "individual possession" that is his, viz., his labour-power. He can only sell this, and thus realize his existence by allowing the owner of capital to secure the results flowing from the greater portion of his working-time. That is the condition of the sale, and therefore of the life of Citizen Smith and his fellow citizens, who, like himself, are wage-earners, and whom the dear good Canon is so anxious to educate to the end that they may find "objects of pride and enjoyment in the things" they share. What do they share? All the evils that flow from the present economic system. Do they find objects of pride and enjoyment in unemployment, in poverty, in disease following from it? Can they find enjoyment in anything so long as these things exist? Is not the problem the removal of the cause of the existence of these evils? If that is so, and we claim that it is, should that solution not be the aim and purpose of education for the working class? In that case the citizens of whom Lord Claud Hamilton is a type will do nothing that will promote that kind of education. Neither can Oxford, which is the nursery for nurturing that type, be expected to assist in a movement whose educational policy is the solution of a problem which the Hamiltons' prefer to remain unsolved.



We see then what this "citizen" education scheme amounts to. The education of the citizen is in education what Tariff Reform is in

politics. Both have their chief merit in the eyes of their promoters in that they obscure the real cleavage in society.

**The Economic Category.** We have shown that civic life is not the basis of society any more than the market is the source of profits. Society is divided not along the

line of citizenship, but along the line of property. We only reach the foundation of society and the classes of which it is made up in the economic system—in the workshop. All other social relations follow from the economic relation of capital and wage-labour. Canon Masterman, in the course of his remarks, said "He believed there was a tendency to exaggerate the value of economics as a training for the citizen." Quite so! *as a training for the citizen!* but we have already demonstrated the superficial character of that category. John Smith, the platelayer, suffers not as a citizen, but as a wage-earner. He joins the trade union not as a citizen, but as a wage-earner. Else why is Lord Claud not a brother unionist? He votes for the Labour candidate not as a citizen, but as a wage-earner. No need to say for whom the other man votes, for he votes likewise in accordance with his economic position. The educational world is governed by the economic world. Just as the wage-earning class have to develop their own industrial and political organizations, so must they develop their own independent educational movement. Just as John Smith votes as a wage-earner so must he be educated as a wage-earner. Just as the wage-labouring class pay for their own economic and political activities, so must they pay for their own education. The Rev. Canon went on to give a reason for his opinion on the tendency to exaggerate the value of economics. "What was economically right was often morally wrong." He did not say for whom it was "right" or for whom it was "wrong." Of course the good Canon is a citizen! The class for whom capitalism is economically right claim that it is morally right. And capitalist morality will develop and decay in the degree that capitalism as an economic system develops and decays. For the people who suffer from that system, capitalism is morally wrong only because it is economically wrong. But the morally wrong can only disappear with the elimination of the economically wrong. How can the morality or immorality therefore be understood without a knowledge of the economic relations from which it flows? There are evidently some "open spaces" in the Canon's knowledge which even "civic dignity" cannot fill. These "open spaces" should serve as a warning to those who have "a tendency to exaggerate the value of" *the open mind.*

The Canon then proceeded to outline a scheme of education for a working man who wanted to make himself an efficient citizen, giving details of a comprehensive course of study in history and biography. He thought that a man should read poetry and the first result he would expect to see from his

study of poetry would be a flower-box in his window ; for a flower-box was a symbol of good citizenship which was the expression of a desire to bring brightness into other lives as well as our own.

This is surely the most lovely and fragrant of all the bouquets gathered from the Canon's rose garden. To criticize it would be almost criminal. It is really too delicate to be touched even with kid gloves. It is too ethereal even to be sensed. Henceforth, fellow-worker, if your next door neighbour be unemployed, present him with a copy of Tennyson's *In Memoriam*. If the factory owner for whom you work threatens you with a reduction in wages do not be so uncitizenlike as to attempt to frustrate his civic will through Trade Union action. Get you at once to your poetry. Try Young's *Night Thoughts*, or Gray's *Elegy in a Country Church-yard*. And if a tendency to "abstinence" should force itself upon you through the medium of your fellow citizen, the employer, and your family be faced with an empty cupboard, all is not lost. You have your "flower-box" and your "civic dignity," your "electoral purity" and your "open spaces."

W. W. C.

\* The extracts from the lecture of the Rev. Canon Masterman are taken from a report published by the *Co-operative News* in their issue of May 21st, 1910.

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## The Convict

Across the bridge of sighs!  
 This way  
 Few mortals pass again  
 To see the light of day.  
 And passing, rays of hope  
 No longer shine ;—  
 Away ! In solitude to pine,  
 'Mid shadows dark  
 And scenes o'erspread with gloom—  
 To Lay them down,  
 Disconsolate,  
 In civilization's tomb !

—S. TYSON KINSELL

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Owing to pressure of space, one or two articles are unavoidably held over.—*Editor*.

## Central Labour College Conference

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**T**HE AUGUST MEET has come and gone. The number of people present was a little short of last year's meeting, when the Preliminary Conference took place; the dramatic fervour that characterized that memorable meet was replaced by a sense of work already accomplished, and a determination to do all that was possible to solidify, strengthen, and extend that work in the future. Many of the delegates had arrived in time for the brake drive advertised to take place on the Saturday; they were surprised to find that event "off" on account of "entries," everybody evidently thinking that the organizers would be sure to count on *their* presence and none (or at least, only one) having written to engage seats by the date mentioned in the Magazine. In the same way the lectures announced for the Tuesday and Wednesday following the Conference were not given, much to the surprise of a large number of visitors—yet only two had written to say they could attend them. Apart from these minor disappointments everything went off with a swing; the enthusiasm at the morning and evening meetings being a thing to cheer and hearten the gloomiest of mortals. The speech of Mr. George Barker, Miner's Agent, Monmouth Western Valleys, in opening the Conference, showed us that a man may have a record of many years work as a Trade Union official and still keep his enthusiasms unimpaired. He was certainly one of the youngest men present on Monday, in spite of the tell-tale grey hair, and his able handling of the Education Question from the workers' point of view brought round after round of applause from the audience. A more appropriate choice of chairman could not have been made, as Mr. Barker was one of the very earliest and staunchest supporters of the Central Labour College. He is also the first Trade Union representative elected on the Board of C.L.C., and his organization was the first and most generous supporter the College had, in fact they made its existence possible.

