

THE
"Plebs" Magazine

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EDITORIAL

AUGUST BANK HOLIDAY MONDAY! The name has a charm for many. It will always have a charm for us whether it serve to remind us of two or of twenty such days. The Romans, it is said, counted the years by the consuls. In many respects we count them, as a movement, by the August Bank Holidays. They are the milestones on the line of march at which we pause to look around us and to fortify our powers of endurance for the miles yet to be covered ere we arrive at the destination that we have set ourselves to reach. True, we have only just passed the first milestone. And what an eventful mile it has been! So short and yet so seeming long, so hopeful and still so full of anxious moments. Twelve months ago we had to record the never to be forgotten starting out upon the new path, the doings of that day when we turned our back on Gommorah and set our face toward Hebron. Gigantic as the task was which had been set down for accomplishment, the Preliminary Conference of 1909 charged us with an enthusiasm and a determination from which we were able to draw deeply in some of the dark days within the last twelve months. And it has been in the dark days that we have discovered friend and foe, not only of the Central Labour College, but of the working-class movement in general. The propaganda for independent working-class education has been a powerful searchlight whose rays have penetrated the length and breadth of the field revealing the position and tactics of the enemy. We have not failed to observe the number of people with proletarian faces in the camp of the enemy. Neither have we neglected to challenge them on their return to the lines of Labour. Whereupon they have rebuked us for our sectarian impertinence and our intolerant narrowness. "The field is broad" they say, "and you would cut us off from the best portion of it. The enemy must be captured and you refuse to allow

us to capture him." And when we ask how they propose to carry this out we learn that the enemy are to be good enough to furnish the weapons and instruction for its own overthrow. No wonder these simple souls are attracted to the enemy's camp where they are spoken of as "men of great promise." Verily they have their reward! "I want to preach a sermon 'bout de o'man," said the coloured deacon, "and yit I makes no doubt but Satan got him." "Why," objected a brother, "he was a mighty good man." "I well know he was," replied the deacon, "but Satan got mighty queer ways 'bout him. He sometimes wants a saint ter season de soup." The governing class have this Satanic idiosyncrasy highly developed. It has become for them a staple necessity. In an age when the customers become more sceptical and critical of the capitalist soup, seasoning is indispensable, and the greater the saint the stronger the seasoning. This is well illustrated in the educational world to-day. The signatures of the Labour representatives to the Oxford and Working-Class Education Joint Committees Report indicate the seasoning in the soup, which Mr. Mansbridge of the W.E.A. tells us in a recent issue of the *Co-operative News* is of a highly nutritious character and has as yet not been criticized by thinking people. Mr. Mansbridge is a great authority on "thinking." His classic formula is "Think! Think! Think!" Do not be so crude as to ask *what about?* Take no thought of what you shall think, for the University Don knoweth whereof ye have need.



CHEAPNESS is *the* great argument in capitalist society. It is ever to the fore in the propaganda of capitalism whether in the industrial, political, or educational fields. But cheapness is not generosity although it is often made to appear so. Especially is that true in the educational department. A student can join a Tutorial Class of the W.E.A. on the payment of 1s. per year. The fee, however, for a Central Labour College Class is 6s. per year. The difference in charges is to be explained only by the source of the finance in the two movements. The W.E.A. movement is assisted by Government grants and the private subscriptions of wealthy people who are very anxious about the future of "the Trade Union secretary and the Labour member."

The Central Labour College movement draws its financial support from the wage-earning class for whose interests it exists. Having an object, standing for a definite purpose, there is no danger of any Government grants finding their way into its exchequer. If the *price* of the "thinking process" is the determining factor, then the working class will Think! Think! Think! about "nothing in particular and everything in general." If on the other hand it is the *subject matter* of the thought process that will decide support, then the promoters of University culture for the working class may

retire and cudgel their brains for some new scheme of "class-merging." The proletarian movement must draw from its own funds if it would draw from its own strength and assert its self-sufficiency. The finance necessary to the administration of a Labour College must partake of the same character, must be derived from the same source as that which provides for the working of a Trade Union or a Labour Party.



THIS question of finance occupied an important place both in the deliberations of the Central Labour College and Plebs League Conferences. Whether or not the universal equivalent be the root

**The
Financial
Difficulties.**

of all evil, the lack of it has proved a heavy handicap to our educational movement. Not a few times has it come perilously near shattering our hopes and even now the storm is by no means over. To those not directly in contact with the college it would be difficult to convey anything like an adequate idea of the trying times through which the institution has passed. That it has weathered the storm so far is due not to the people one might have at first sight supposed to be interested and attentive—to those who occupy a place in the official forefront of the Labour movement—but for the most part, to members of the rank and file throughout the country. It is the rank and file that have made the institution what it is. It is they who have used their voice, pen and purse for the propagation of its principles. The recent Conference was marked by a spirit of keen recognition of the importance of the work to be done, of the present circumstances and the necessity of surmounting the financial difficulties. There was no lacking in the enthusiasm that characterized the Conference of 1909. The developments that have taken place within the last twelve months have all helped to clarify and give definite shape to the movement and the recent Conference was marked by a tone of greater certainty which could not have been expected to be present at the preliminary stage. The field of working-class education has taken on a wider aspect and revealed many requirements which could not be discerned eighteen months ago. If "Time" tries us keenly it also aids us powerfully. The years must find us stronger while it leaves the enemy weaker. We represent the rising cause. Ruskin College and the principles and policy it stands for represents the old age of class rule. The gulf between the two becomes more impassable every day. That fact was clearly recognized at the recent conference. *Where there is no identity of principle, there can be no fusion of forces.* During the past months the connexion between Ruskin College and the University has become so patent that only the dishonest can deny it. A goodly number of the lectures appearing upon the Ruskin lecture-list have been delivered in the various University Colleges, and at this moment an appeal for the financial

