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

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THE

# "Plebs" Magazine

Vol. V. No. 5.

June, 1913

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## The "Plebs" League

## Object

To further the interests of the Central Labour College, for working men and women, at London, and to assist in the formation of similar institutions elsewhere, all of these institutions to be controlled by the organized Labour bodies.

#### Methods

The holding of an Annual Meet: the issuing of a monthly Magazine, the pages of which shall be open to any proposed application of reason to human problems: and the formation of Local Branches to promote the object of the League, and for the study of Social Questions, History, and Economics—from the working-class standpoint.

## Membership

All Students (R. C. and C. L. C.), past and present (Resident and Corresponding) and Sympathizers are eligible for membership

Each Member shall pay 1/- a year towards the Central Fund for general expenses in connexion with the Annual Meet, &c.

## Management

An Executive of five members elected annually, and the Editor of Magazine, who shall be responsible as to publication and meets, &c.

The Magazine shall be 2d. per copy, 21d. post free.

Subscriptions payable in advance: Quarterly 7½d., Half Yearly 1/3, Yearly 2/6

The Fifth Annual Meet will be held in London (Bank Holiday), August, 1913

G. SIMS, Secretary-Treasurer

To whom all P.O's should be made payable

13 Penywern Road, Earls Court, London, S.W.

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## **EDITORIAL**

THE intellect is an instrument whose function it is to classify the varied phenomena of the world according to their general likeness, to construct the whole out of the parts, and at the same time to distinguish between the relatively unlike The Intellect generalities. In the degree that man clearly classifies and distinguishes, so may he adapt himself in the world and dominate that which hitherto dominated The history of the intellect and its products is the best proof of the formality of all classifications and distinctions. changes that have taken place in this formal work, the passing of formerly-accepted ideas and the coming into acceptance of new ideas demonstrates that the intellect or mind is not something static but something perpetually in process of creation. This dynamic of the mind finds its primary impulse in the dynamic of the material world. In man the world differentiates itself into an inner and an outer life. abstract and concrete. This dualism has hitherto caused man much Man has had to travel far on the highway of experience before he could reconcile this duality in a sober monism. may now recognize that the history of the inner and the history of the outer are not two absolutely different histories but two connected This recognition has come about parts of one and the same history. through an improved intellect and the improved intellect is the result of changes that have taken place outside the brain of man, and they have enlarged the material of experience.



THE improvement of the intellect we regard as the subject matter The intellect is an instrument that every individual of education.

possesses and which every individual may use. Ita The improvement of the intellect is therefore a Improvement general or social concern. So likewise education must be a general or social concern.

Referring back to the statement that the intellect and its improvement is conditioned upon experience and that the task of the intellect is to grasp experience theoretically so that we may dominate experience practically, how far education may be generally adopted and what kind of education may be best adapted for the general progress depends upon the generality of experience, particularly upon how far progress is generally experienced.

This question brings us at once in full view of the fact that we have to deal not with abstract conditions or abstract men but with concrete conditions and concrete men, men in different rôles and with different and antagonistic interests. To be sure all men live and develop only in society, all men have egoistic needs, needs of food, clothing, and shelter, but if we stop at these broad generalizations we are not much informed. If we pass on to the more informing matter of how far in present day society all men realize these needs. then it is plain that we can no longer make these wide generalizations, but are face to face with the necessity of making distinctions, or distinguishing differences. For the satisfaction of the primary needs of life, men require certain objective conditions, viz., the raw material and the instruments for changing the form of that material. total products depend primarily upon the character of the technique. As this developes, the greater may become the output. How far equality presides in the distribution of the total product depends, on the other hand upon the distribution of the objective conditions of production. In modern society these latter are privately owned by a minority of society, which ownership distinguishes the minority from the remainder of society as a class of capitalists. On the other hand those who manipulate the instruments of production, who carry on the process of production, are divorced from the ownership of these instruments, and own nothing except the power to produce. power being only fertile in contact with the means of production they gain access to these means only by selling this power to the owners of these means. For this the owners pay wages, which is not a payment for work done, but on the average, represents the amount of subsistence necessary for the reproduction of the wage-labourer as The difference between the value produced by the a wage-labourer. labourer and the value returned in wages to the labourer represents the fund out of which capital is accumulated and the consumption of the capitalist is defrayed. This affirms the theory which states that the propertiless status of the working class, and therefore the inadequate satisfaction of their material needs is an indispensable condition for the existence of the capitalist form of society.

THE exploitation of the labourer is as old as the history of civilization. Only the forms of exploitation have changed. As a chattel slave, as a serf, as a wage-labourer, these are the three historic forms

in which the labourer has been exploited. But in all The Class these three forms, the necessity of exploitation has involved the necessity of instituting agencies or Struggle machinery, political, juridical, &c., for the purpose of maintaining equilibrium in society, or in other words, maintaining the particular forms of society. Oppression breeds friction and revolt and no given order of society could continue unless there were some means at hand for repressing these revolts. Needless to say, the government and the ruling class are co-extensive. The existence of ruling classes hitherto, we will readily admit, has been inevitable and But let us not forget the basis of this justification—the undeveloped forces of production. So long as labour was not fertile enough to satisfy the needs of all, then it was necessary that the masses should be exploited and that a privileged class should govern in order that further development should take place. Each privileged class has of course fancied itself the last word in history, but history has triumphed over their fancies and shattered their illusions. Irrational though it may seem, history has used man when man thought he was using history. So far the downfall of one class has been accompanied by the rise of a new class. The growth of the economic power of a new class has made necessary the conquest of political power by that class.

Our modern capitalist class attained to the political saddle only by the help of the class beneath them, the working class. It had, in doing so, to bring forth its own undoing. It had to admit certain principles, which to-day turn round and clash with its own interests. It, for example, in order to legalize its proceedings, had to admit the working class within that legality, had to establish the principle of equality before the law. Similarily in the making of the law. And again in education.

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Public education has arisen from the necessities of modern capitalism. The development of a higher technique, the introduction of mechanical industry, centralization of capitalist industry, the enlarge-

Public Education

The description and all the complicated ramifications of modern production, has made necessary the development of a working class capable of functioning in the productive mechanism

in such a way as at least to secure its uninterrupted and smooth working. Moreover, the admission of the working class within the law and politics, the proclamation of legal and political equality has made some form of public education necessary.