"Dennis" was there, and looking younger in spite of the harassing year he has passed through, needless to say the audience availed themselves of the earliest possible opportunity—his report of the College work—to give him a right royal reception, and assuredly the many tokens of their affection, shown to him throughout the day, must in a large measure have recompensed him for the exceedingly trying time he has had during the past few months. At the evening meeting his speech, scintillated with wit, eloquence and power, and maintained the high standard of oratory set by himself and Prof. Lester F. Ward at the Preliminary Conference held last year. The

meetings altogether impressed us with the need of a verbatim Conference Report, and we can only hope that the coming year will find the College in a sufficiently strong financial position to allow of this being done for the next year's meetings. Mrs. Bridges Adams was also given a rousing reception at both meetings, and one wonders more and more how anyone can still be so benighted as to talk of the incapacity of women after listening to her able little address at the evening meeting. During the day Messrs. Watkins, Craik, and Kershaw also gave us evidence, if that were needed, of their mastery of the practical and theoretical sides of the workers' educational requirements, and incidentally further evidence of the loss to Ruskin and the gain to Labour by the ousting of "Dennis" from Ruskin College. One year's freedom to develop on our own lines has done more to clarify the workers' educational movement than a score would have done under the old régime.

The Magazine is far too small to give an adequate account of Monday's proceedings. We can only say that the day was all too short, and that in spite of nine hours of meetings, to allow of all our plans and hopes to be discussed, of one thing only are we certain, that is, the Central Labour College is on a sounder basis, financially, theoretically and practically, than ever, and the past year has proved more clearly than ever the need of such an institution.

Mr. Barker, in opening the Conference, congratulated the College authorities on the number of delegates and friends who were present. It was a happy augury for the future that so many workers were sufficiently interested in the College to give up their holiday to attend the Conference. After the discussions and disputations of the last eighteen months one thing had emerged clearly, was patent to all, and that was that the only College in this country entitled to call itself a genuinely Labour institution was the Central Labour College. However desirous they might be for unity they recognized that unity was only possible on the basis of identity of fundamental principles, and there was no doubt in the minds of most of them that Ruskin College and their own College differed on these principles. The attempts made by the Central Labour College to bring about an amalgamation between the two Colleges had failed because of antagonistic educational ideals. They must therefore go on with their own work in their own way. The miners whom he represented had determined to increase their support to the College by sending an additional student next September. The past year had called for sacrifices on the part of those interested in the work of the Central Labour College: the place was now on a thoroughly sound basis: and he believed that the coming year would prove a most successful and encouraging one for the College.

The Secretary then gave his report.



## SECRETARY'S REPORT.

The College opened on September 13th, 1909, with 20 students : one Trade Union scholar, 4 nominated by Trade Unions for scholarships presented by the International Correspondence Schools, Ltd., 3 paying students, and the remainder on scholarships given by the College, for short periods. Several changes took place in scholars during the year, and the close of the College year found us with 17 students in residence. When the College re-opens on Sept. 14 this year it is expected that 17 students will come into residence : 8 Trade Union Students, 3 paying students, 2 nominated by Trade Unions, and 4 on scholarships given by the College. The Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants are also considering the question of transferring their 2 students, now at Ruskin College, to our College.

Courses of lectures have been given during the year on Sociology, Logic, Rhetoric, English Language, Psychology, Elementary Science, Social Movements—such as Trade Unions, Co-operative and Socialist organizations, General, English, and Industrial History, Modern Nations, and Economics. The lecturers being Messrs. Hird, Dr. Stanton Coit, J. A. Fallows, M.A., F. Charles, R. Biske, B.A., W. Craik and G. Sims. With the exception of Mr. Biske, B.A., the whole of the above lecturers will be available for next year. Lecturers will also be secured for Constitutional History, Local Government, and Economics (orthodox) at an early date. It has been the desire of Mr. Hird that a few students should be enabled to extend the ordinary period of study for the purpose of lecturing both inside and outside the College, and should the necessary financial support be forthcoming from the Labour organizations the College authorities will make arrangements to develop this idea. It is the opinion of the Provisional Committee that a great future lies before this proposed branch of our work, and already a measure of success has attended the utilization of past students in this way inside the College, and also at Rochdale, where last winter classes were run under the auspices of the College, on Economics, Industrial History, and Logic, the lecturer being Mr. W. W. Craik, A.S.R.S. These classes were so successful that arrangements are being made to send two lecturers to Rochdale to conduct classes through the forthcoming winter. A fuller report of the Rochdale classes will be given later in the meeting.

The method of teaching in the College is as follows : classes and lectures. The lectures or classes seldom exceed two daily, usually one lecture and one class. Collateral reading is suggested to the students on the portions of the particular subject dealt with at lectures. Essays are set every fortnight in leading subjects such as Sociology, Economics, and History ; these Essays allow the tutor to closely follow the development of each student and to assist each in the most helpful way. We would suggest to delegates, at this point,

that we think it very desirable that the Labour bodies sending students should, if possible, make arrangements for the student to remain in residence two years, our experience having proved the immense value of the second year of study to the student.

The conduct of the students in residence during the past year has been very satisfactory in every way, and, in view of the precarious nature of our premises tenure, and the need of avoiding any possible complaints from our neighbours, the exceptionally high standard of conduct maintained by students has been very encouraging to the Committee. We think we are quite correct in saying that our neighbours have been agreeably surprised with the general management and conduct of the institution, especially as they were led to believe that revolutionary outbreaks would be a feature of the College life.

The whole of the housework is done by the students, and all purely students' affairs are administered by them. A Committee of the students also manage the Catering Department; all that the Executive Committee insist on, is that the cost per student shall be kept under a fixed maximum. By this arrangement the students are in a position to remedy small grievances relating to diet without causing friction inside the institution. The Executive Committee desire to express in this connexion their thanks to two students, Messrs. Brown and Pendrey, for the efficient and economical way the cooking for the College has been done by them. The students have also had representation on the Provisional Committee in the person of Mr. McKay, and this arrangement has worked out satisfactorily to all.

It will be remembered that last year the Provisional Committee was elected at the Preliminary Conference held at Oxford. This year the Executive Committee suggest that the Provisional Committee, as at present constituted, be re-elected. The reason for this being, that the Executive propose to ask the representatives of the Labour bodies now sending students, to take over control at an early date. The composition of the Board in the initial stages will be left to these representatives to decide, subject to the minimum proportions of representation named in the Standing Orders governing the administration of the College, i.e. three-fourths directly elected Labour representatives.