support of Ruskin College is going the rounds and which is signed by a large number of University Professors and Lecturers. Just as the Liberal Party stand to gain a greater financial backing than the Labour Party, so will Ruskin College, which stands for the same thing as Liberalism; experience less difficulty in securing funds than the Central Labour College. For the object of the third army of labour, the army of working-class education, is of such a character, and its advance of such momentous calamity to the existing order, that every available force and finance will be rallied to the assistance of an institution that seeks to preserve, under the pretence of democracy, *the bureaucracy*. If it succeed the calamity will be equally great for the Labour Movement. It is in the early days that a movement requires the greatest care and attention. It is in these tender years of infancy that the Central Labour College requires the closest guardianship. Only its parent, the working class, can perform this function. Its ability to continue its development, to put on strength, and to apply that strength to the parental cause, will depend entirely on the support it receives during the next twelve months. Our supporters may not be so numerous as those of Ruskin College, or their banking account so large, but every one of them has the power in his hands to make the continued existence of the Central Labour College secure. Few are the pounds of the proletariat. It is for that reason that there exists a proletariat. It is for that reason we require a proletarian education. During the next six months the Central Labour College requires £500. In that time we are perfectly certain that there are 500 supporters who can each collect £1. Surely that is not too much to ask from men who are conscious of the importance of the work that our movement is doing and can yet do. To those that consider the sacrifice too great to make, we invite them to look at the item of "salaries" in the Balance Sheet of the College which appeared in our last issue, or to the entirely gratuitous work of "the father of us all," whom so many love and respect. We ask them to show a concrete manifestation of that respect in the way we suggest. How many promises to carry this out can we have before our next going to press?



To those who have so warmly supported us during the past twelve months we desire to record our most sincere appreciation. It is one more triumphant testimony to the truth of our teaching that

**Our
Supporters.**

those sections of the working class who are most industrially advanced have been to the front in the new educational movement. The miners—especially the South Wales Miners' Federation—and the railwaymen of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, have been our strongest and most enthusiastic supporters. The first body to support the Central Labour College was the Western Valleys District of Miners in Monmouthshire, and

right whole-heartedly did they come forward. Nothing could have been more fitting than having Mr. George Barker, the Miners' Agent for that district, in the chair at the first A.G.M. of the College. Anything that we might say in the way of eulogy could not add to the great merit of the chairman of that day. If the Central Labour College turn out every year a few George Barkers, it will prove in a very tangible way its value to the Labour Movement. The Principal very appropriately referred, in his report to the Conference, to the invaluable work performed on behalf of the College by the *Railway Review*. Fearlessly and unflinchingly it has stood by us from the very day of the memorable Ruskin College strike, and has dared to utter, what many papers—regarded as much more advanced—had not the courage to utter. It is in a very large measure responsible for the active and increasing support of the College by the railway workers in the A.S.R.S. We speak with some inside knowledge when we say that the prominent position occupied by the A.S.R.S. in the Trade Union Movement is due in a very large degree to the excellent work of the *Railway Review*. That it may go on with the work which it is doing so well in the cause of railwaymen and the working class generally, is our sincere wish.



As for the staff and students of the College, their work during the past twelve months speaks more eloquently in praise than we could pen in words. The patient and tireless work of Mr. Hird—a work entirely, as we have already said, performed without any financial recompense, and in the face of most trying difficulties—can best be understood and appreciated by those who know him, and serves but to increase the figures on the credit side of Labour's ledger. His speech at the evening meeting on Bank Holiday Monday was a masterpiece of oratorical eloquence, and left a lasting impression on the minds of all those present. Space would fail to contain, and words would fail to express, the good works of all those who have kept the faith and the fact. For the rest, we go on our way strong in the strength of the class that has

**Those
Within.**

Nothing to lose but its chains,
That has a world to win.

W. W. C.

* * * Mr. Ablett's article on "Wages," and Mr. Dick's article on "The Christian Proletariat," are unavoidably held over.

Owing to ill health Mr. Sims has been unable to give due attention to the League work. For any delay that has, or may occur, the indulgence of members and readers is asked.

We have a few busts of Dennis Hird on hand. Price to clear, 1/6 each, carriage paid—Half original price.

The Second Annual Meet

Report: "Plebs" League and Magazine

THE MEETING opened at 3 p.m. The late start being due to the time occupied by the morning Conference of the Central Labour College. Mr. T. E. Groves who was to have presided was unwell, so the meeting proceeded to the election of another chairman, choice falling upon Mr. W. F. Hay, of Porth.

The Chairman, in his opening remarks, pointed out that the League was a peculiar and unique organization. Its purpose was the propagation among their fellow-workers of the principle of independence in education. They already had, however faulty, independent industrial and political machinery, they now sought to carry out the same principle in educational work. But an ideal, however, would have very small effect or results without some material expression of it. In this case there was no difficulty. The Central Labour College was a concrete expression of the ideal for which they stood. Their work was two-fold; (a) to make the Central Labour College a success by securing for it the support of Labour bodies; (a) by keeping to the fore, at the same time, the one thing that would make the College and its work a success from the Labour point of view, *viz.*, the special and peculiar nature of the teaching required in such an institution. History, Economics, and Sociology from the working-class standpoint, was their educational demand, and in seeking the support of the labour organizations this demand should be explained and emphasized. He had no fear of the result. If they did their work wisely and well, the coming years would reveal the value of their efforts, in the shape of a clearer understanding throughout their movement of the real needs of Labour and the means to be adopted to bring about the consummation of their ideal—the complete emancipation of the workers, physically and mentally.

ORGANIZERS' REPORTS

The Organizers present were then called upon to give a report of the work done in their districts during the past year.

Mr. Noah Ablett, Rhondda, thought that the work accomplished in South Wales was in every way satisfactory. The League itself has not directly benefited to any great extent in the way of new branches or increase of members. That part of their work had been to some extent neglected by reason of the time occupied in securing the support of the Miners' Federation for the Central Labour College. Having accomplished that in the Rhondda, they had now started to organize classes on the same lines as those at Rochdale. He prophesied that this would be accomplished at an early date. They would try and keep up a permanent association between the Classes, the College, and the "Plebs" by starting branches of the League.

Mr. Gill, Abertillery, reported that their efforts in Monmouth had been very successful from the College point of view. They had secured the support of the district for a levy and students. The magazine had also benefited in the way of increased sales. They had a difficulty in the matter of forming branches of the League owing to the formation of a society which met educational demands on the same lines as the College, in addition to offering many other advantages in the way of social intercourse. On the whole he thought they had every reason to be gratified with the result of their efforts.

Mr. Keating, Luton, explained that he had accepted a position which meant constant travelling, he therefore had little opportunity to do much work for the League in the neighbourhood of his home. In travelling about he did what he could to interest people in the College and the League, and with a certain amount of success.

Mr. Stewart, Belfast, pointed out that the difficulty in Belfast was to show how the League could be of immediate advantage in an educational way. The W.E.A. had started classes there, and he found a difficulty in opposing them, and assisting the movement for independence in education, by reason of having nothing to offer in place of the W.E. A. Classes. Many people there had admitted the reactionary nature of the W.E.A. teaching, but argued that as there was nothing else to be had they had better take that than go without. However, now the Correspondence Department of the Central Labour College was being opened they might be able to alter this.