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CAPITALISM does not stand still. It must move on. And the laws of its movement are such that must move to higher planes. But in so doing it moves also that class which is its Atlas. By virtue of the

increasing pressure simultaneously with the growth in the powers and possibilities of production, Atlas Nemesis becomes Nemesis. A Labour Movement comes into being, and in its endeavours to lighten the pressure, uses as weapons those powers that the capitalist class unavoidably put into the hands of the working class. What was conceded in the interests of capitalism comes to be used against the interests of capitalism. True of course there are limits to what the Labour Movement can gain through these channels, limits which vary in inverse ratio to the extent of working-Within these limits, however, capitalism becomes class organization. more and more embarassed, inclined more and more to withdraw what it had formerly admitted. It becomes exceedingly difficult to carry out this reactionary policy openly at a time when the Labour Movement is growing numerically and consciously. And so the governing class seeks to defend its interests against these encroachments by a policy which tries to take the sting out of these concessions which it formerly made to its ally, but which has now become Particularly do we see this policy being applied in the educational field, a policy which is more or less openly expressed in the recent controversies that have been taking place between the representatives of the present régime.

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WHEN public education was first instituted it was hailed as a panacea for all the public ills. And because it had the semblance of communal responsibility and control about it, the system of public education has been referred to in certain quarters as

Expectations prophesied by the champions of public education have failed to materialize, so much so, that among the ruling class representatives themselves dissatisfaction and controversy has developed. The present system of public education has in consequence been denounced for having failed to produce the expected effects and which it never could have produced, even if it had been carried on by angels. The corrupting and social disintegrating effects inherent in capitalism have been stronger than ideals and good intentions.

In the controversy on elementary education, now being carried on in the London *Evening News*, there are two clearly marked views. But at the bottom of both, the question is how to banish the spectre of revolt? Dr. Rouse has put it plainly enough in his rejoinder to Sir James Yoxall.

"Do you think that a system of education is good which has produced large classes of men who are ready to strike in defiance of their own plighted word? who conspire against the national welfare to increase their own wages, while they waste and squander the wages they now receive? who so regulate their work that the honest workman is not allowed to do his best? who take no pride in their great inheritance as Englishmen? of men and women who neglect their children and let them grow up like savages?"

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It is not difficult to see that for Doctor Rouse the problem is how to maintain the *status quo*. Efficient and docile wage-labourers that is the sumum bonum for the bourgeois Rouse. If we turn to the

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Want the educational prescriptions. In that camp we find the less utopian and more practical capitalist themselves, who see in the growing restlessness of the industrial population, the need for specializing the education of the working class in such a way as will render them fitting cogs in the wheels of the industrial mechanism. They are opposed to the so-called liberal education on the ground that it unfits the workman for capitalist production, while the promulgators of the liberal education, see in the latter, the best antidote to the industrial unrest.

But both of these schemes are bound to miscarry and to bring disappointment to their partisans. And for what reason? For the reason that both ignore the ground under their feet. They disregard the fact that evolution is not to be stopped at will or by Act of Parliament. Their schemes could only succeed if they eliminated the cause of the growing unrest, which is the growing exploitation of the worker by growing capitalist production.

The proofs of that last statement are to be found in recent legislation, e.g., the Insurance Act, in which many workmen fancied they saw the Government giving money away. The Insurance Act testifies to the fact that capitalism has become so devastating that it must in its own interests step in and prevent capitalism being impeded by its own wounded victims. But although the Insurance Act has been passed capitalism still goes on in its destructive It wounds faster that it heals. And so also with its schemes of education, be the system voluntary or compulsory. controversy on voluntary versus compulsory insurance has the same roots as the controversy on voluntary versus compulsory education. In both cases capitalism requires the compulsory. More and more does it necessitate regularity and uniformity. It needs a uniform system of insurance and education for the same reason that it requires a uniform measure of value and a uniform standard of price. But compulsory or voluntary, uniform or otherwise, the

public education will and must remain inadequate to the elevation of the public weal so long as that education is prescribed, financed, and administered for and by very private interests. And thus it will be in capitalist society.

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THE same remarks apply to the Religious and Secular schemes of education. The secularist trade-unionists cannot help recognizing the part played by religious institutions and most of their repre-

### Religious and Secular Education

sentatives, in the struggle between the forces of Capital and Labour. Some capitalists are in favour of secular education, chiefly for the reason that religious teaching is seen to incline towards stirring up sentiments among the

working class which sometimes interferes with the smooth working of business. On the other hand many of them have not failed to recognize the advantages of religious teaching in the schools, believing with Dr. Andrew Ure that "Godliness is great gain in the working of an extensive factory." While we favour Secular education rather than Religious teaching in schools, the essential task lies rather in making Labour-Unionists than Secularists. education would not substitute anything effective enough to establish the collective interests. The barrier which the public educationalist can never surmount is the poverty of the vast majority of the public. And that poverty, as we have previously stated, is both the cause and the effect of the present order of society. Such a condition of society must be uprooted before we can have a cultured society. The school teacher with all his education is helpless in face of the actual conditions of present-day society. The faculties which some teachers would seek to cultivate are not the faculties required by Only that education will be given to the workers' children that will fit them for wage-labourers. The ruling class will not finance an educational system that will uproot their rule; and that is just the kind of education that the working class immediately require. What they require they must themselves provide. path of the public-educationalist must be cleared with the broom of the social-revolutionist. Only then will the day of general culture break and the shadows of ignorance flee away. Even now we may discern the dawn.

w.w.c.

"The great end of life is not knowledge, but action. What men need is as much knowledge as they can assimilate and organize into a basis for action; give them more and it may become injurious. One knows people who are as heavy and stupid from undigested learning as others are from over-fullness of meat and drink."

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-HUXLEY.



## Central Labour College

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The College is still badly in need of Funds in spite of the splendid results to date from the Appeal—and we do not hesitate to ask our readers to obtain more Cash.

## Collective Telesis

(Continued from May Number.)