On two occasions during the year the Provisional Committee have considered the possibility of an honourable agreement being arrived at, by which this College and Ruskin College might in future carry on jointly the work now being done by them in separate institutions. The Committee of this College have, as a consequence, come to the conclusion that fundamental differences of aims and policy exist between the two Colleges—The Central Labour College standing for independence in Education, free from any association

with the University, and aiming at equipping students for work in the organized Labour Movement, as understood by the organizations affiliated to the Labour Party—, and they therefore recommend that the work of the College be continued on independent lines as heretofore, feeling that, much as unity in working-class education may be desired, any other course would be a betrayal of the confidence reposed in them by the various bodies who have supported the College in the past.

The question of our lease of the present College premises has caused the Committee some anxiety during the past year. The premises were secured from the lessees with a full understanding between both parties of the use to which they were to be put. The lessees hold the premises under the ground landlords, St. John's College, on the understanding that they can be used for educational purposes, everything which might be construed as preventing this having been crossed out in the original lease. We were therefore surprised to hear from our landlords that St. John's College had issued an injunction against them to prevent the premises being used as a "Working Men's College." Owing to the financial position of our landlords and our own slender means we were compelled to come to an arrangement to vacate premises in August this year. We have since secured an extension of lease and shall therefore continue to occupy the premises till March, 1911; this extension will enable us to make other arrangements for the future housing of the College.

When the opening of the College was first suggested, Mr. Hird promised to lecture for a twelve month for out of pocket expenses, and so far he has faithfully fulfilled his share of the agreement; the College, on the other hand, has not been able to meet this year's share of his expenses up to the present time. We hope to meet this liability in the near future. Notwithstanding this failure to meet our liabilities to him, Mr. Hird has kindly and generously agreed to extend his first offer for a further period of six months. It need scarcely be pointed out how deep a debt of gratitude we owe to Mr. Hird for this offer, and also his past services to the College, as without his assistance we could scarcely have made the progress, it is our pleasing duty to record. In addition to his work inside the College Mr. Hird has utilized his many outside lecture engagements to address meetings to further the interests of the College.

Salaries so far have not been an important factor in the expenses of the College, the only person on the Staff who is paid being the Secretary. This, of course, cannot continue indefinitely, and the Committee urgently appeal for the co-operation of the supporters of the College work in securing greater financial assistance so that additional, and paid, lecturers and assistance may be appointed to carry out the work of the College on a proper basis, as, if the work of the institution is to be extended, a more generous

response in this direction is greatly needed. A financial statement will be submitted later giving a detailed account of funds received and expended, and it only need be pointed out here that about £150 is required to free the institution from debt, the major portion of which sum is outstanding liabilities on furnishing account. Money is also needed to extend the Library, as many expensive books for students' use are still required.

We have made arrangements for the opening of a Correspondence Department under the guidance of Mr. A. J. Hacking, M.A. A prospectus of the work intended to be carried out under this head has already been issued. Mr. Hacking's former experience at Ruskin College will be of great assistance to us in making this part of our work of such a character as to command success. The work in the various subjects taught will be corrected by competent men and women in the particular study selected by the student, and the utmost attention will be paid by the examiners to the question of how far the student has grasped the principles of the subject chosen by him or her. A real difficulty exists at present in the matter of suitable text-books for the subjects to be included in the correspondence courses, and we hope to overcome the difficulty shortly by the issue of our own handbooks written in clear and concise form and published at prices well within the reach of working-class students.

Mr. Hird, Warden, was then called upon to supplement the Secretary's report. He pointed out that the necessarily brief report just given did not, it could not, give anything like an adequate representation of the difficulties under which they had laboured at the College during the past year, yet despite all the economies they had to practice, the students had been equal to all the demands made upon them. He felt quite proud of the first body of resident students.

Outside the institution they had found many enthusiastic supporters among the various Labour bodies, and if the great Labour and Socialist papers had not rallied to their support in the way that they had anticipated, at least one influential Trade Union paper had proved a host in itself—he referred to the *Railway Review*, the organ of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants. As a consequence of the efforts put forth by their supporters they were in a far better position at the present time than ever before, and, apart from the furnishing debt, the prospects of the College for the coming year were very encouraging. Every effort will be made to develop the work of the College so as to realize the ambitious educational programme we have outlined in our circulars. To do this, additional financial support is required, a matter which we commend to the serious consideration of this Conference.

The Chairman then invited questions and discussion on the reports.

Messrs. Ludlow, Seed, Keating, T. Rees, Mrs. Bridges Adams, G. W. Brown, Watkins, Cramp, and Hay put questions on various matters dealt with in the report, the replies apparently giving satisfaction to the questioners and to the members of the Conference. It was then suggested that as Mr. Williams, General Secretary, and Mr. W. Hudson, M.P., were present on behalf of the Executive of the A.S.R.S. to clear up a few points regarding the College upon which their Executive were not quite satisfied, the Conference would be pleased to hear their views.

Mr. Williams, who, as with Mr. Hudson, M.P., met with a hearty reception on rising, expressed regret that Mr. Hudson and himself, had, owing to the late arrival of the train they travelled to Oxford by, missed the early part of the Secretary's Report. He was not opposed to the College, but at the same time he believed that wherever possible unity should be established, and he would therefore like to know whether it was not, even yet, possible to amalgamate the forces of the two Colleges—Ruskin and the Central Labour College. Could not a deputation be appointed from this Conference to meet Ruskin authorities with this object in view?

Mr. Hudson, M.P., said he would not detain them long, he had listened to the report, and questions and discussions with great interest, and he would like to put two questions—Would it be correct to say that amalgamation between the two Colleges is beyond hope? and also, was there a difference of principle between the two Colleges on the nature of the teaching and the character of a workmen's College? He would also like to hear a statement re the future control of College.

Mr. Hird, in reply, pointed out that already two attempts had been made from the Central Labour College side to bring about an amalgamation, but without success. He again went over the reasons for this failure, reasons which supplied an affirmative answer to Mr. Hudson's questions. So far as the future of the Central Labour College was concerned he would again repeat that the Executive Committee hoped to be able to announce the formal constitution of the permanent Board this year, and in that way the subscribing Labour bodies would be responsible for the future control of the College.