Mr. Watkins, Hephthorne Lane, said that owing to the isolated nature of the district where he lived it was almost impossible to organize branches or classes. However, he had been able to secure the support of people in other districts, such as Sheffield, with advantage to the League and the Central Labour College and the consequent loss to such reactionary ventures as the W.E.A.

Mr. G. W. Watson, Paddington, reported large increase in sales of the magazine. He had also written to, and visited branches of his Society in the interests of the Central Labour College. This work had done much to secure the support of a fairly large number of railwaymen in London for the College. He was hopeful of further increasing the sales of the magazine, but could promise nothing in the way of organizing branches of the League.

In connexion with the reports of organizers, a lengthy discussion took place on organization work for the League. It was generally felt that no hard and fast lines of organization methods could be laid down. Each district would have to do what it could, in its own way, and guided by its own particular requirements and conditions,

AUDITOR'S REPORT.

Mr. Tom Rees, Plumstead, reported that he had gone into the accounts of the League. The Financial Statement, he would put before them, was a clear and correct record of the financial transactions of the League taken from the documents and vouchers in the possession of the Secretary. The Secretary would no doubt explain and amplify the statement so that all he needed to do was to read the items and balances.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS. "PLEBS" LEAGUE
AND MAGAZINE, 1908-1910.

INCOME.

To Receipt Book I., and up to receipt 29 in Book II, per Mr. Pratley	14	7	0		
„ Receipt Book II., 31 onwards	6	8	6½		
„ „ „ III.	15	10	9		
„ „ „ IV.	15	13	2½		
„ „ „ V.	15	7	5½		
„ „ „ VI.	13	17	10		
„ „ „ VII.	17	19	7½		
„ „ „ VIII.	17	14	4		
„ „ „ IX.	13	14	3½		
„ „ „ X. to Receipt 25	6	4	3		
				136	17 3½
„ Balance of Special Strike Fund (see June No., 1909, "Plebs" Magazine)				1	12 10
„ 100,000 Shillings Fund				16	2 11
„ Sale of Pamphlets				8	17 1
„ Special Levy, 1909... ..				2	14 10
„ Balance down, July 25, 1910				46	17 8
				Total	<u>£213 2 7½</u>

EXPENDITURE.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By Printing : Fox, Jones & Co. : Magazines ...	98	4	0			
„ „ „ „ Pamphlets ...	31	6	3			
„ „ „ „ Other Items ...	3	14	8			
				133	4	11
„ Adverts. "Justice" (3)	0	7	6			
„ "Clarion" (1)	0	7	0			
„ "Labour Leader" (1)... ..	0	4	0			
„ Willing & Co.	0	3	4			
				1	1	10
„ Hire of Halls : August Meet	2	1	0			
„ „ „ Japanese Café	0	5	0			
„ „ „ I.L.P. Room	0	1	0			
				2	7	0
„ Office Materials : to a/c. rendered				1	15	4
„ Postage : Magazines. 1909	14	10	9			
„ „ „ 1910 (6 months)	6	11	3			
„ „ „ Receipts, Parcels, &c.	6	6	11			
				27	8	11

By Postage : Return of Membership Subscriptions				
to Expelled Members	0	3	0	0 3 0
„ Cash in Hand : George Sims				0 3 11½
„ Balance due to Fox, Jones & Co., 25-vii.-10 ...				46 17 8
				Total £213 2 7½

Audited and found correct.—TOM REES, August 1st, 1910.

SECRETARY'S REPORT.

The first thing to be considered is the financial position. To the debt to Printers they would have to add £3 15s. 10½d. paid in advance for magazines. Deducting the small balance in hand this left roughly a debt of £50. Sums were owing to the League to the extent of some £21, this sum was not really the total amount owing, but the amount which they had a reasonable chance of recovering. The loss on postage of the magazine (£21) nearly accounted for the remainder of debt. It would also be seen that a heavy loss had been incurred on the pamphlet "The Burning Question of Education." It was issued as a means of propaganda in a direction to which the general mass of workers were indifferent. Thousands had been given away, mainly to or for the College. It would thus be seen that if the present indebtedness to the Printers could be cleared, there was no reason why the magazine should be discontinued. At the start the magazine was in the nature of a speculation. We sent out 1500 copies the first few months, a good many of which were never paid for. Since then it had been a process of see-saw, so far as the circulation was concerned. Some of the people to whom they were sent wrote asking us to discontinue the supply; others were written to, and no reply being received the sending of the magazine was stopped, some had decreased the number originally sent to them, others had increased their supply. It has been estimated that about 350 to 400 were paid for the first month or two of the first year. The number sent out this year (six months) had averaged 890 per month, of these about 800 were actual sales. The actual sales needed to make the magazine a paying concern was 1,000 per month, this was allowing for the loss in every case of the cost of postage. During the year there had been a great decline in membership subscriptions. A good deal of help might be given the magazine if those who took more than one every month would pay the cost of postage.

Throughout the time the magazine had been run there had been a lack of support from members in the way of articles for publication, it was hoped that this would be remedied in the future.

The Chairman thought it would facilitate business if questions arising out of the report were asked first, and if they then went on to discuss the best way of meeting the financial difficulty presented in the statement of accounts. This was agreed to.

FINANCIAL SUPPORT.

After questions had been asked and answered, the Chairman called for suggestions *re* finances. Many suggestions were made and discussed. It was agreed that the first step would be to ask those present to give gifts of money, or I.O.U.'s redeemable on November 1st next. The result was a collection of £5 9s. od. and promisory notes for £16 5s. od.

Collection was made up as follows :—Messrs. W. G. E. Pratley, 20/-; Noah Ablett, 10/-; G. W. and F. Brown, J. Evans, A. Herbert, Tom Rees, J. Reynolds, and C. Watkins, 5/- each; Edward Gill, John Jones, and "Unknown," 2/6 each; A. Evans, and H. Kershaw, 2/- each; J. B. Flint, W. F. Hay, G. W. Watson, and J. V. Wills, 1/- each. Some money was handed in without the names of the donors.

I.O.U.'s made up as follows :—M. Bridges Adams, B. T. Ames, Fred Burgess, W. W. Craik, George Dolling, J. Evans, F. W. Fox, J. B. Flint, Edward Gill, T. P. Keating, A. A. Nokes, W. G. E. Pratley, Tom Rees, J. Reynolds, and C. Watkins, 20/- each; A. Herbert, and Miss Hodermann, 15/-; Noah Ablett, 10/-.