HIS brings us to the kernel of our subject. It may be called the social art. The science of society must produce the art of True legislation is invention. Government is the art that results from the science of society through the legislative application of sociological principles. In every domain of natural forces there are the four steps: first, the discovery of the laws governing phenomena; second, perception of the utilities (modes in which the phenomena can be modified to serve man); third, the necessary adjustments to secure the useful end; and, fourth, the application of all this in producing the result. The first of these steps is that of pure science; the second and third are involved in invention, and properly constitute applied science: the fourth is art in its proper In taking these successive steps there has usually been considerable division of labour. Scientific discoverers are not often inventors, and inventors rarely make the products they invent. Still, two or more of the steps are often taken by the same individual.

Now, looking at society as a domain of natural forces, we may see how readily it admits of being subjected to this series of processes. Discovery of the laws of society is the natural province of the He should also be looked to for the detection of utilities, but this work also belongs in a still higher degree to the legislator. Adjustment is the exclusive province of legislation, and laws, when framed according to these principles, would be such adjustments and nothing else. The execution of the laws is the resultant social art. It requires no great stretch of the imagination to see how widely this scheme would differ from the corresponding features of the present regime. It is still easier to see its immense superiority. As was shown in the last paper, the essence of telic action consists at bottom in making natural forces do the desired work instead of doing it ourselves. This is exactly what is needed in society. The desires, passions, and propensities of men are bad only in the sense that fire and lightning are bad. They are perennial natural forces, and whether good or bad, they exist, cannot be removed, and must be reckoned with. But if society only knew how, it could utilize the forces, and their very strength would be the measure of their power for good. Society is now spending vast energies and incalculable treasure in trying to check and curb these forces without receiving any benefit from them in return. The greater part of this could be saved, and a much larger amount transferred to the other side of the account.

The principle that underlies all this is what I have called "attractive legislation." But it is nothing new or peculiar to society. It is nothing else than the universal method of science, invention, and



art that has always been used and must be used to attain telic results. No one tries to drive back, arrest, curb, and suppress the physical forces. The discoverer tells the inventor what their laws are; the inventor sees how they may be made useful and contrives the appropriate apparatus; the man of business organizes the machinery on a gigantic scale, and what was a hostile element becomes an agent of civilization. The effort is not to diminish the force, but usually to increase it, at least to concentrate and focalize it so as to bring the maximum amount to bear on a given point. This is true direction and control of natural powers. So it should be in society. The healthy affections and emotions of men should not be curbed but should be directed into useful channels. Zeal and ardour are precious gifts if only they tend in the right direction and society may profit by every human attribute if only it has the wisdom to utilize it.

The principle involved in attraction, when applied to social affairs is simply that of *inducing* men to act for the good of society. It is that of harmonizing the interests of the individual with those of society, of making it advantageous to the individual to do that which is socially beneficial; not merely in a negative form, as an alternative of two evils, as is done when a penalty is attached to an action, but positively, in such a manner that he will exert himself to do those things that Society most needs to have done. The sociologist and the statesman should co-operate in discovering the laws of society and the methods of utilizing them so as to let the social forces flow freely and strongly, untrammeled by penal statutes, mandatory laws, irritating prohibitions, and annoying obstacles. And here it is important to draw the line sharply between sociology and ethics; between social action and social friction.

All desire is for the exercise of some function, and the objects of desire are such only by virtue of making such exercise possible. Happiness therefore can only be increased by increasing either the number or the intensity of satisfiable desires . . . The highest ideal of happiness, therefore, is the freest exercise of the greatest number and most energetic faculties. This must also be the highest But it is clear that its realization would abolish moral conduct altogether and remove the very field of ethics from a scheme of philosophy. To remove the obstacles to free social activity is to abolish the so-called science of ethics. The avowed purpose of ethics is to abolish itself. The highest ethics is no ethics. Ideally moral conduct is wholly unmoral conduct. Or more correctly stated, the highest ideal of a moral state is one in which there will exist nothing that can be called moral.

Whether we look at the subject from the stand-point of social progress or from that of individual welfare the liberation of social energy is the desideratum. The sociologist demands it because it increases the progressive power of society. The moralist should



demand it because it increases happiness. For activity means both, and therefore the more activity the better. True morality not less than true progress consists in the emancipation of social energy and the free exercise of power. Evil is merely the friction which is to be overcome or at least minimized . . . The tendencies that produce evil are not in themselves evil. There is no absolute evil. None of the propensities which now cause evil are essentially bad. They are all in themselves good, must necessarily be so, since they have been developed for the sole purpose of enabling man to exist survive, and progress. All evil is relative. Any power may do harm. The forces of nature are good or bad according to where they are permitted to expend themselves. The wind is evil when it dashes the vessel on the rocks; it is good when it fills the sail and speeds it on its way. Fire is evil when it rages through a great City and destroys life and property; it is good when it warms human

dwellings or creates the wondrous power of steam. Electricity is evil when in the thunderbolt it descends from the cloud and scatters death and destruction; it is good when it transmits messages of love to distant friends. And so it is with the passions of men as they surge through society. Left to themselves, like the physical elements, they find vent in all manner of ways, and constantly dash against the interests of those who chance to be in their way. But, like the elements, they readily yield to the touch of true science, which directs them into harmless, nay, useful channels, and makes them instruments for good. In fact, human desires, seeking their satisfaction through appropriate activity, constitute the only good from the standpoint of sociology.

