

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

GOETHE

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THE  
"Plebs" Magazine

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# The "Mlebs" League

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## 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, 2½d. post free.

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

 The Sixth Annual Meet will be held in London (Bank Holiday), August, 1914

**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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“Plebs” Magazine

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## EDITORIAL

*(Continued from last month)*

**T**HE fall of woman was not an affair of theology but a matter of economics. Even in the sacred text book of theology one may gather this conclusion. Indeed, it is pretty obvious that the fall of woman had already taken place when the author of the opening chapters of Genesis went to press. Although the rule of the male was in the ascendant, yet the revolution in social relations

### **A Question of Property**

was recent enough to preserve some recollections of the old order, and in addition to manifest some militancy on the part of the woman against the departure from her former status. It was the woman who succumbed to the propaganda of that snake who, as Heine aptly remarks, had six thousand years before Hegel promulgated the whole Hegelian philosophy. This footless “blue stocking” found woman more amendable to his sagacious counsels than the man. Wise old serpent! And from the man's point of view it was quite appropriate that it should be “she” and not “he” who succumbed to the art of the serpent, she being so much more closely related to those cunning things that crawl. Man of course was only a little lower than the angel, although angel may have probably been a misprint for ass. Knowledge seems to have been the essence of the serpent's recommendation. Little wonder then that he found man so unsusceptible. To know was to become as gods, or as Hegel would have stated it, the Absolute Idea come to consciousness. Man, however, is a jealous god, who while he might be taken off his guard at intervals by the fair daughters of men, took great pains to see that the latter were but “sleeping” partners. Evidently the serpent did

not rely altogether on his idealism, or on his good looks, and like the good materialist that he was, made the god-like condition to rest on a question of property. In the garden there were certain trees which were the private property of man's god, and which were already recognized as such in the jurisprudence of the time. To those trees the categorical imperative "Thou shalt not" applied. The woman however failed to appreciate the legal distinctions between "mine" and "thine," and put the communist philosophy of the serpent into practice. That did it! The woman fell and through her the man.

One half of society cannot be degraded without the smudge sticking to the other half in one way or another. Besides, the slavery of the woman within the monogamous family finds its counterpart on a large scale in the slavery of the mass of men in society. The same cause that led to the fall of woman into economic bondage led also to the fall of man. The original sin of slavery, the slavery of men and the slavery of women, stands or falls on the question of property. Already when civilization opens around the Mediterranean basin, both are chattels, catalogued with the ox and the ass. As such they were excluded from all political rights. Dark and horrible as those times were, they were nevertheless historically unavoidable if further progress was to be made. So long as the productive forces were undeveloped, the subjugation of man and woman was inevitable. Either society must remain in an equality akin to the condition of the brute creation, an equality of poverty; or *it must advance at the price of the old primitive equality*. The latter alternative was not put in the form of an amendment and carried at a meeting of the local tribes. The way of progress was taken quite instinctively. It was the way of private property. It was the way of progress therefore only for the few. Progress since civilization entered has been partial and one-sided. And this improvement in the lot of the few could only under the circumstances be accomplished by intensifying the toil of many. The tools of production being relatively crude, production could only be increased by increasing the number of the labourers. The breeding of slaves and the hunting down of slaves, were primary requisites of such an age. The male labourer was a chattel as well as the female. There were three main grades of female slaves. The wife of the master who while not named as a slave was so in fact. She was the property of the husband and over her the latter had full control. Then there were the women who figured as concubines and whose slavery was undisguised. Finally there were the female slaves who toiled in the house. Such was the very pleasant dawn of monogamy. One husband for the wife, but *as many women for the master as his purse could stand*. This still holds good. Indeed it has now become a special industry of which the recent Piccadilly Flat scandal is a typical illustration. It is not without reason that the master's wives should be participating in the Women's Movement. And in so far as they do actively engage in this movement they are *in opposition to the existing order*.