Some discussion took place on the possibility of increasing the payments by members, but, after several resolutions had been put and lost, it was decided that the financial side remain unaltered, with a recommendation to members to do all they can to increase the sale of the Magazine, and the membership of the League. The meeting then dissolved.

MAN'S FINAL CONQUEST

THE CONFERENCE: EVENING MEETING

POINTS FROM MR. HIRD'S SPEECH

After all the fiery oratory of to-day what remains to be said? You know my ideas of life and man. It is vain therefore to reiterate a system. You should be more enthusiastic than I, it is vain therefore for me to try and stir your enthusiasm.

All has been said to make a decent world—and very little done. The mills of the gods are wind mills, and truly, in another sense, they grind exceeding small!

We are staggered by the stupidity of the world. The wind-bags of doctrines still skirl their bagpipes over full coffins, and in the midst of our poverty churchyards are fat!

Last year we had the presence and help of Professor Lester F. Ward—my friend and master. Those of us who were stirred to such unwonted enthusiasm by his eloquence are not likely to forget that occasion. In conversations you had with him afterwards, he taught you many great and fundamental truths.

When some one raised a question of philosophic origins, he replied: "Begin by asking, Is the Universe Empty?" These four words form the coffin of all the metaphysics with which men have striven to poison knowledge. If the Universe is "empty," then man's consciousness is a contagious disease; if the Universe is not empty, then there are real objects, whether man is there to perceive them or not.

Beginning from this sane, matter-of-fact point, that things exist outside of the consciousness of man, Professor Ward announced a complete theory of the origins of forms thus—"All results are produced by the *collision* of atoms." But for "collision" all the matter of the Universe would have floated in the respectability of a vapid cloud-sermon in a measureless drift. Motion without collision is unthinkable. Creation without motion is impossible.

We have had a year of collisions, which is another way of saying we have lived. It is our life-work, as humble servants of the higher Evolution, to promote collisions. In fact this is the only apology for a committee and the only justification of every new movement. All reforms, all development, all higher life must draw their support from this fundamental nurse of the cosmic process—collision of atoms.

We now know more of the history of the human struggle than man ever knew before :—

We know, or can know, that marvellous development from fish to man. The process has been laid bare. The laws have been discovered. This new light has revealed the *oneness* of the struggle through fish, amphibians, reptiles, mammals, kings, politicians, and priests. Man is no isolated product. Society is not the artificial invention of a Cabinet. Nations are not bundles of slaves tied together by a Government. The law of action and re-action prevails. Development is inter-action made manifest. All art and fanaticism; science and literature; the carnage of battlefields and the prayers of saints; the "right divine of kings to govern wrong;" and the tears of the heart-broken orphan, are but phases of a struggle which hitherto has lacked the unifying bond of reason.

Our gain from this knowledge is great. When we are familiar with the oneness of the struggle, we may find the remedy in unity. The tinkering at nations, whether we call it generalship or statesmanship, shall pass away and some unifying principle of universal Evolution will open the door of life.

We have a distinct aim :—

Man's highest aim is to conquer nature. He must become actually the lord of creation. Till man can utilize the vast wealth natural and acquired, now found in Society, he is a slave perishing at the door of plenty. Some few treasures of nature have been

garnered, some slight experiments in the developing of Society have been made. Men marvel, but it is the wonder of the child. Those forces, which border on the infinite and which so far have often been the enemies of man, are to be conquered, directed, turned into the nursing mothers of citizens such as the world has nowhere seen. I can give you no picture of the wealth waiting for mankind, if once the unheeded forces of nature, now running to waste, could be tamed and yoked to the car of progress. While the privileged few have been butchering or praying, the enslaved millions have cursed their days in destitution and have been asked to consider famine as the design of Divine Providence. Our aim is the reverse of all this. In the untold forces making for wealth, we reckon the possible intelligence, strength, toil, health and joy of the millions. Somehow all this is to be used reasonably. No lower aim can satisfy the demands of developing man. Philosophical scavengers, who collect waste, when they are not creating it, are no longer to be mistaken for social regenerators.

We have a distinct method:—

We must substitute conscious evolution for unconscious evolution, wealth for waste.

* * * * *

Man is a mammal who has found his feet. Man is *the educable* animal. So we can consciously mould him. He is revolting against his former lord and master—environment. He is passing from slave to the creator. He can make an environment and remake man.

All else has failed. So we are compelled to try education, or hand mankind over to the prison or the lunatic asylum. But education itself must be re-created. The sniffing, droning oddities, who have gleaned the eccentricities of the dark ages, must be supplanted by the living sons of the soil, the mines, and the factories. The cry of the people is for wisdom not for conundrums. Education should mean well being, not a Chinese puzzle made out of a mummy. Men are not much longer to be content with the preserved corpse of a sacred cat.

Man by education must take the helm of the laws of nature, and scientifically navigate the loftiest realm of thought and ride in triumph through the whirlwinds of social emotion.

Here is a mine of wealth beyond the dreams of avarice and the illusions of insanity.

To see the end, and get there, is the one problem before society. Education must be the revelation of our power or it is no education. Further it must teach us to use this power for the *universal* gain of mankind, otherwise, it is merely cultured robbery.

The most optimistic fact, so well taught by Prof. Ward is, that each new plane of development reached *creates* powers for rising to planes at present invisible. When man's ancestor's rose from the four-

footed condition and took to walking on two feet, they *lost* two feet. Now if at this stage they could have consulted an Oxford Professor or a Stockbroker, they would have been advised not to sacrifice two feet. Marvellous arguments, known only to the learned and the worldly, would have been used to show the absurdity of carrying about two useless fore feet. Fortunately, at this stage, no such imperfect reasoning could interfere with the development of man. His ancestors lost two feet, but they gained two hands. This introduced animal life to a new plane. Up to this time the world had never witnessed a creature with hands. No prophet could have foreseen the glories of this revolution. The animal man was born again. By means of hands he could manipulate nature. He could sow corn and make bread; he could build houses and make flying machines; he could throw sunsets on canvas and finger the harp to strains of ecstasy; he could write sermons and print books. Here was a new creature stalking the earth as conqueror, taking the wild forces of nature and taming them into ministering angels.