Few, of course, will be satisfied with these generalities, and many will doubtless ask for some concrete illustrations of scientific legisla-Even those who accept the general conclusions that thus logically flow from the facts of genetic and telic progress will still find themselves at a loss to conceive what definite steps can be taken to accelerate the latter, or how the central ganglion of society can inaugerate a system of social machinery that will produce the required results. This is quite natural, and the only answer that can be made is that, owing to the undeveloped state of the social intellect, very few examples of true ingenuity on the part of legislators exist. Society, as I have shown, if comparable to an organism at all, must take rank among creatures of a very low order. brain of society has scarcely reached the stage of development at which in the animal world the germs of an intellectual faculty are Only when spurred on by the most intense egoistic imperceptible. pulses have nations exhibited any marked indications of the telic This has developed in proportion to the extent to which the national will has coincided with the will of some influential individual. Great generals in war, inspired by personal ambition, have often expressed the social will of their own country by brilliant feats of strategy



and generalship, and famous statesmen like Richelieu have represented a whole nation by strokes of diplomacy that called out the same class of talents in a high degree. Even monarchs like Peter the Great, Frederick the Great, and Charles XII, not to mention Cæsar and Alexander, have made their own genius in a sense the genius of their country. In fact a ruling class in times when the people were supposed to exist for them, when a king could say "I am the state," and when revenues were collected for their personal use, often devised very cunning schemes of a national application for their own aggrandizement. But as the world threw off these yokes, and nations grew more and more democratic, the telic element declined, and the most democratic governments have proved the most stupid. have to rely upon brute force. They are shortsighted and only know how to lock the door after the horse is stolen. They are swayed by impulse. They swarm and "enthuse," and then lapse into a state of torpor, losing all that was gained, and again surge in another direction, wasting their energies. In fact they act precisely like animals devoid of intelligence.

All this is what we ought to expect if the principles I have enunciated are sound and is indeed, one of the clearest proofs of And yet republics have not proved wholly devoid of a directive agent. Under exceptional circumstances they have displayed signs of collective intelligence. But most of the cases that can be cited have either concerned their national independence or the equally vital question of raising revenue. Nearly all the examples cited in Dynamic Sociology and Psychic Factors belong to these classes in which, in a literal sense, necessity has been the mother of invention. Anyone who watches the inane flounderings of a large "deliberative" (!) body like the American house of representatives, working at cross purposes and swayed by a thousand conflicting motives, can see how little reason has to do with democratic legislation. But for the committee system by which, to a certain extent, the various public questions become the subject of scientific investigation, it is doubtful whether the business of the country could be transacted at all. And it is only by a much greater extension of this system, perhaps to the extent of disposing entirely with the often disgraceful, and always stupid "deliberations" of the full House, that scientific legislation can ever be realized.

The other important direction in which there is hope of similar results is the gradual assumption of legislative powers, at least advisory, by the administrative branch, which always feels the popular pulse much more sensitively than the legislature, and to which is entrusted not merely the execution of the public will (the art of government), but also in the main the devising of the means to accomplish this—the strictly inventive function of government. If the legislature will enact the measures that the administrative branch recommends as the result of direct experience with the business world it will rarely go astray.



The examples given, in which military chieftains, diplomats, monarchs, and ruling families have employed design in national affairs, do not indicate the growth of the social intelligence or the integration of the social organism. They are merely instances of the usurpation of the powers of society by individual members. other hand, the tendencies in the direction of democratic government do mark progress in social integration, however feeble may be the telic power displayed. Crude and imperfect as such governments may be, they are better than the wisest of autocracies. joined with benevolence is better than brilliancy joined with rapacity, and not only is autocracy always rapacious, but democracy is always The first of these propositions can be disputed only by citing isolated exceptions. The second may not be so clear, yet it admits of ready demonstration. It is not necessary to postulate a different nature for the democratic legislator from that of the autocratic ruler. However self-seeking the former may be, social service turns his egoism to the good of society. It is an example of the truth that what are called bad motives are only relatively so, and that the social forces only need to be directed to render them all good. For in seeking his own interests the representatives of the people must obey their will. The will of the people must be good, at least for them. Constituencies have the same nature as representatives or kings, but whatever they will must be right from their stand-The good consists in the satisfaction of desire, and this can only become bad when it is secured at the expense of others. where a constituency is in question this is not possible except in very sectional questions which cannot be discussed here. A fortiori must obedience to the will of a whole people be right, and therefore the representative of the people, whatever may be his personal character, is constrained by his office to do only what is right. another is put in his place. It is thus that it comes about that representative governments are essentially benevolent, i.e. they always wish well for the people, or, as the common phrase expresses it, they mean well. And anyone not prejudiced against government must see that, whatever their faults of the head, they are right at heart.

Democracy has therefore been a great step forward, and has practically solved the moral side of the question of government. Reform in the future must come from the mind side, and surely there is great need of it. How can it be brought about? This is the problem of sociology. I have wrestled with it for many years, not in the hope of doing anything in this direction myself, but with the object of discovering, if possible, a theoretical solution to propose to the world for its consideration. The result of my reflections on this subject is given in the second volume of Dynamic Sociology, and although I have not ceased to revolve these matters in my mind during the fourteen years that have elapsed since the first edition of that work appeared, I cannot say that my conclusions have undergone any essential modification. I would now lay more stress upon

certain parts of the general argument, and somewhat less on others, but the argument as a whole still stands as worked out in that volume. As democratic governments must be representative I see no way to increase their intellectual status except by increasing that of constituences, and I still regard this as the one great desideratum. If the social consciousness can be so far quickened as to awake to the full realization of this truth in such vivid manner as to induce general action in the direction of devising means for the universal equalization of intelligence, all other social problems will be put in the way of gradual but certain solution.

But there are some who will say that if this little is all there is to sustain the claim that society is one day destined to take its affairs into its own hands and conduct its business like a rational being, it would be as well to abandon it. If the long period of human history has shown so little advance in the direction of a social intelligence we might better leave matters entirely to the two spontaneous methods described in the two preceding papers. The first answer to this is that the sociologist does not profess to be a reformer, and is not advocating any course of social action. All he feels called upon to do is to point out what the effect of a certain course of action would be as deduced from the fundamental principles of the science, and to state what he conceives the tendencies to be as judged from the history of development.