The Secretary's report was then unanimously accepted.

Mr. Charles then gave a report on the financial position of the College. He pointed out the heavy expenses incurred in organizing work, and in furnishing the College, both of which items would be materially reduced now that they were an established institution. He then proceeded to analyse the various items. On the whole he thought a vast amount of work had been done for a very small outlay, and, with the increasing financial support from the Labour bodies, they had every reason to look forward to a long and useful future.

*Continued on page 164*

**HAND-BOOK ON WORKING CLASS EDUCATION.**

In a short and brilliant speech, Mr. W. W. Craik outlined the scheme of the Handbook it is proposed to issue as a statement of the educational policy of the C. L. C. Section I. deals with the Historical side of the subject; Section II. with a critical analysis of present educational movements; Section III. is to give an outline of the courses of study, methods of teaching, and the books to be read in connexion with each course. Mr. Craik's diagrammatic presentation of the scheme, and his pithy explanation, evoked considerable applause from the audience, who thoroughly appreciated the points of this new departure.

**SECTION I.  
GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE LABOUR MOVEMENT.**

**Sub-Section A.**

The development of the Labour Movement from instinctive action to intelligent action, i.e. action the causes of which are understood.

**Sub-Section B.**

**ECONOMIC POLITICAL and EDUCATIONAL FIELDS**

**What are the:**

**Sub-Section C.**

Feudal	=	Gild	Conservative	Priestcraft.
(Elementary).				
Semi-Feudal	=	Old Unionism	Liberal and Liberal-Labour	University Extension, etc.
(Intermediate).				
Capitalism	=	New Unionism	Labour	Central Labour College.
(Advanced).				

**Stages in the Growth of the Labour Movement.**

**Sub-Section D.**

**Principles on which the advanced stage is based.**  
Independence Independence Independence

Sub-Section E.

Similarity of objection to the independent organization of the wage-earning class.

Working men cannot decide what wages and hours should be. This must be left to the employing class.

Working men cannot teach. Education can only be carried on by the professorial class, trained in the University.

Working men cannot act as members of Parliament. Legislation must be an affair of the employing class.

SECTION II.

SUB-SECTION I.

Technical education.

1.—ANALYSIS.

Technical knowledge good in itself; but inevitably productive of misery and hardship to the workers under present economic system. Its effect is to increase the number of eligible candidates for coercive functions in industry.

2.—ATTITUDE.

Time not yet ripe for positive propaganda against it. On the other hand every opportunity should be taken to lay bare the economic effects of technical educational schemes, pointing to the real position the working class occupy in the educational field.

SUB-SECTION II.

University Extension movement.

1.—ANALYSIS.

Governing-class education parading in the guise of impartiality.

The fallacy that education is impartial.

University an attribute of class-division in society.

2.—ATTITUDE.

Strenuous opposition and active propaganda against.

SUB-SECTION III.

W. E. A.; Ruskin College; and other Working-Men's Colleges. (so-called.)

1.—ANALYSIS.

These are sub-divisions of preceding sub-section. Active co-operation of Labour Movement invited in spreading governing-class education. Consequences of such co-operation.

2.—ATTITUDE.

Strenuous opposition against this most dangerous move, and a continuous positive propaganda throughout the Labour Movement.

The Conference unanimously endorsed the issuing of the proposed Handbook.

Further financial support was urgently needed to extend their work and to put the staff of the College on a more satisfactory footing, but after the work that had already been done they had no hesitation in appealing to the delegates present to go back to their organizations, and impress them with the need of additional support, for this, the only Labour College in the country.

**C. I. C. CASH ACCOUNT,**  
August 11th, 1909 to May 31st, 1910.

RECEIPTS.	EXPENDITURE.																																																																																																								
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**LIABILITIES.      Accounts owing\***

	£	s.	d.
Furnishing Account ... ..	82	13	4
Current Account ... ..	81	12	10
Catering Committee Account	20	19	7
	<u>£185</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>9</u>

\* Up to July 31st, about £76 had been paid off these Accounts.

After several questions had been asked and answered the Financial Statement was unanimously accepted.

Handbook on Working-class Education (see pp. 162, 163).

The meeting closed at 1.50 p.m. A good many of the delegates and visitors had lunch and tea at the Central Labour College, the arrangements being carried out, as last year, by members of the Co-operative Women's Guild, a reference to whose kindness at the evening meeting eliciting a hearty round of applause.

A report of the Plebs Meet will appear in the next number of the Magazine.



Reprint from  
*The American Journal of Sociology*, March, 1908.

## Social Classes and Sociological Theory

**M**ANY questions supposed to have been definitely settled have been revived and brought into new prominence under the searchlight of modern sociological theory. The discovery of the principle of the natural origin of political society and the juridical state out of gentile society and kinship organization through the struggle and amalgamation of races is having an effect upon social problems analogous to that which the discovery of the principle of natural selection has had upon biological problems. One of the time-worn social problems of this order is that of the origin and nature of social classes.

Approaching this problem from the new point of view, we find that it constitutes an integral part of the general social process inaugurated by the race struggle. There are no social classes in gentile society. They must have developed along with all the other institutions which had their origin at that stage. If so, out of which one of those early institutions have they developed? Can the sociologist trace them back to their primary source, as the anatomist traces any organ of the body back to its original layer in the embryo?

As is well known, one of the first effects of the conquest is the subdivision of the amalgamating group into a series of more or less distinct strata called castes. The conquering race becomes the high caste and the conquered race the low caste. Between them there soon develops an intermediate caste necessary to the life of a group. The high caste differentiates into a sacerdotal caste and a warrior caste. The intermediate caste is developed out of the intelligent elements of both the conquering and the conquered races and conducts the business of the new society. The lower caste performs the labour for all, either as a great slave population or as an artisan class, often divided up into a great number of hereditary sub-castes or guilds.

Now the simple truth is that the social classes that we find to-day in the most advanced nations of the world are the outgrowth and natural successors of those primary subdivisions of society, or castes. They are modified castes and have not been greatly transformed during the historic period. The four so-called "estates" of European history, so clearly recognized in the eighteenth century, correspond well to the four great castes of India. The Brahminic caste, or priestly order, became the First Estate, the lords spiritual, the clergy; the Kshatriyas, or warriors and ruling class, took

the name of the Second Estate, the lords temporal, the nobility; the Vaisyas, or merchants, brokers, and business class, scarcely differ from the Third Estate, the commons of England, the *bourgeoisie* of France; and the Sudras, or labourers and artisans, are clearly represented by the Fourth Estate, the modern industrials, the proletariat.