Again and again man has taken possession of a new plane. Other new planes await him. He may become reasonable. The human race may become *one* in brotherhood. Selfishness may become a crime. One corporate life may yet fuse the nations of earth into one army to fight the disasters of time.

There is a dawning consciousness of the almighty powers of Society. When this consciousness becomes an operating force for the good of all men, Society will be that beneficent creator so often foreshadowed in fable. The wealth, the life, the beauty on that plane will make earth resplendent with the joy of brotherhood and the rapture of delight such as the heart of man has not yet conceived.

* * * * *

Hence we have a revaluation of life:—

Our ideal of wealth is wrong. A man is not what he has. True wealth is not a banking account with a man attached to it. The misled nations rot in oblivion. The sensualist is buried beneath his gold and the crank idealist rides on the wings of the wind seeking a new nightmare.

Emotion is a wealth exceeding land values. Passion is a lever stronger than cranes and engines. Reason is the lord of a light more penetrating than the rays of dawn or the flashes of the thunderstorm. The parents of these forces are Nature and Society. Nature unaided, long since reached her limit. Society, nature's child, becomes the mother of still more lovely offspring.

The hope of man is men.

The highest product of Society is humanity.

Where there are no thieves, there are no aristocrats.

Nature is full of waste, blunders, cruelty, murder. But Society consecrates her graves and for tombstones she rears temples compact of living stones and breathing gems. These are nations.

Man crawling from out of the ooze of the mill-stream of the gods, replenishes the earth, and the corn which he has made he grinds into the bread of life, New children laugh on the banks of the old stream, and the waste margins become sacred with homes.

The magician's wand is Reason and the tool is Toil. Feeling, first the mother of Reason, becomes almighty as it grows and glows into a flame of beauty. This almighty emotion in a false civilization becomes waste, and flowing back upon itself blocks the mills of men, while the canker feeds on their wealth and their glories are moth-eaten.

Then man is the monster of earth, shrouded in superstition, sinking in the morass of greed, clutching at his neighbour's skeleton for companionship, as he mistakes the pestilence for a shrine and the east wind for the moan of god.

Again reason forges the new lever—science. This lever has "lifted Empires off their hinges" and opened highways through mountains of tyranny into the paradise of the ideal. But—but the great inheritance has lain in all its splendour out of the reach of the People!

It is great to conquer nature—it is greater to conquer mankind, but greatest of all will be the conquest of both for the well-being of universal mankind.

Nature at her best is conquered nature. Man at his best is conquered man—man drilled, trained out of an individualistic animal into humanity corporate. The last enemy of mankind is man. Society must transfigure the savage when it has placed all enemies under its feet; and chance, and chaos, and cruelty, and death shall be swallowed up in life, till the lawns of time are beautified with the brilliant troops of a living brotherhood.

* * * * *

Now what keeps this dream of justice and unity out of the world? Is it lack of power, lack of ideals, lack of means? Is the world bankrupt, is human nature played out, is the gilded savage to be man's only triumph? Is the banquet of life to be always hideous with the grinning spectres of sweated toil, is life's music to be for ever drowned by the moans of starved mothers and the cries of famished children? We deny it, we rebel against it, we rise in one red revolt against such failure enblazoned in mockery!

* * * * *

Tell us the remedy! We ourselves are the remedy. We groan under the load of our own power. We are the slaves of our own freedom, the victims of our own ability. We stand at the helm of the world and drive the ship of progress on the rocks of cosmic

failure. The cries of wrecked nations are drowned in the hideous success of our bungling civilization. Man, the almighty director of social forces, sits in chains and shivers in alarm at the thunderbolts he himself has forged.

* * * * *

The whole question lies in this—Can we ourselves guide ourselves? Are we the lords of a life of infinite possibilities, or are we paupers in a crumbling workhouse?

We know; measureless power we have; the fields of life throb with plenty, the palaces of dreams wait to find a lodging on our common earth, the corporate unity of mankind could draw a veil over the graves of the past and unroll before our entranced vision a new earth untarnished with blood, unblackened with starvation, unspotted with ignorance.

Shall we do it, or shall we skulk through life as unpaid grave-diggers?

If we mean a regenerate humanity to flourish in a regenerate Society, then the cruel devices of ignorance, superstition, and fear must be destroyed, and man, the almighty creator, must take possession of his own kingdom, and build thrones of liberty, palaces of equity, and cities whose poorest dwellers drink of the river of life.

Variety was added to the evening meeting with songs and recitations, the artistes including Miss Witts, Messrs. Brown, Burgess, Keating, Slack, Titterington, and Flint (piano). That the various items were much appreciated was demonstrated by the many encores demanded, and the very hearty way in which the vote of thanks to artistes for their services was received.

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Social Classes and Sociological Theory

(Continued.)

OTHER ethnologists have made similar and even more explicit statements of the same kind. Thus Westermarck says:

Castes are frequently, if not always, the consequences of foreign conquest and subjugation, the conquerors becoming the nobility, and the subjugated the commonalty or slaves. Thus, before the Norman Conquest, the English aristocracy was Saxon; after it, Norman. The descendants of the German conquerors of Gaul were, for a thousand years, the dominant race in France; and until the fifteenth century all the higher nobility were of Frankish or Burgundian origin. The Sanskrit word for caste is "varna," i.e., colour, which shows how the distinction of high and low caste arose in India. That country was inhabited by dark races before the fairer Aryans took possession of it; and the bitter con-

tempt of the Aryans for foreign tribes, their domineering spirit, and their strong antipathies of race and of religion, found vent in the pride of class and caste distinctions. Even to this day a careful observer can distinguish the descendants of conquerors and conquered. "No sojourner in India," says Dr. Stevenson, "can have paid any attention to the physiognomy of the higher and lower orders of natives without being struck with the remarkable difference that exists in the shape of the head, the build of the body, and the colour of the skin between the higher and the lower castes into which the Hindu population is divided." The Incas of Peru were known as a conquering race; and the ancient Mexicans represented the culture-heroes of the Toltecs as white. Among the Ben-Amer, the nobles are mostly light-coloured, while the commoners are blackish. The Polynesian nobility have a comparatively fair complexion, and seem to be the descendants of a conquering or superior race. "The chiefs, and persons of hereditary rank and influence in the islands," says Ellis, "are almost without exception, as much superior to the peasantry or common people, in stateliness, dignified deportment, and physical strength, as they are in rank and circumstances; although they are not elected to their station on account of their personal endowments, but derive their rank and elevation from their ancestry. This is the case with most of the groups of the Pacific, but particularly so in Tahiti and the adjacent islands." Among the Shans, according to Dr. Anderson, "the majority of the higher classes seemed to be distinguished from the common people by more elongated oval faces and a decidedly Tartar type of countenance."⁵

We thus perceive that the conditions described are by no means confined to India. The race struggle has been universal, and everywhere it has produced the same effects. The first important institution to grow out of it is that of caste, and social classes even of the most modern times and in the most advanced nations are all consequences, modified forms, and true survivals of the original system of caste. Their ethnic character is never wholly lost sight of, and notwithstanding the great and universal panmixia of races, enough ethnic traits remain to preserve a rude distinction between the higher and lower social classes in every country of Europe, and even in America.