The second answer to this objection is that it is the one that is always raised whenever anything is mentioned which is different from that which now exists, that it is based on the natural error that things are stationary because they seem to be so, and grows out of the difficulty of conceiving a state of things widely different from the actual state. If we were to indulge in fable, a lump of inert matter would be laughed at by the other lumps if it should assert that it would one day become a graceful tree-fern, and shade the earth with its feathery foliage; a plant that should declare its intention to break away from its attachments to the soil and move about in space on four legs, feeding on other plants instead of air, would be called a vain boaster by the surrounding vegetation; a barnacle that should insist that it would one day have a backbone would be utterly discredited by other barnacles; a bat that should fly into the dark corner of a room and escape through an opening known to be there would be called a fool by the bee that was vainly buzzing against a pane of glass in the hope of accomplishing the same object. It is the "impossible" that happens. We can look backward more easily than we can look forward. Science teaches us that something has happened. Evolution proves that immense changes have taken place, and now that we can see what they were, and according to what principles they were brought about, there is nothing startling in the facts. It is only when we try to imagine ourselves as present before an event and striving to forecast it that we realize the folly of



raising such objections as we are considering. Yet this is our real attitude with respect to future events. It may be logical, admitting that progress is to go on and that great changes are to take place, to question whether any particular change that anyone may describe is to be the one that will actually occur. There is no probability that anyone can foretell what the real condition of society is to be in the future. But it is illogical, in the light of the past, of history, and especially of natural history, and of what we actually know of evolution, cosmic, organic, and social, to say that any condition to which this knowledge points as a normal result of the continued action of the laws of evolution is impossible.

LESTER FRANK WARD.

To be continued.

## Women's League, C.L.C., Reports ENTER—THE MILITANT WOMEN

On Wednesday, the 21st of May, a meeting was held at 13 Penywern Road, for the purpose of electing the committee of the Women's League; and between twenty and thirty enthusiastic women friends signified their desire to help the C.L.C. by vigorous campaigning in the various trade union branches in London, and also by the organization of tea fights, bun scuffles and other such functions (which are, as all will agree, absolutely necessary to the progress of the human race). The following constitution was adopted by the members of the League:

"This League was originally established, on the suggestion made by the Staff Committee of the C.L.C., to collect funds during the financial pressure in December, 1912.

It is a Socialist and Trade Union Women's League, started with the object of helping in the educational work of the C.L.C. by collecting funds for scholarships for men and women and helping in the social work of the College. The minimum subscription has been fixed at one shilling per year."

It is hoped that in the autumn much good work will be done. Speakers will be sent round to various branches of trade unions—so that all may, at least, hear of the C.L.C.

It is interesting to note, that after a meeting held under the auspices of the League (at which Mr. Craik spoke) the London West Branch of "The Toolmakers" signified their intention of supporting the College. Also the new Tailoresses Society is at present balloting on a proposal to levy 2d, a year per member for the C.L.C. This is a new trade union, mainly composed of girls, and its action is significant of the new spirit that is abroad.

The following were elected officers and committee:—Mrs. D. B. Montifiore, chairman; Mrs. Ida Chaytor, treasurer; Mrs. Winifred Horrabin, secretary; Mrs. Mary Cheshire (Nat. Society of Tailoresses),



Miss Grace Neal (Domestic Workers' Union), Miss Mabel Hope & Miss Wilkinson (Postal Telegraph Clerks Association), Mrs. Zhook & Miss Gernsheimer (Nat. Union of Clerks), Mrs. Ormond, Miss Greig, Miss Barbara Low, Mrs. Roach, Miss Winifred Blatchford and Miss Rebecca West.

#### IRISH PLAYS, COFFEE AND MUSIC

The social evening arranged by the Women's League, which took place on Saturday, April 26th, was a huge success. There was a record attendance, and the "Standing Room Only" notices were put up in Penywern Road long before the orchestra struck up the opening overture.

The principal items in the programme were the two little Irish plays "Cathleen ni Houlihan," by W. B. Yeats, and "The Workhouse Ward," by Lady Gregory. Both were effectively rendered; the poignant sadness of Mr. Yeats' poem-play and the farcical humours of Lady Gregory's comedy (with its picture of a comic squabble hardly to be rivalled even at a B.S.P. conference) found equal favour with the audience. Those taking part in the two plays were Mrs. W. Horrabin, the Misses Kathleen and Dorothy Horrabin, Messrs. W. F. Northend, G. A. Hammond and J. F. Horrabin.

The staging arrangements, to the effectiveness of which much of the success of the performance was due, were in the capable hands of that old-established firm, Messrs. Sims and Pendrey. The orchestra (Messrs. A. and W. Weinhart, — Good, and Miss Corum), was under the direction of Mr. A. Corum, who composed special curtain-music for the plays.

In the interval, Miss Mabel Hope spoke briefly on the aims and objects of the Women's League. The sum of £2 5s. was realized by the sale of programmes and refreshments, and was handed over to the Special Appeal Fund of the C.L.C.

The success of the evening's programme will doubtless encourage the organizers to arrange similar dramatic productions, on a like simple and unambitious scale, at future social gatherings at Earls Court.

## Correspondence

To the Secretary, C.L.C.

The Manningham I.L.P. Socialist Sunday School have held a course of 10 Lectures on Economics, extending over a period of three months, and a high percentage of attendance was maintained. The class numbering 20 members was entirely self-supporting. Everybody was well satisfied with the lectures, and expressed the opinion that they had considerably benefitted by them. The lecturer was M. F. Titterington (Bradford). We hope to continue the class next winter, as we think a knowledge of economics is of great value to those engaged in the Socialist movement.

A. EMSLEY, Treasurer,



## Coins and Currency?

Before dealing with the coinage of Great Britian it may be useful to deal briefly with European currency in general, after the break-up of the Roman Empire. Avebury does not deal with this phase of the subject, so I quote the admirable footnotes on the subject from De Gibbins valuable little text-book, The History of Commerce in Europe (published by Macmillan 3/6)—probably the best of all the scholarly works written by that famous author,—OIKOS.

FTER the fall of the Western Roman Empire, the barbarian kings adopted silver as the principal metal for coinage; but the greatest diversity and confusion existed owing to the number of various coins issued by different chieftains. On the revival of the empire, Charlemagne made an effort to establish a general system of currency based upon the pound of silver as a unit, the unit of currency thus corresponding to the unit of weight. This pound, or libra, gave its name to the English £, sterling and the French livre, and originally contained the equivalent of a pound weight of silver. Charlemagne's system was introduced into all western European countries, including England and Scotland. The Saxon pound, however, was of 5400 grs. (not the Troy weight of 5760 grs.), and was coined into 240 silver "pennies" of 22 or 23 grs. of silver each; and also into solidi or shillings, of which there seem to have, been two kinds, the larger of 5 pence and the smaller of 4 pence. But it is doubtful whether the solidus was a coin—probably only a money of account.