But the castes of India are not the only castes, and it is now known that they exist in all countries that have undergone the race struggle, and that they are in all essential respects the same in all, being found in great completeness even in Polynesia. With the lapse of ages, especially in India where the race struggle probably first took place, these castes became firmly established and were regarded not only as the order of nature but as the divine order. It was forgotten that they arose from conquest. All traces of those remote events were lost, and the higher castes were believed to be really superior and the lower really inferior. This is clearly shown by the text of the Laws of Manu. We there read that :

The Brahmin in coming into the world is placed in the first rank upon the earth; sovereign lord of all beings, he watches over the preservation of the treasure of civil and religious laws. A Brahmin, by his very birth, is an object of veneration, even by the gods, and his decisions are an authority for the world; it is the Holy Scripture which gives him this privilege.

All that the world contains is in a manner the property of the Brahmin; by his ancestry and his eminent birth he has a right to all that exists.

A Brahmin, if he is in need, may in all safety of conscience appropriate the goods of a Sudra, his slave, and the king may not punish him; for a slave has nothing that belongs to him in his own right of which his master may not deprive him.

A Brahmin possessing the Rig Veda entire would not be soiled by any crime, even if he had killed all the inhabitants of the three worlds and accepted food from the vilest of men.

The Kshatriyas cannot prosper without the Brahmins; the Brahmins cannot support themselves without the Kshatriyas; by uniting, the sacerdotal class and the warrior class rise in this world and in the other.

Blind obedience to the orders of the Brahmins, versed in the knowledge of the holy books, masters of the house and renowned for their virtue, is the chief duty of a Sudra and procures for him happiness after his death.

To serve the Brahmins is declared the most praiseworthy action for a Sudra; everything else that he may do is without recompense for him.

A Sudra must not amass superfluous wealth, even when he has the power; for a Sudra, when he has acquired a fortune, vexes the Brahmins by his insolence.

A man of low caste who attempts to sit down by the side of a man of the highest class shall be branded on his haunches and banished.

Let the king cause boiling oil to be poured into his mouth and ears if he has the impudence to give advice to Brahmins relative to their duties.

He who has relations with a degraded man is himself degraded; not alone in sacrificing, in reading the Holy Scriptures, or in contracting an alliance with him, but even in getting into the same carriage, sitting on the same seat, or eating at the same table.

Such are the rigid laws by which the higher castes have sought to separate themselves from the lower, and they have succeeded in causing it to be believed, not only by the higher castes but also by the lower ones themselves, that there exists a fundamental difference based on inherent qualities and belonging to the nature of things. This idea still clings to the mind of man, and modern social classes are conceived to be marked off from one another by nature.

The Greeks were a conquering race who invaded Greece as well as Asia Minor ages before the Homeric period and subjugated the peoples whom they found there, reducing them to slavery. As written history began much later still, it had been wholly forgotten who the slaves were, and they were looked upon as simply inferior beings created to serve the high-caste race with which alone all Greek history and literature have to do. All know that Plato and Aristotle spoke of the slave population in this tone, contending that both they and all "barbarians" were intended by nature for slavery, a proposition which Aristotle considered "self-evident." His most classic expression, familiar of course to all, but needed at this point, was :

There are in the human race individuals as inferior to others as the body is to the soul, or as the beast is to man; these are beings suitable for the labours of the body alone, and incapable of doing anything more perfect. These individuals are destined by nature to slavery because there is nothing better for them to do than to obey. . . . Nature creates some men for liberty and others for slavery.<sup>1</sup>

This view scarcely differs from that of the classical economists with regard to wage earners, and it reflects somewhat accurately the popular ideas even to-day on the question of social classes.

The slaves of Greece and Rome, the plebeians of later Rome, the serfs and villains of feudal times, and the labouring and menial classes of all ages have belonged to a different race from that of the citizens, patricians, nobles, lords, and upper classes generally. They represent the conquered races of the world, and had occupied those social positions since long before there was any written history of the countries in which they lived. It is this fact that concealed their true origin for so long and obscured the great ethnic principle that underlies the social classes. The idea prevailed universally that they were *naturally* inferior, and that the existence of social classes was a natural condition and must always continue. But it is now beginning to be seen that the existence of lower classes was the result of early subjugation in the struggle of races which took place in the savage stage of man.

<sup>1</sup> *Politics*, I, 5.

Although this truth was discovered by sociologists, still the sociologists are among the last to recognize it. Certain jurists have seen that it accords with the history of jurisprudence and are bringing it forward as the groundwork of that science. Speaking of blood-revenge in primitive societies, M. Raoul de la Grasserie says :

It does not exist among castes or classes, for these do not originate at the beginning. They are formed only after the conquest. The Pariahs of India are conquered peoples. The *roturiers* of France were the Gauls conquered by the Franks. There must be two peoples of different race and civilization in order that the superior blood remain pure from the inferior blood . . . . Classes at the height of their intensity are castes. These latter are not found in every country, but probably have so existed, and classes may be regarded as attenuated castes. . . . The members of one caste do not, at least originally, belong to the same race as those of another. The Pariahs of Hindustan are conquered peoples; the serfs and villains of France belonged to the Celtic nation opposed to the Germanic of their lords. Of course this difference has often been effaced, but it was the fundamental distinction.<sup>2</sup>

It is, however, the ethnologists who have most clearly perceived this truth and who are best prepared to illustrate it. How closely the social classes in Greece resembled the castes of India is shown by M. Topinard when he says :

In Athenian times, a while previously to Solon, the proportion of the population was as follows : Citizens of all classes, 9 per cent. ; strangers, subject to severe restrictions, 18 per cent. ; slaves, 73 per cent. The warrior, magisterial, and priestly classes were the higher classes ; the merchants, the artisans, and the agriculturists formed the middle class ; the common labourers, the lower class or plebs.<sup>3</sup>

The same author, speaking of the castes of India, says that their aim

was to prevent a mingling of the conquering Aryans with the Dravidians, and consequently the absorption of the former. The first caste was composed of Aryans supposed to be pure, the second of Aryans and Dravidians crossed, the others of Dravidians. The black aborigines were excluded from the classification, and bore the name of Pariahs.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> *Annales de l'institut international de sociologie*, Tome XI, Paris, 1907, pp. 153, 181, 182.