THE passion of private property, the insatiable appetite for accumulation that grows by what it feeds on, has in the course of the centuries called forth the development of the productive powers. The

**The Positive  
Outcome of  
Private Property**

Industrial Revolution, beginning in England at the close of the 18th century, marks an epoch in this development. This revolution was an effect of preceding developments, including the opening up of the field for capitalist accumulation. In turn it became the cause of the further and unparalleled extension of this accumulation. Every improvement in the means of production became the means for the extension of the capitalists' appropriation. But those mechanical developments had another result which transcended the purpose of the capitalist—the increase in the productivity of labour to the point where the daily wants of every individual may be fully satisfied in a working day of two or three hours in length. But capitalist production being primarily production for profit,—the absorption of unpaid labour—the reduction of the working-day and the full satisfaction of the individual requirements made possible by the extension of the productive power, is still unrealized. Nevertheless capitalism's development has also another consequence not of the capitalists' seeking and not in harmony with capitalist interests, viz., the creation of a force that can make an actuality out of the possibility, that can transform the material outcome of economic development into means for social-democratic use. The more capitalism develops, the more it calls forth against it this antagonistic force to which it has given birth. And why? Because the growth of capitalism means the sharpening of the antagonisms between wage-labour and capital, means the rendering more vivid and palpable its own shortcomings.

It becomes more clearly apprehended why it is that hand in hand with the increased fertility of labour, the lot of the labourer becomes more burdensome, and with the growth of this consciousness there appears more and more definite, a movement having for its conscious objective, the overthrow of the last and now unnecessary form of slavery. Such a movement does not spring up spontaneously or directly, but gains gradual definition in the every-day struggle against the sway of capital. This is the practical source of the education of the proletariat. In the fires of this conflict is the steel of a class-conscious solidarity tempered. It is this indisputable fact that demonstrates the absurdity of those who look down from their lofty hill-top abodes, from their monasteries of Pure Reason, upon this everyday struggle for immediate needs, as being so many diversions from the abolition of the wages system. Certainly the same abolition will never be realized by the phrases and formulæ of those who are only adulterated with Marx but who have yet to realize an understanding of his mighty works. From this so-called Marxist attitude, the Women's Movement is of course denounced as a mere piece of reactionary folly, as having no connexion with the goal of the

Labour Movement. This denunciation by the way does not come merely from those who are opposed to Parliamentary voting, but, more strangely, from those who appear to value Parliamentary action as being par excellence the way to the Revolution.

Economic development, which has resulted in an increase of the amount of wealth produced by a given amount of labour, has not only laid the foundation for the emancipation of the workman but also the emancipation of woman. Those are not two different results flowing from two different and independent causes. Although we may view them separately, in actuality they are inseparable and proceed from one common process. The same factor which at a low stage of development dictated the subjection of women, at another and higher stage, dictates with equal necessity, her freedom. When the woman ceased to be a participator in the public industry (as was the case in the days of the communal household), she became excluded from the public power and denied public rights. As the private property of the male, the laws were made in the interests of the proprietor. The law took account of her duties but had no regard for her rights. Slaves have no rights, only duties. We remarked in a preceding paragraph that the slavery of woman was more akin to that of the "chattel" than the "wage" category. While in the case of the men chattel-slavery and serfdom gave place to the modern system of wage-labour, the status of women has been of a more static character.

The changes in the relations of the social labour process have applied *overwhelmingly* to men for the reason that this process was almost exclusively carried on by men. Following from those changed economic relations, changes in legal and political relations took place. When the labourer is no longer sold but becomes a seller of himself, the law must now recognize him as an owner of his commodity, free to sell it to whoever may want to buy. That is what is involved in the designation "free labourer." Sell however he must, or starve—unless he can become a capitalist buyer. And in this case "few are chosen." It is also true to say that with the development of bourgeois society women have been brought within the legal formula of "free contract." That is to say, the woman is free to choose her future lord and master, she is also free to sell. On the other hand, once she has "cast the die," she is generally her masters "till death do them part." This freedom of contract is as fictitious for woman as for the wage-labourer. And if we may make any distinction, the freedom is even more fictitious for the women of the propertied class than for those women who "have nothing to lose but their chains." We shall refer to this again at a later stage. The legal changes that have recognized the relation of women to men, particularly of wife to husband, are comparatively modern and are the outcome of modern economic development.