Unfortunately, the rapid decay of Charlemagne's empire prevented his system from continuing uniform, and many debasements of currency occurred, as local issues were coined by feudal lords in hundreds of places (e.g. in England, under the disorderly reign of Stephen, nearly every baron had a mint in his castle). The depreciations became perfectly reckless. Those who coined, however, tried to imitate the Roman money in gold, silver, and bronze, but chiefly in gold. The gold coins were copies of the celebrated Byzantine or bezant of Constantinople, with the monogram or name of the coiner stamped on it.

[The Byzantine coins indeed circulated all over Europe in the Early Middle Ages, and are very celebrated. The gold coin was the solidus of Constantine, with its half and third (semissis and tremissis). This solidus was  $\frac{1}{18}$  of a pound of gold (= 13s. now), and was the parent of mediæval gold coinages. The silver coins were the miliarision and its half, the keration (hence carat). Both kinds of coins, gold and silver, were issued till the capture of Constantinople by the Latins.

The gold *Bezant*, which is familiar in English commercial history, was originally (i.e. before Constantine) equal to the Roman *solidus* or aureus (worth about £1 or more), but was often debased and became worth between £1 and 10s. of our money or even less. It



was current in Europe from the ninth century onwards, and also in England, till superseded by the *noble* of Edward III. (= 6s. 8d.) There was also a *silver* bezant = 2s. to 1s.]

The chief currencies thus made in imitation of the Byzantine were five: that of the Ostrogoths and Lombards in Italy, the Franks in Gaul, the Visigoths in Spain, and the Vandals in Africa. But gold was soon found to be inconvenient by these natives, and silver coins were substituted in course of time; thus the chief current coin became the denier or penny of about 24 grs. of silver (worth in our money 3½d. or 4d.), while the Byzantine solidus or bezant was used as the current gold coin, and Arab gold money was also current. The new coinage, deniers, spread from France to Italy, Germany, and other countries; but, again, as even separate towns possessed the right of coining, great depreciations ensued.

The most famous coin next issued was the gold florin of Florence in 1252, containing 54 grs. of gold (= now nearly 10s.) The commercial influence of Florence caused similar issues to be now made all over Europe, and Venice in 1280 struck a gold coin, of the same weight as the florin, called the ducat or (later) sequin. Genoa and other states did the same. Germany also had a gold florin, worth about 10s. of our money. Florence also coined a silver florin of 27 grs. (worth now about 4d.) in 1181, and Venice struck a silver matapane of 33 grs. about 1192 to 1205.

The need of a heavier silver coinage than the *denier* also led to the issue of the "large denier," or *groat* (grossus denarius), of about 90 grs. in the fourteenth century, worth about 13d. of our money.

We may therefore say that the chief current coins in the Middle Ages were the florins, ducats, sequins, bezants (gold and silver), deniers, and groats.

[We are fortunately able to gain a clear idea of the chief coins in common use in Central Europe from a table issued by the Duke of Lorraine in 1511, in which the following are the chief coins men-(1) Gold: English nobles (= about 6s. 8d.)—in request on the Continent owing to their purity; the half-nobles of Flanders (about 3s. 4d. or less); ducats of Venice, Florence, Genoa, and Hungary (= about 7s. to 9s. or 10s.); écus or crowns of France, Germany, Italy, and Savoy (= 6 French livres, or about 5s.); florins of Florence, the Rhine districts, Flemish cities, Denmark, Burgundy (about same as ducat). (2) Silver: testoons of Milan, Genoa, Savoy, and Metz (about 1s. to 1s. 3d.; the shillings of Henry VII. were also called testoons—the  $teste = t\hat{e}te$ , a head of the king on them); the carolus of Burgundy (= about \(\frac{1}{4}\) of a testoon); the groats of Flanders (worth about 4d. or less); treizons of France (= 15 deniers); deniers (=  $\frac{1}{340}$  of a pound of silver, i.e. nominally 1d. or 24 grains of silver, worth about 3d. or 4d. of present money); grand



blancs of France (= 14 deniers); liards of Savoy and France (= 3 deniers). Silver florins (= 1s. to 2s.) were current in several countries, though not mentioned in the Lorraine table.

The above values are, however, only approximate, owing to the constant depreciations of coinage made by many towns and princes. It must also be remembered that a nominal 1d. or 1s. of those times would purchase a great deal more than at present, and that silver, till the sixteemth century, was much more valuable than it is now. After the discovery of the silver mines of South America by the Spaniards (§ 112), the coinage of Spain became the most abundant in Europe, silver dollars (= about 4s. 6d.), also called pieces of eight, being coined in amazing numbers. The great Spanish gold coin, the doubloon, was worth about £3 1s. 1od.]

Moneys of Account.—The chief coin was the denier, or penny, of Charlemagne, and the solidus dropped generally out of use. We may mention, however, that the solidus (the German shilling) = 12 deniers; and 20 solidi went to a pound weight (libra) or 12 oz. of silver. Hence our use of the notation  $\pounds$  s. d. The  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the libra was the German mark (= 8 oz.)

The ratio of gold to silver was about 1 to 10 or 1 to 12: it did not rise to 1 to 15 till the seventeenth century.

## Professor Lester F. Ward

ROFESSOR WARD was born in Joliet, Illinois, on June 18, 1841; he died at Washington, D.C., on April 18th, 1913. He was not quite 72 years of age. He was the son of Justus and Silence (Rolph) Ward. "His early education was in the schools of Joliet and in Iowa, his father being one of the pioneers of that region. His last two years of training in the lower schools were in the academy at Towanda, Pa."

Whilst a student there, the Civil War broke out, and in 1862, on attaining his majority, he entered the army and served until the close of the war. He threw himself heartily into the service and was always at the front during the battle. He was wounded in the thigh at Chancellorsville, and suffered more or less all his life from the wound. At the close of the war, Dr. Ward remained in Washington after "the Grand Review," and the same year was appointed Chief of the Division of Navigation and Immigration in the United States, and soon after was made Assistant Librarian of the Bureau of Statistics.