<sup>3</sup> Paul Topinard, *Science and Faith, or Man as an Animal and Man as a Member of Society*; Translated by Thomas J. McCormack, Chicago, 1899, p. 201.

<sup>4</sup> Topinard *op. cit.*, p. 202.

(Continued next month.)

Custom makes cowards of us all.

"English is a funny language, after all, isn't it?" "Why so?"  
 "I heard a man, talking of a political candidate the other day, say:  
 'If he only takes this stand when he runs he'll have a walk-over.'"

# REVIEWS

INDEPENDENCE OR CO-PARTNERSHIP IN EDUCATION

by *A. H. M. Robertson.*

(Price One Penny.)

Mr. Robertson's happily named pamphlet consists of a slashing exposure of "the private and strictly confidential draft 'Memorial on University Education,' lately issued to the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress by the Workers' Educational Association." A copy of this memorable document is added as an appendix to the pamphlet. Mr. Robertson shows the spurious nature of some of the proposals from the point of view of the advance of working-class education, e.g. the demand made for the freedom of access to the University of all "talented" persons; and, also, for an increase of the resources available for research work. Both of these demands being more the concern of the salaried class than of the wage workers.

We do not agree, with Mr. Robertson and the W.E.A., as to the necessity for the workers to interest themselves in the question of the excessive cost of living in the Oxford Colleges (the Central Labour College certainly cannot be included in the list; as, including late (?) dinners, the cost for living and tuition is only £52 for 46 weeks). We should think that some of the titled supporters of the W.E.A. will also object to this matter being included in the memorial; for many of them have been at some pains, on occasions, to point out that the expensive living of the rich is a source of employment for the poor.

The author waxes merrily sarcastic over the proposal, in the Memorial, to start a working-class agitation for the abolition of Greek from the University curriculum.

Mr. Robertson agrees with the suggestion for a public inquiry into the spending of College revenues; but says that the suggestion for more public doles for the Universities (as distinct from the College) is stultified because popular control is not demanded. Personally, we are not concerned about any of these "pressing" questions. We fail to see what interests of the workers are involved in them. Since the Universities are simply incubators for the ideas of the ruling class; since only the rule of the workers can make a proper system of national education possible (Mr. Robertson agrees); and since in such a "popularly controlled" institution as the Post Office the beneficial results to the workers engaged are infinitesimal, we are entirely apathetic about these "vital" educational matters.

Apart from these lapses, the pamphlet is a powerful fusilade against the W.E.A. (and University) proposals on working-class education, and, in a fine analysis of the W.E.A. claims and aims, it admirably sums up their methods and proposals by saying "the spirit of the W.E.A. is the spirit of the Osborne judgment." In the concluding portion of the

pamphlet the author, an Oxford University man, makes the most astonishing appeal to the workers that we ever remember to have seen from the pen of a member of the ruling class.

PREPARE FOR ACTION, by *Tom Mann*,  
(Price One Penny).

The author of this pamphlet is too well-known to require any recommendation to those interested in the working-class movement. It is only necessary to say that this treatise—on the necessity for new methods in fighting the employers in industrial disputes—is up to the high standard we should expect from such a gifted and powerful propagandist. We admire the admirable way in which this delicate subject is handled, and the lucidity with which the arguments for the new policy are presented. It comes at an opportune time, and is a useful corrective of the impossiblism of opponents and exponents of new industrial methods. That the author has still retained his hold of the affections of the organized workers was clearly demonstrated recently in Wales. The Western (Anthracite) District, South Wales Miners, on a ballot of the members being taken for the purpose of selecting a speaker for their annual demonstration, selected "our Tom"; the unsuccessful candidate being—Mr. D. Lloyd George, M.P. ! Good old Wales !

Both pamphlets are published by Guy Bowman, 4 Maud Terrace, Walthamstow, London, E.

## General Economic and Social Development of Rome

### III. The Decline of the Roman Empire

"There was no god to defend her in her dire extremity, and Rome was sacked by the Goths."—*Drafer*.

#### THE CONCENTRATION OF POWER A CONSEQUENCE OF THE CONCENTRATION OF WEALTH.

**T**HE vaster the wars that Rome undertook, the vaster the property that fell into the hands of the Roman ruling class. The wealth of Africa, Spain, Greece, and Asia was rapidly concentrating in Italy, and the fewer the hands in which it concentrated, the greater was the aggravation of the evils from which the expropriated mass suffered. The middle class had almost disappeared, thanks to the carnival of usury, while the deluge of slavery swept on with increasing force. About 100 B.C. the number of slaves in Italy was estimated at 14,000,000, while the possessors of solid wealth were represented by some 2,000 families. The subjugation of foreign countries had for its sequel the depopulation of those countries. A typical instance of this was at the conquest of Epirus, where Paulus Æmilius, the Roman General, superintended the butchering or carrying into slavery of 150,000 persons. So exhausting was the toil of the slaves

in Italy, and so great was the consumption of life following from it, that there was no possibility of the slaves by birth meeting the demand for labour. The supply of others by war became necessary. The system of slavery had reached a stage in Roman history where slave-labour became cheaper than animal labour. From this economic condition the idea of the ignobility of labour arose and coloured the politics and philosophy of the age. As was shown in a former article the free artisan class was a rapidly vanishing quantity, and as a consequence, beggary and corruption flourished increasingly. With the disappearance of the free labouring citizen, with his growing dependence upon the charitable doles of the plutocracy, there vanished the need for even the semblance of democracy in the state. *The development of slavery involves the downfall of democracy.* The history of the ancient world is eloquent upon that cardinal fact. In Rome, prior to the inauguration of the state, democracy was present in substance. With the advent of the state, the institution of the Roman Republic, democracy exists only in form, but as free labour yielded the floor to slave labour, the forms are cast aside and the Roman Empire succeeds the Roman Republic. *The concentration of supreme power is an inevitable consequence of the concentration of wealth.* About fifty years before our era the whole power of the senate and the centuries was usurped by three men—Pompey, Crassus and Cæsar. The death of Crassus in Syria left Pompey and Cæsar at the head of affairs, and between them was waged the inevitable struggle for supremacy. The contest culminated at the battle of Pharsalia in Thessaly, 48 B.C., where the army of Pompey was defeated by Cæsar. The latter was thus left master of the world. Although actually Cæsar was ruler of the Roman dominions, nominally, the Roman Empire dates from about 30 B.C., when Octavian became the first Roman Emperor. The dagger of the conspirator could remove a man, but it could not remove the consequences of an economic development which looks out with the same unmoved eye upon the murder of a Cæsar in the capitol as upon the suicide of a Brutus on the blood-stained field of Philippi.