Since the Industrial Revolution, the revolutionizing of the home and the family has been in full view. This revolution has its good side

and its bad side. The good side, the progressive aspect, consists in *the launching of women into social production*. This results from the highly-developed means and conditions of production. The bad side consists in the physical, mental, and moral stultification of women as a result of their exploitation. Just as it is not the machine as such which is responsible for the ills of the labourer, but rather the capitalist use of machinery—the machine as capital—in the same way it is not the taking part in industry which is the source of the bad effects experienced by women workers: the cause is to be found in the capitalist form of industry in the fact that *the capitalist class are not employing women for the purpose of emancipating them, but for the purpose of exploiting them*. Thus while women are being brought to serve the god Capital as wage-labourers and to endure the consequent miseries of wage-labour, they are still, for the most part, fettered with the political and legal shackles of mediæval and ancient civilization. *While she works as a wage-labourer, politically, she is still a chattel*. It is just here that we touch the mainspring of the present Suffrage Movement. True, a large number of the members of this movement are not wage-workers. That in no way contradicts the fact of the movement's source, a movement whose basic arguments for the Suffrage turn upon the *effects of wage-labour upon the woman*.

We propose to consider in our next, the effects of the economic revolution (1) upon women who are wage-workers, (2) upon women who are not wage-workers; (a) those dependent on wage-workers, (b) those dependent upon capitalists. W.W.C.

(To be continued)

**Report of Plebs Annual Meeting left over till next month.**

**Will any reader wishing to dispose of a copy or copies of Deville's "People's Marx" communicate with G. Sims, C.L.C., 13, Penywern Road, Earl's Court, S.W.**

**Annual Reports will be gladly forwarded to friends who will undertake the careful distribution of same among likely supporters for C.L.C. Address, G. Sims, 13, Penywern Road, Earl's Court, S.W.**

**The Delegates to the C.L.C. Annual Meeting decided to recommend the organization of district Committees for the purpose of systematic appeal to all lodges, branches, &c., of Trade Unions, Socialist and Co-operative Societies for financial support to the College. It is a way of saving the College from extinction. Will friends willing to help communicate with G. Sims, 13, Penywern Road, Earl's Court, S.W.**

# CENTRAL LABOUR COLLEGE

## ANNUAL MEETING

ON August Bank Holiday last the fourth Annual Meeting was held in the large lecture room of the College at 13 Penywern Road. In addition to a large number of friends and supporters the following societies were represented :—

Building Trades Amalgamation Committee ...	by 2 delegates.
Amalgamated Society of Engineers ... ..	2 "
National Union of Railwaymen ... ..	34 "
South Wales Miners' Federation ... ..	6 "
Tailoresses & Dressmakers, National Society of	1 "
Trades and Labour Councils ... ..	5 "
C.L.C. Provincial Classes ... ..	3 "
Civil Service Socialist Society ... ..	1 "
Co-Operative Societies ... ..	3 "
British Socialist Party (Walthamstow) ...	1 "
Industrial Democracy League ... ..	1 "
Plebs Club and Institute (Rhondda) ... ..	1 "