Amidst all his other work, he enrolled himself a member of Columbia University, and graduated in 1869. He took other degrees in 1871 and 1873.



He married Miss Rosamund Pierce Simons in 1875. They had no children.

In 1881 he left the Treasury and was appointed Assistant Geologist of the U.S. Survey. In 1883 he was Geologist and in 1892 Palæontologist.

He was also Professor of Botany 1884 to 1886, and Curator of Botany. He became a member of many of the chief scientific societies.

The International Institute of Sociology is composed of one hundred members, and Dr. Ward was one of the seven American members. In 1903 he was President.

In this year he left Washington and became Professor of Sociology at Brown University, Rhode Island, where he remained till his death.

He was an Honorary Associate of the Rationalist Press Association, England.

#### 窓 路 窓

HE was author of over five hundred books, pamphlets, and essays. His chief works were *Dynamic Sociology*, 2 vols. (1883); *The Psychic Factors of Civilization* (1892); *Text Book of Sociology* (in connection with Professor Dealey); *Pure Sociology* (1902); *Applied* 

His Books Sociology (1906). Dynamic Sociology made him famous. It had the honour of being banished from Russia by the Censor. A second edition was issued in 1896.

By chance, I saw the second volume in 1903, and the index showed me I had found a treasure. I soon secured the first volume also, and I was charmed with the profound, clear thought on fundamentals, as well as with the simple, masterly exposition of his system.

No wonder Russia feared him—a man without fear, without mystery, and without mystification. Ward was an Evolutionist, a Materialist, a Monist.

Some of us still love his fearless first book more than the others. He opens one of his chapters thus: "Dynamic Sociology aims at the organization of happiness." Could any subject be more entrancing in an age of automatic cannibalism, when gorgeous lunatic asylums are the monuments of its misery?

Pure Sociology is held by some to be his greatest work, and it contains the remarkable chapter on the process by which primitive woman nursed man into the tyrant of earth—herself included. This chapter has not yet been accepted or rejected by scientists, but Ward told me there had not been any serious attempt to disprove it.

The high price of his books shuts them off from the workers, but the important *Text Book* is published at 6/-, and it is especially valuable as being virtually a summary of Dr. Ward's system, carefully made by himself and his colleague, Professor Dealey.



An attempt has been made to classify him as the third in rank of Sociologists, succeeding Comte and Spencer. This it true chronologically, but the verdict of time may yet be that he is the first and greatest of all Sociologists. His books contain the great principles of a workable system, and this cannot be said of either of the other two. When Democracy can understand them, it will apply them, and when they are applied men will see a new earth superior to the old "heaven."

#### 袋 筬 筬

ALL who met Dr. Ward agreed that he was a rare character. kindness, simplicity, and humility seemed to veil his vast knowledge. It is difficult to find such direct, homely gentleness in this country unless one meets aged farm labourers. Only when one heard him contend for some vital principle Character did one realize the grit and fire that he carried No wonder that he won the hearts of all his students at His clear and comprehensive view is seen in chapter viii, Vol. II, of Dynamic Sociology, on "Man and the Universe." It is the attitude of the humble student and the complete master in one, and for direct completeness it can scarcely be surpassed. So true is it that "the style is the man himself," that his explanation of most difficult problems in science or philosophy makes one wonder that the world of thinkers should have floundered for generations in a morass of their own making. He was absolutely free from all metaphysical or mystic cloudiness.

He did not live for money or fame, and thus he avoided two of the sources of modern madness. He said, "that quality of mind which makes a man to amass wealth, accumulate property, and, as the phrase goes, 'make money,' though doubtless one of the most useful, is at the same time one of the coarsest and cheapest of all mental attributes" (Dynamic Sociology, Vol. I, p. 519).

No wonder such a man looked out on Society, Nature, and the Cosmos with the eyes of a philosophic and the smile of childhood. So that when he died, kings and governments, armies and the almighty Press did not know that he had left us, and that the world was poorer and weaker.

### 斑 斑 斑

In 1909 Dr. Ward turned from his tour in Europe to stay at Oxford for the opening of the Central Labour College on August Bank Holiday. He arrived on the previous Friday and placed himself

ward and the Central
Labour College

Can a "Comrade" and let them ask all their

questions. He answered all the difficulties of those metaphysical

Dons, who "wonder what a poker is when they are not looking at it," by one simple question, "Is the Universe empty?"

He reduced all evolution, history, religion, politics, intellect, emotion, and art to their simple fundamentals when he said—
"Everything in the world is the result of the collision of atoms."

Those who were present at the evening meeting in "Taphouse Room" on that August Bank Holiday will never forget the burning oratory of that frail, tired, old man, or the blazing enthusiasm of those who heard it.

The tired and wan orator has found rest, and those young enthusiasts have been scattered and blistered with care and want and struggle.

Dennis Hird.

## Biddy's Heaven

\_\_\_\_

There's strates av burnin' gold, they say,
An' walls av jewels rare,
An' rows av saints as thick as payse,
Wid glory in their hair.
Ah! Wirra!—but an owld grey soul
Would fale onaisy there,
How would I spake wid angel-folk
That knew no grief or care?

Give me a place the walls beyant,
More like where I was born,
Wid kindly neybours shteppin' in,
Or I would fale forlorn;
Wid green hills an' wid runnin' brooks
An' fields av singin' corn.
Ah! shure He knows how beauty looks
Who made the hills av Mourne!

There weary owld grey souls like me,
Whose toil an' tears are done,
Wid folded hands may, all at peace,
Sit aisy in the Sun;
An' see in happy dreams again
The place where I was born,
An' watch the sunshine an' the rain
Flash o'er the hills av Mourne!

DOROTHEA BIRCH in The Delineator,



# New A.S.E. District Secretary for London

MR. T. REES SUCCESSFUL IN THE BALLOT

THE result of the second ballot for the election of London District Secretary of the A.S. E. has resulted as follows:—

T.	Rees	•••	•••	 1633
T.	Clarke		• • •	 1505

Tom Rees was born in South Wales, and is now 34 years of age. Joined the A.S.E. in 1897, was out on strike the same year, which first led him to study social questions. Prior to coming to London he took a prominent part at Devonport in successfully resisting an attempt to deprive the engineers of their outworking allowance, and was soon afterwards victimized for his activities.