#### THE CONDITIONS OF THE SLAVES

From the point of view of the plutocracy the slaves were the most dangerous element in the Roman dominions. The larger those dominions grew, and, consequently, the more foreign peoples were enslaved, the greater was the vigilance required in watching them. The manner of their treatment was such as to render them desperate. Tacitus tells us that on the occasion of the murder of a member of the ruling class named Pedanius, four hundred slaves of the deceased were put to death, when it was obvious to every one that scarcely any of them had a knowledge of the crime. Indeed the murder and suicide of slaves was an everyday occurrence.

#### DREAMS OF A FREE WORLD

Among the enslaved foreign peoples were the two elements—the ruling faction and the proletarian mass. For the purposes of getting back to

their own homeland the aristocratic class would have been very glad to lead their poorer countrymen in revolt, but the end would only have been to continue rulership. Indeed many slave revolts were betrayed by these enslaved chiefs when it was found that they did not stand to gain by its success, while on the other hand their treachery might purchase them their own freedom.

One important effect of these betrayals would be the growing conviction of an identity of interest which underlay the identity of action of the rulers of all nations. On the other hand the interests of the lowly of all nations would more and more appear to be identical. The lowly must therefore unite irrespective of nationality to overthrow the world-power of class domination for the present personified in Roman rule. All around, however, there lay insurmountable obstacles to the spread of the international understanding among the lowly.

1. The great roads were well watched by the Roman military posts.
2. Reading and writing were little known. Latin language developed only gradually.
3. Barbarian invasions and quarrels between factions of the ruling class.

All this tended greatly to interfere with the building up of the international proletarian movement. The slowness attending the spread of the organization throughout the Roman world in consequence of these obstacles led the more fiery spirits to open revolt, while on the other hand it created among what was the larger number of slaves, a feeling of hopelessness, an attitude of fatalistic resignation. This feeling was fed and this attitude predominated in the degree that these premature uprisings failed.

#### THE SERVILE WARS

The first of these attempts to overthrow the Roman rule by the slaves took place in Spain about 149 B.C. Under the leadership of Viriathus, the slaves for five or six years harassed the Roman armies, defeating them in several battles. But once the Romans could concentrate their forces, it was not a difficult matter to put down these revolts, and they were suppressed with unspeakable cruelty. The second notable revolt broke out in Sicily, 140 B.C., under Eunus, a Syrian slave. But although successful at the first, it met the same fate as that under Viriathus, and it is said that 20,000 slaves were crucified by the Roman authorities. The only other revolt which we can here mention was perhaps the most notable and daring in its character. The scene of the uprising was laid in the southern part of the Italian peninsula about 74 B.C. The leader of the slaves, Spartacus, a Thracian, who had been taken prisoner by the Romans and was now destined to be butchered for their amusement, succeeded in prevailing upon about 70 of his comrades to break out of prison. They made their escape and took refuge on Vesuvius. Spartacus was soon



joined by a large number of slaves who flocked to the standard of revolt from all quarters. He was soon at the head of a formidable army. For upwards of two years he was master of South Italy, defeating the consuls time and again. Finally, however, he was overwhelmed in a desperate battle in which he and many of his followers perished, some 6000 were taken prisoners and were impaled upon crosses set up on either side along the Appian Way.

#### THE EFFECT OF THE FAILURE OF LOCAL REVOLTS

The possibility of overthrowing Roman rule by local uprisings appeared more and more hopeless. All organizations in order to survive had to maintain the strictest secrecy and their function became more of a propagandist character,—spreading the idea of a free world. But as time went on the realization of this ideal appeared farther and farther removed. The hopes of overcoming in a life-time faded away, the pessimistic feeling grew that the task was one beyond human accomplishment, and that some super-human power was necessary in order to bring about the change. There was wanted "a god."

#### A NEW RELIGION

The latter could not come from the gods of the Roman Empire for they were the gods of the mighty who took no interest in the lowly beyond confirming the necessity of their lowliness. The new god would have to be a proletarian god to which all proletarians could turn. Many slaves of course had ceased to believe in any gods, but it was to their interest to encourage the religious yearnings of their mystical brethren. For the religious meeting was the safest place to carry on the work of revolutionary agitation. As Untermann puts it in his excellent little book *Science and Revolution*: "Religion offered the only possibility of organization which the ruling class would not suppress, nay, which it would promote for the same reasons that rulers have ever had for preserving religion, *vis.* because it is an excellent means of dividing the working classes and of strengthening belief in authority."

The new religion and the new god appeared in Palestine, the home of the Jews, a nation that, although older than the Romans, lay very much behind the latter on the road of social evolution. This new religion was to serve as a cloak for concealing the revolutionary aims of the oppressed. How it arose and developed, how it rallied large bodies of the proletariat in the Roman Empire to fight for a free world, how its purpose was diverted and its message perverted by the ruling class against whom it was directed,—all this will be made the subject of an article appearing in our September issue, entitled *The Christian proletariat*.

#### THE DECLINE OF ROME

At the beginning of the Christian era, "the first forebodings of the coming downfall announced themselves, and as the centuries proceeded, the evidences of internal decay accumulated and broke out in leprous spots,

which gradually spread over the entire complexion of that vast aggregation of nations." The accumulation of power and wealth gave rise to a universal depravity never before or since equalled. Rome itself became a festering mass of rotteness. Murder was made a system; adultery an art; gluttony a mark of social distinction. Women actually reckoned the years not by the consuls, but by the number of men they had lived with. It was said of these debauchees "they eat that they may vomit, and vomit that they may eat." All this corruption was a consequence of the concentration of wealth and power in Rome. As a matter of fact Rome was ruined long before "the Goth was at her gates." Slavery, vigorously assisted by merchants', and usurers' capital, was the force which really opened the gates to the German tribes. Although standing on a lower plane of economic development, they lacked in their institutions the degrading effects arising from the higher industrial level upon which the Romans stood. From the self-destructive tendencies of slavery no new life could come, and it was only because these barbarians knew nothing of slavery that they were able to lift the Roman power out of the slough into which the economic forces had driven it.