Mr. E. Edwards attended as the representative of the C.L.C. Board of Management. The meeting was opened at 11-15 a.m. by Mr. E. Edwards, *N.U.R.*, and Chairman of *C.L.C. Board*, who announced that a letter of regret at inability to attend had been received from Mr. Ben Davies, Miners' Agent, *Pontypridd and Rhondda District, S.W.M.F.* As Mr. Davies had been appointed Chairman of the Annual Meeting by the College Board the vacancy must be filled. They all regretted Mr. Davies' absence, as they would probably be in need at this meeting of just those qualities which Mr. Davies possessed in such a marked degree, viz. firmness and forbearance; however, Mr. Frank Hodges, Miners' Agent, *Garw District, S.W.M.F.* was present, and it was proposed to nominate him to fill the vacancy. Mr. F. Hodges was probably the youngest Miners' Agent in the world, but he had already proved his capacity in that sphere, and he was convinced that if he were elected as their Chairman for this meeting he would give further proof of his abilities. Mr. Hodges' selection would also be very appropriate, as he was an ex-Student of the C.L.C., at one and the same time, therefore, a demonstration of the value of the education imparted and the desire of the Board for a real democratic atmosphere in this the workers' own educational institution.

Mr. J. S. Beale, *Paddington No 1, N.U.R.*, seconded Mr. Hodges' nomination, which was carried with acclamation.

### Chairman's Opening Remarks

Mr. Hodges, in thanking the meeting for their electing him to officiate, expressed his surprise at, and unpreparedness for, the duties devolving upon him. He was happily able to speak with some



authority on the nature of the work the C.L.C. was accomplishing. The District he was representing there that morning had already started some C.L.C. classes, and the need for them and the demand also was shown by an average attendance of thirty at each of the Classes; the Classes were started and owed much of their success to the untiring energy of Mr. Leyshon Williams, who had acted as Secretary. Mr. Williams had also been responsible for collecting a considerable sum of money for the support of the College itself—had many others done the same the College would not now be lacking the necessary funds to meet its liabilities and also to further extend its work.

He considered this Class work as the most valuable of the College activities, it provided for Students not able to take up residence at the College, and he hoped that those Students who were able to reside at the College for a year or more through the generosity of the Trade Unions would show their appreciation of their good fortune by taking up this work when their College period expired. In this way they could demonstrate the value derived by the Trade Unions from any support accorded to the College; it would also be an incentive to other Unions to support the College. He had done what he could in this direction and regretted that his duties as Miners' Agent did not permit of his giving more time to the work.

Coming to the agenda for the morning's business, unfortunately some dissatisfaction existed among the resident Students and they had issued a circular formulating their grievances. There would be a full and free discussion of the matter at this meeting, and he hoped as a result that some settlement would be arrived at which would enable them all to go forward in the educational work and aims they had set before them. He had had two years at the College and he was glad to testify to the advantages he had derived therefrom.

As for the financial position of the College, it was a standing disgrace to the Labour Movement that such things as Prize Draws should be necessary to finance this most important activity of their movement.

The Secretary then read the correspondence.

The last Annual Report was adopted as minutes of the last Annual Meeting.

### The Secretary's Report

The Secretary next gave his report. The Board and Trustees of the College were the same as last year with the exception of the retirement of Mr. J. J. James, of the Anthracite District, owing to this District temporarily severing their connexion with the College, due to events in the mining world. The Board had met four times during the past year, the principal business transacted relating to the Students' Circular complaints, and finance.

With regard to the Students' Circular the complaints were (1) That the College was overstaffed; (2) That the Economics Lecturer was not satisfactory. As a result of three separate investigations the Board were of opinion that both charges were untrue. They were further of the opinion that these charges were brought owing to these Students objecting to the necessary discipline of the College, the carrying out of which had fallen, in a large measure, to the Economics Lecturer. The Secretary (who is also the Economics Lecturer) then entered into details of the events of the dispute, and the work of the College Staff.