All this may seem to prove the correctness of the prevailing view that the lower classes are really inferior to the upper. If they represent conquered races they certainly must have been inferior to their conquerors at the time of the conquest, at least in military power, otherwise they would not have been conquered. To meet this objection fully it would be necessary to enter into the whole question of the struggle of races and primitive social assimilation, which of course cannot be done at this time.⁶

In simple assimilation the contending races are really equal, neither having as yet been conquered. The success of one in subjugating the other is in that case due to some special circumstance which chanced to give it the mastery. This may have

⁵ Edward Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, 3d edition, London, 1801, pp. 368, 369.

⁶ See Gumpłowicz, *Der Rassenkampf*, Innsbruck, 1883; Ratzenhofer, *Die sociologische Erkenntnis*, Leipzig, 1898; and compare *Pure Sociology*, chap. x.

nothing to do with any inherent superiority of the one over the other. In compound assimilation, which is the only form of which there are any historical examples, the superiority of the conquering race is usually due to its having undergone a larger number of assimilations than the conquered race, whereby it has acquired a higher social efficiency. This does not prove any inherent superiority, since the greater social efficiency is due to superior equipment. There are historical examples of the conquest and subjugation of superior races by inferior ones. When war became a business certain nations prepared themselves exclusively for war. They marshalled armies and invaded foreign countries where the arts of peace were being pursued, and easily conquered them. When in the year 1260 of our era Kublai Khan, trained in the art of war so successfully practised by his grandfather Genghis Khan, marched his conquering legions into China, subdued it, and established the present Tartar Dynasty in the Celestial Empire, it was a case of a relatively low, semi-barbaric race conquering a far higher and more civilized race. Few Englishmen, I imagine, will admit that a Saxon is essentially inferior to a Norman Frenchman, yet the last great conquest of England was the Norman Conquest.

A certain kind of inferiority of the lower classes to the upper is admitted. There is physical inferiority and there is inferiority in intelligence. This last is not the same as intellectual inferiority. Their physical inferiority is due entirely to the conditions of existence. As a subject race, as slaves, as overworked labourers or artisans, as an indigent and underfed class, their physical development has been arrested and their bodies stunted. These conditions long continued have told upon them through heredity and have brought about whatever physical inferiority they manifest.⁷ Their unequal intelligence has nothing to do with their capacity for intelligence. Intelligence consists in that capacity together with the supply of information for it to expend itself upon.⁸ We see therefore that both kinds of inferiority of the lower classes are extraneous and artificial, not inherent and natural.

I need not here go again over the ground already several times travelled, to show that, as a matter of fact, every time that the lower classes have been brought under conditions where they could manifest their natural and inherent equality with the upper classes they have done so in such a manner as to leave no doubt with regard to that equality. I shall therefore leave that aspect of the case and pass to the consideration of another quite different aspect upon which very little has ever been said.

I refer now to the admitted natural inequalities of men. This is observed on every hand by all, and so ingrained is the idea that the lower classes of society are such by reason of these natural inequali-

⁷ *Pure Sociology*, pp. 286-89, 446, 447.

⁸ *Applied Sociology*, pp. 39, 91-95, 269-71.

ties that there has never been any attempt to analyse the subject with a view to ascertaining whether this is really true or not. Whenever the abolition of social classes is hinted at it is pronounced utopian, and the common and supposed final answer is that if we were to suppose them once really done away with, on account of the natural inequalities of men, they would almost immediately be restored, and every man would find his level. This usually closes the argument, and I have yet to see any attempt to answer it. And yet this is really such a superficial view that it falls to pieces upon the simplest inspection. It receives its death blow the moment we recognize the obvious fact that all these natural inequalities are to be found in all classes and within every class, and that no degree of intellectual deficiency is ever sufficient to cause its possessor to be removed to a lower social class. The weakest minds occur in the highest classes, and Lord Dundrearys are by no means rare. This does not make them any the less lords. We might well wish that social classes were based on some such rational grounds as this theory assumes. Unfortunately such is not the case, and not only are weak minds found in the higher classes, but, what is perhaps worse, strong minds are found in the lower, where they have no chance to work to any purpose. As Professor Huxley said of exceptional men, "no man can say where they will crop up; like their opposites, the fools and knaves, they appear sometimes in the palace and sometimes in the hovel."

But this, while it completely overthrows the prevalent view that social classes are based on natural inequalities, is far from being the last word on that subject. We have seen that social classes are wholly due to artificial conditions, and that the inequalities which they manifest are all artificial inequalities. These have the effect to produce social cleavage or social stratification. They place one man over another regardless of his worth, and generate the whole series of inconsistencies and misfits with which society is afflicted.

Now natural inequalities also have a powerful effect on society. It is not the opposite of that produced by artificial inequalities. It is entirely different. As we have seen, they have no tendency to produce social classes, but they permeate every class alike. Moreover, their effect, instead of being injurious, is highly beneficial. Natural inequalities rarely tend to make one man superior or inferior to another. They simply make men different from one another. This is highly desirable. Of course there are brilliant minds and there are feeble minds. An excess of the latter quality relegates its victim to the class of social dependents. It becomes a pathological condition. Society cares for these wards, to whatever class they may belong. With them we have nothing to do. But the principal

inequalities belong to normal minds. They simply represent mental differences. No two minds are exactly alike. Mind is capable of almost infinite variation. There may be a thousand varieties no one of which can be called inferior to another. Apparent inferiority is usually due to some peculiarity. Very few minds are perfectly balanced. Some faculties are developed at the expense of others. No normal and sane mind can be deficient in all its faculties. The faculty called "common-sense," the one which makes its possessor appear normal and sane, may be poorly developed, while some other mental power may be greatly in excess. There is a kind of intellectual compensation by which all are equal but in very different ways. Many great geniuses, as all know, have been deficient in the commoner qualities. There is probably no one who does not have some strong side if it could be known. Many no doubt fail during their whole lives to find expression for the chief powers that they possess. If all could have adequate opportunities there would be no member of society incapable of performing some useful service.