#### THE FALL OF ROME

The true close of the Roman Empire is found in the reign of Constantine the Great, although the actual fall of Rome does not take place till later. Constantine saw that the only way to put down the proletarian movement, which during his reign, had, in spite of the most relentless and horrible persecution reached huge dimensions, was to divide it. In almost every village there was to be found the Christian organization. How did Constantine succeed in dividing the movement, in taking the sting out of this proletarian religion? *By adopting it. He too became a Christian.*

Christianity became with that the religion of the state, of the ruling class. That which was to have been the means for the overthrowing of human exploitation now became a means for perpetuating it. Constantine's trump card saved the Roman hand at a moment when immediate collapse was an everyday expectation. Obtaining the mastery of the internal forces which threatened the Empire, Rome was able to resist the attacks of the external forces a little longer. But the end was inevitable. At midnight, on the 24th of April, 410 A.D., by the treachery of slaves, the Salarian gate was opened to Alaric, and the Goths poured into the city which had been the starting point, and was now the culminating point, of the Roman rule. The invasion and overthrow of the Roman Empire transformed the whole face of Europe. The ancient world with its slave-economy was now to yield the floor to the mediæval world with its serf economy.

#### THE CAUSE OF THE BARBARIAN MIGRATION

Until quite recently the barbarian invasion of Europe was a problem lacking an intelligible solution. For many centuries it was commonly believed that these rude and uncultured invaders were the instruments

whereby the Divine wrath was visited upon the Romans for their sins. The most scientific explanation of the phenomenon is that put forward by Peter Kropotkin :—

Men of science have not yet settled upon the causes which over some two thousand years ago drove whole nations from Asia into Europe, and resulted in the great migration of barbarians which put an end to the West Roman Empire. One cause, however, is naturally suggested to the geographer as he contemplates the ruins of populous cities in the deserts of Central Asia, or follows the old beds of rivers now disappeared, and the wide outlines of lakes now reduced to the size of mere ponds. It is dessication (drying up): a quite recent dessication, continued at a speed which we formerly were not prepared to admit. Against it man was powerless. When the inhabitants of Northwest Mongolia and East Turkestan saw that water was abandoning them, they had no course open to them but to move down the broad valleys leading to the lowlands and to thrust westward the inhabitants of the plains.

The material circumstance, therefore, of a failing water supply was the prime mover in the migration of those Asiatic barbarians, and which culminated in the disappearance of the Roman world.

#### PHILOSOPHY IN ROME

Rome produced no original philosophy or philosophers. Lucretius and Cicero were for the most part the leading exponents of a philosophy that was essentially a Grecian product. Greek learning predominated until the fall of Rome, when it was driven from Europe to find refuge among the Arabians. The Romans were on a lower plane of economic development than the Greeks when they conquered Greece, just as the conquerors of Rome were. And in both cases the conquerors adopted many of the institutions of the conquered. The Grecian philosophy, having its roots in the environment of class rule, was eminently suited to the developing Roman state. But it never attained the prominence in Rome that it had in Greece, and for this reason—Rome was almost continually engaged in war, internally and externally. The warrior therefore predominated over the thinker, the practical over the speculative. The intellectual product that took precedence in the Roman world was thus naturally historical works and epics. For the great mass of the people there was practically no mental life. Superstition developed among them in the degree that their material conditions became more oppressive, while on the other hand for the ruling class, scepticism flourished in proportion to the growing anarchy in the state.

#### ART IN ROME

Roman art is a true reflex of the military status of the Roman organization. Monuments of heroes and triumphal arches on which were portrayed fighting groups, were the chief representation. Everything depicted was

calculated to appeal to the patriotism of the young Romans. There was no higher glory than to die "for the ashes of his fathers and the temples of his gods." The latter were emblematic of courage and strength which were the highest virtues naturally in a military organization. The games and exercises of the children had the same military character.

#### THE STATUS OF WOMAN IN ROME

The position of woman in Rome was pretty much akin to her position in Greece. During a certain period of Roman history it was in some measure more favourable. She could not only inherit, but she had the right to administer her own estate. In that respect she was more fortunate than the Grecian woman. Some idea of her status at this time may be gleaned from a complaint of Cato the Elder, who lived two hundred years before our era. "If, after the example of his ancestors, every head of a family kept his wife in proper subjection, we should not have so much public bother with the whole sex." In this earlier period to which Cato here refers, the father, so long as he lived, held the guardianship of his daughter, and when he died, the nearest male of kin acted in that capacity. The Roman woman, therefore, in the eyes of the Roman law, had no will of her own. One hundred years before our reckoning, free divorce for both sides was general. Attempts were made to stop this practice, but the conditions were such that these attempts failed.

In the latter centuries of the Roman rule, when Rome became the centre of debauchery and riotous luxury, the relations of the sexes took forms that only insanity could dictate. Adultery took on huge dimensions, and to escape the punishment prescribed for this practice the leading women of Rome sought legal shelter by registering themselves as prostitutes. The celibacy and childlessness which followed, with the resultant dwindling of the population, led the Emperor Augustus to penalize celibacy and reward childbearing. The childless could only inherit one half of a fortune: the other half went into the state coffers. If a woman was convicted of adultery, one half of her dower went to the husband. But this misfortune, for many Romans was turned into a piece of good fortune. Many men married out of speculation on their wives' adultery. In this connexion Plutarch bluntly observed, "The Romans marry not to obtain heirs but to inherit." Later on it was made a law that married women who sought an asylum in the public register of prostitutes, should be banished. For the men there was no punishment. *They were the owners of the commodity.* The owner has his rights; the commodity has none. Women and the labourer—slave, serf, or wage that is one side of the shield of class rule, of private ownership: prostitution and poverty, that is the other side. The dark shadow that takes its shape in the ancient world follows on the heels of capital in the modern world. *To remove the shadow, eliminate the substance that throws it.*

W. W. CRAIK.

*Next Month*:—The Christian Proletariat. By Joseph Dicks