Won a scholarship in 1907, and had a year at Ruskin College Oxford, but was never in sympathy with its teaching, which, in his opinion, had the tendency to tone down the active and aggressive young trade unionist. He assisted with the founding of the Central Labour College, an institution he now strongly supports as being more in harmony with the new train of thought asserting itself and finding expression in the Greater Unionism. A strong advocate of amalgamation, he believes organization by industry not only necessary but inevitable in the march of industrial development.

Has on several occasions represented the Amalgamated Society of Engineers at Labour Party conferences, &c. Was responsible for the resolutions at the much-discussed delegate meeting at Manchester, removing the executive council from office, and the appointment of a provisional council of the A S. E. to carry out the elections for new officers. He is the secretary of the Shop Stewards Committee of the Royal Arsenal, every shop where operative engineers are employed being represented. The Arsenal engineers claim this to be the best organized and disciplined section of the A.S.E. in the London area. He conducted the down-tools action which led to the War Office inquiry and reinstatement of a member of the A.S.E. Although appointed to the newly-created position (London District Secretary of his society), he hopes to continue to do service as secretary for the Arsenal engineers, and believes that with intelligent organization, the Arsenal can be made a fit place to work in. His appointment to the post can be claimed as a victory of the new unionism over the old.

An advanced Socialist, Rees believes the strike to be as essential as the ballot-box, and that Labour has to be completely and absolutely independent on the industrial, political, and educational fields.

Woolwich Pioneer.



## Reports

#### ROCHDALE BRANCH

A class was held during last winter on Industrial History, second Commencing with the Middle Ages we traced the process of the development of Mankind on the Economic. Political and Religious fields and also their relationships to each other up to the present period. lecturer, Charles L. Gibbons, of the S. W. M. F., conducted the class in an efficient and admirable manner, by applying the law of the Materialist Conception of History to all phenomena in the productive field. explained in a simple and entertaining manner how changes in the superstructure of society, that is the Political, Religious, and Educational fields, were due to changes on the Industrial field. He was not only successful as a lecturer, but also in keeping the students together and always ready to give advice. We are sorry to have to bid him adieu after one session, and I forward on behalf of the students our best wishes for his success in the We have another lecturer in view, who would be satisfactory, and we hope before long to persuade him to become C. L. Gibbons' successor, granted we secure the sanction of the Board of Management, C.L.C. A full class of students was maintained, the number consisting of 25 full term, 2 half term and a few casuals. The average attendance being 19, which we may consider good, after taking into consideration the bad weather encountered and other unforeseen circumstances. Nearly half the class was composed of new students and on inquiry they informed me that they were well satisfied with both the lectures and the lecturer, and that it was their intention to attend next winter.

The number of societies affiliated at present is nine, and the grant from the Trades Council has been raised from 5/- to 10/-. We are hoping to have more in the future.

At the meeting of the General Council, held on Thursday April 24th, all the delegates were present with the exception of one, and satisfaction was expressed all round at the progress made. Additions have been made to the library, which was fully utilized by the students, what it lacks is a good text-book on Industrial History (W.W.C. take note).

Thursday night will be class night.

FRANK JACKSON, Hon. Sec.

### **ABERKENFIG**

In connexion with the above, a social evening was held for the purpose of presenting our teacher, MR. FRANK HODGES, with a purse of gold, as an appreciation of his splendid services during the past term.

Mr. E. Mole was responsible for making the presentation. He paid a glowing tribute to the abilities of Mr. Hodges, and the intellectual advantage of his lectures to the class. It was always a treat to come on



Sunday mornings to listen to the interesting discourses of the teacher, of his willingness to answer questions, and his frankness and honesty in discussion.

Mr. Hodges replied with thanks to the class for their kind appreciation of his willing efforts. He assured them that it was always a pleasure to him to lecture to them. It was necessary that the workers should know their own history, to know how and from whence they came, and to know where they were going. He was quite in his best style when he appealed to the company to forsake the God Bacchus and worship Apollo, and attend the class. He urged them to enjoy life, to indulge in the gifts of the gods and live; to take the tip of G. B. Shaw, how to do without work.

He was sure that the class was a success, because of the very fact that members of the class were singled out for treatment by the employers. He hoped the class would develop, so that they could command a permanent teacher for the future, but at the same time he would always give them his assistance as he had done in the past.

Although great praise is due to the teacher, the Secretary, Mr. L. Williams, must not be forgotten. A great deal of the success of the class is due to his efforts. For the College he has done splendid work. Twenty pounds has been forwarded by him to the College, with the prospect of another £10.

The evening finished by indulgence in one of the gifts of the gods—dancing.

#### TONDU

The Tondu Provincial Class closed its first session with good results to the workers on their first insight on Working-Class Education, as it is taught at the C.L.C. The members of the class appreciated the lectures, and the lecturer by making him a very suitable presentation.

If only the rest of the ex-Collegians would take the advantage that is offered them in the Welsh valleys, these classes would in all probability be in every mining valley in South Wales. Why is it that they are not, perhaps W.W.C. can reply, at least I cannot. If a class can be found in a village, and it is such a success as this one at Tondu has been, when 70 working men evinced a desire to learn more, I am sure it can be done in large towns. The lecturer, Mr. Frank Hodges, took for the first session Engel's Origin of Family, and the time was always too short for the students on every occasion, so that the Secretary had a notification from the owners of the hall that he was exceeding the time limit. The workers of Tondu realize that knowledge is power and Labour is determined to become one of the educated elements of the body politic, and only then will Labour come into its own, by showing the masses that the industry of the nation can never possess that controlling influence to which it is entitled without plenty of intellectual light. That is the light which the C.L.C. and its classes are giving and have given,

L. WILLIAMS,



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- G. W. Watson, 4 Macroom Road, Paddington, W.
- W. M. WATSON, Weston Cottages, Cowdenbeath, Fife

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