Now it is these very inequalities, however extreme, that cause the efficiency of the human race. The actions of men are a reflex of their mental characteristics. Where these differ so widely the acts of their possessors will correspondingly differ. Instead of all doing the same thing they will do a thousand different things. The natural and necessary effect of this is to give breadth to human activity. Every subject will be looked at from all conceivable points of view, and no aspect will be overlooked or neglected. It is due to this multiplicity of view-points, growing out of natural inequalities in the minds of men, that civilization and culture have moved forward along so many lines and swept the whole field of possible achievement.

While therefore the effect of artificial inequalities may be said to be *vertical*, in producing social stratification and creating social classes with all their baleful consequences, that of natural inequalities may be called *horizontal*, spreading out in all directions and compassing the whole earth.

It follows that the great end of all social arrangements should be to discourage artificial inequalities and to encourage natural ones. It would be a great gain if the former could be abolished altogether, and could this be done, as we have seen, natural inequalities would have no tendency to re-establish them. We should have but one social class, or rather, we should have no social classes. All would stand on an equal footing and be enabled to put forth all their energies.

In the present state of society, even in the most advanced nations where the obliteration of class lines has already gone so far, about 80 per cent. of the population belong to what we still call the lower classes. These, although they possess natural inequalities as clearly marked as are those of the upper classes, are practically debarred

from their exercise to any useful purpose. Statistical investigations, as I have shown,¹⁰ prove that, notwithstanding their superior numbers, they furnish less than 10 per cent. of the agents of civilization, and that relatively to population they furnish less than 1 per cent. Their influence in the progress of the world is therefore practically nil, although their capacities are the same as those of the higher classes to whom, notwithstanding their small numbers, nearly all progress is due. This is entirely the result of the social stratification caused by artificial inequalities. The abolition of social classes, could it be accomplished, would therefore increase the efficiency of mankind at least one hundred fold.

It is no part of the purpose of this paper to propose any method of social reform. Its aim is solely to put in a clear light the true nature of social classes, their historical and ethnic origin, and their wholly artificial character. It is hoped thereby to remove them from the list of superficial studies which start from no sound premise and lead to no sound conclusion, and to bring them fairly within the purview of scientific sociology.

¹⁰ *Applied Sociology*, p. 208

LESTER F. WARD.

Correspondence

To the Editor of the "Plebs" Magazine.

A Word on Determinism.

Dear Sir,

I am impelled to write a few lines on the above subject for the simple edification of certain writers to the "Plebs" Magazine, and, incidentally, of others who, while strangely enough, professing belief in Determinism, commit the egregious mistake of speaking or writing on social subjects as though such a fact were non-existent. Fortunately, or unfortunately, I possess a logical mind; and it is because I prefer to be logical rather than sentimental in all I do that I so often am in conflict with some of my fellows concerning the general order of things, and consequently, am compelled to suffer contumely and ostracism. Of course, I do not blame anybody for that: it is all owing to misunderstanding, which, in turn, is owing to our faulty educational system.

We are told on highest authority (and I believe it) that no situation ever was, or can be, but what was conceived rationally and justifiably. Very well. That being so why rail against the existing order of things, as though the contrary were the case? Take "Capitalism" for instance, which some prate so much about—aye, and so vehemently too—betimes. Surely a rational and logical system, at its inception. Outgrown it! Nay, evidently, speaking for the preponderating mass of men; though I am palpably aware that we are *outgrowing* it. Productive of much evil! Admitted. But evil is after all a relative term, and is simply limited good. Possibly—aye, very probably—the same will be said of our most visionary Utopias by the people living in them. It is all a question of taste—of culture. No! I am not arguing for *laissez faire*: not a bit of it. I am

simply pointing out that all our systems, all our institutions, like all our actions, are determined—geographically, economically, physically, psychically. Admit the "Capitalist" system—like every other—as inevitable, and I ask, seriously, What's the use of railing? Let us be at least logical, even if we hurt our susceptibilities in the process. Truer words were never uttered than those of Victor Grayson, at Hull, some few years ago: "Socialism will come," he said, "when the people want it." That is it! Mark, not need it, but "*want*" it, which latter implies an awakened social consciousness.

Surely the safest thing to do is to make the best of what we have got, however imperfect, and go on evolving—ever inspired by the motto: "Without haste and without rest, pushing better up to best." Let us make no mistake about it, *we are evolving*, for therein lies our only hope of salvation. But we can accelerate the pace, someone says. By all means! I am out for that with a vengeance; but to do it, that is the question. Our immediate and imperative duty is to teach, to inspire to loftier and grander things yet to be, believing that they will be, because, having "seen them afar off, we are persuaded of them, and have embraced them." Having seen our visions, we must preach them with intrepid daring, yet with infinite patience.

J. S. WHITEHEAD.

Lord Palmerston: A Character Sketch

RUGGIERO is again and again fascinated by the false charms of Alcine, which, as he knows, disguise an old witch,—
 Sans teeth, sans eyes, sans taste, sans everything,
 and the knight-errant cannot withstand falling in love anew with her whom he knows to have transmuted all her former adorers into asses and other beasts. The English public is another Ruggiero, and Palmerston is another Alcine. Although a septuagenarian, and since 1807 occupying the public stage almost without interruption, he contrives to remain a novelty, and to evoke all the hopes that used to centre on an untried and promising youth. With one foot in the grave, he is supposed not yet to have begun his true career. If he were to die to-morrow, all England would be surprised to learn that he had been a Secretary of State half a century.

If not a good statesman of all work, he is at least a good actor of all work. He succeeds in the comic as in the heroic—in pathos as in familiarity—in tragedy as in farce; although the latter may be more congenial to his feelings. He is not a first-class orator, but an accomplished debater. Possessed of a wonderful memory, of great experience, of consummate tact, of never-failing presence of mind, of gentlemanlike versatility, of the most minute knowledge of Parliamentary tricks, intrigues, parties, and men, he handles difficult cases in an admirable manner and with a pleasant volatility, sticking to the prejudices and susceptibilities of his public, secured from any surprise by his cynical impudence, from any self-confession by his selfish dexterity, from running into a passion by his

profound frivolity, his perfect indifference, and his aristocratic contempt. Being an exceedingly happy joker, he ingratiates himself with everybody. Never losing his temper, he imposes on an impassioned antagonist. When unable to master a subject, he knows how to play with it. If wanting in general views, he is always ready to weave a web of elegant generalities.

Endowed with a restless and indefatigable spirit, he abhors inactivity and pines for agitation, if not for action. A country like England allows him, of course, to busy himself in every corner of the earth. What he aims at is not the substance, but the mere appearance of success. If he can do nothing, he will devise anything. Where he dares not interfere, he intermeddles. When unable to vie with a strong enemy, he improvises a weak one. Being no man of deep designs, pondering on no combinations of long standing, persuing no great object, he embarks in difficulties with a view to disentangle himself from them in a showy manner. He wants complications to feed his activity, and when he finds them not ready, he will create them. He exults in show conflicts, show battles, show enemies, diplomatical notes to be exchanged, ships to be ordered to sail, the whole ending in violent Parliamentary debates, which are sure to prepare him an ephemeral success, the constant and the only object of all his exertions. He manages international conflicts like an artist, driving matters to a certain point, retreating when they threaten to become serious, but having got, at all events, the dramatic excitement he wants. In his eyes, the movement of history itself is nothing but a pastime, expressly invented for the private satisfaction of the noble Viscount Palmerston, of Palmerston.

Yielding to foreign influence in fact, he opposes it in words. Having inherited from Canning England's mission to propagate Constitutionalism on the Continent, he is never in need of a theme to pique the national prejudices, to counteract revolution abroad, and, at the same time, to keep awake the suspicious jealousy of foreign powers. Having succeeded in this easy manner in becoming the *bête noire* of the continental courts, he could not fail to be set up as the truly English minister at home. Although a Tory by origin, he has contrived to introduce into the management of foreign affairs all the shams and contradictions that form the essence of Whiggism. He knows how to conciliate a democratic phraseology with oligarchic views, how to cover the peace-mongering policy of the middle class with the haughty language of England's aristocratic past—how to appear as the aggressor where he connives, and as the defender where he betrays—how to manage an apparent enemy, and how to exasperate a pretended ally—how to find himself at the opportune moment of the dispute on the side of the stronger against the weak, and how to utter brave words in the act of running away.

Accused by the one party of being in the pay of Russia, he is suspected by the other of Carbonarism. If, in 1848, he had to defend himself against the motion of impeachment for having acted as the minister of Nicholas, he had, in 1850, the satisfaction of being persecuted by a conspiracy of foreign ambassadors, which was successful in the House of Lords, but baffled in the House of Commons. If he betrayed foreign peoples, he did it with great politeness—politeness being the small coin of the devil, which he gives in change for the life-blood of his dupes. If the oppressors were always sure of his active support, the oppressed never wanted a great ostentation of his rhetorical generosity, Poles, Italians, Hungarians, Germans, found him in office whenever they were crushed, but their despots always suspected him of secret conspiracy with the victims he had allowed them to make. Till now, in all instances, it was a probable chance of success to have him for one's adversary, and a sure chance of ruin to have him for one's friend. But, if his art of diplomacy does not shine in the actual results of his foreign negotiations, it shines the more brilliantly in the construction he has induced the English people to put upon them, by accepting phrases for facts, phantasies for realities, and high-sounding pretexts for shabby motives.

KARL MARX, *Life of Lord Palmerston.*

Economic Determinism and the Sacred Cows

WHEN an economic need of anything arises, that need has to be satisfied. Sometimes we grow impatient, and say that events move slowly, but when economic pressure becomes strong enough all things yield.

* * * * *

Behold the nations in need of expansion. Their territory is teeming with men and women. They need room for this population to grow. The islands to their left will support millions of people. In one way or another a quarrel arises between the island people and the big country. The island people are whipped and the overflow population flocks into the new country and another province has been added to the home country. And the home country tells the world how it has carried civilization into darkest Manchuria.

In China we see how the rulers of the Empire have recognized the need of industrial development. If China was not to be wholly overrun by the Foreign Invaders, she had need of adopting the methods of production of her enemies. Prejudices gave way. Superstitions and old religious beliefs stepped aside before the new necessity and modern industry was encouraged. Now China is saying "The old way was wrong; but the new way is the right way."

So it was with the sacred cattle of the Malay Peninsula. Here, as in holy Benares, for hundreds of years the sacred cows have been fed upon rosebuds and garlanded with flowers. All that was asked of them was that they eat of the dainties provided by their humble servants, the natives, and chew their cud in philosophic content, as sacred cows.

But England has invaded the Malay Peninsula. Great roads have been laid through the jungles. Trees have been cut down and 10,000,000 rubber trees have been planted in their beds. The tin and gold mines were opened for exploitation, and the export trade last year amounted over to 400,000,000 dollars.

Singapore has become a melting-pot for the Eastern peoples. Here toil labourers of every shade of yellow, black and brown. And the wonderful white man comes also. Chinese there are, strong and bare of shoulder. And hairy Klings as straight as pine trees and darker than the blackest coal. Turbaned Indians and Mohammedans work side by side with the gaily-dressed Japanese, and every boat brings Italians, Spaniards, Germans, and Americans.

Old ideas are being displaced by new ones. Strange words are heard from the mouths of strange peoples. And every day these people are clothing themselves in new ways.

Amid all this medley of peoples, and the constant need for mules, the fall of the sacred cows was inevitable. Doubtless, it was some sacrilegious son of Britain who first suggested pressing them into service to haul the rude carts. Possibly it was the Black Sheep of some respectable Malay family who committed the first outrage. At all events, the beautiful, strong-limbed, snow-white, rose-eating sacred cattle have passed away. To-day they are white oxen drawing rude carts filled with dirt from the new docks in Singapore.

Probably, for this is usually the case, the Old Folks have become accustomed to the ways of the younger generation, and have learned to regard with equanimity the wild innovations of their sons.

Some day, we suppose, the Beef Trust will reach out into the Far East. We are beginning to think at last that "Nothing is certain but Death and the Beef Trust."

And so, it is easy to foretell the ultimate end of the sacred cows. When they become too old and sick and stiff to longer pull the carts of their new masters, when they become valueless for anything save the cannery—But why harrow ourselves further! The lesson of the sacred cattle is plain to all. This it is.

Before Economic Necessity all men bow. Kings abdicate; religions fade away; the Holy of Holies is eaten for lunch and Gods are harnessed to supply the need. Before Economic Necessity nothing is fixed. Nothing is evil. Nothing is sacred!

MARY E. MARCY,

—*International Socialist Review*,