Regarding Finance, the Secretary reported the issuing of Appeals and the application to the *National Union of Railwaymen* for a loan of £200. The latter had been considered favourably by the Executive of the *N.U.R.*, but the Trustees were unable to pass the loan as it was contrary to the Rules of the Union. The Executive had shown their sympathy, however, by advancing one year's scholarship fees (£104) in advance. The youngest of the Trade Unions, the *National Society of Tailoresses and Dressmakers* had agreed to levy themselves twopence per member per annum in support of the College and one quarter of this sum had since been paid, a method of assisting the finances of the College which the Board hoped would soon be adopted by the older and larger Trade Unions. Mr. E. Edwards, *N.U.R.*, was responsible for the initiative in the Prize Draw now running in aid of the College. In tendering thanks for all these friendly efforts on behalf of the College the Board would like to emphasize the need for immediate support to meet outstanding liabilities; they would also point out that the most effective way of obviating these constant appeals for funds would be, the adoption of a penny yearly levy scheme in Branches, Lodges, Districts, or nationally, by the Trade Unions. This permanent form of support was essential if the College was to live and to grow.

The Board desired to thank Mr. Traquair and Mr. Lumley for assisting the College by carrying out some necessary plumbers' work free of charge.

The adoption of the Secretary's Report was moved by Mr. Beale, *N.U.R.*, and seconded by Mr. A. J. Hough, *Leicester (Highfields), N.U.R.* In the discussion which followed, Mr. Hatfield, *N.U.R.*, and Mr. Nefydd Thomas, *Rhondda 1, S.W.M.F.*, put the case of the resident Students who upheld the Students' Circular complaints. Mr. Herbert Booth, *Notts Miners*, and Mr. Holder, *N.U.R.*, put forward the case for the resident Students who were opposed to the Circular. They had originally signed it on the distinct understanding that it was merely a means of having the matters therein complained of, discussed. At the time they were quite new to the place, having only been in residence a few weeks. They were later convinced that personal animus inspired the complaints. The

Students as a body had never authorised the publication of the circular. After a considerable discussion, lasting well over 2½ hours, the Secretary's Report was adopted.

The following resolution was then moved by Mr. Beale, *Paddington No. 1. N.U.R.*, and seconded by Mr. Tom Rees, *A.S.E.*, viz :

That this meeting of delegates to the C.L.C. Annual Meeting uphold and endorse the decisions of the C.L.C. Board of Management with references to the charges made in the Circular issued by some of the resident students in November, 1912.

Among others supporting, Mr. Moses Severn, Secretary of the *Pontypridd and Rhondda District, S.W.M.F.*, stated that his district after fully considering the charges contained in the Students' Circular had unanimously decided to support the College authorities by sending another Student to the College. The resolution was then put to the meeting and carried unanimously, with acclamation.

### Acting-Warden's Report

The College opened its third year in September, 1912, and concluded on 27th July, 1913.

Total Number of Students in Residence	...	...	16
Number of Students throughout the whole Period	...	...	7
" " " for parts of the Period	...	...	9
Assisted Students	...	...	2
Paying Students	...	...	5
Union Paid Students	...	...	7
Non-Paying Students	...	...	2
		16	16
		16	16

The Trade Union bodies endowing Scholarships during the 1912-13 Term were as follows:— *Western Valleys S.W.M.F.*; *Rhondda Valley No. 1 S.W.M.F.*; *Rhondda Valley No. 2 S.W.M.F.*; *Maesteg S.W.M.F.*; *Notts Miners' Association*; *National Union of Railwaymen*.

I regret to report that the Warden of the College, Mr. Dennis Hird, has been absent from the College through severe illness since early in February last. I am pleased to be able to announce that he has almost recovered and anticipate his being fit to resume at the opening of the 1913-14 Term. He had hoped to be present at the Annual General Meeting, but owing to having been badly stung on the face with wasps he writes to say that he cannot be here to-day.

Unfortunately other members of the Staff have also been on the sick-list.

Mr. George Sims, Secretary of the College, had to give up work for a few weeks owing to an affection of the eyes. In addition, the Hon. Treasurer, Ald. J. V. Wills, has during the early part of this year passed through a very serious illness, which involved his undergoing an operation. Happily he is now fit again.

In spite of those handicaps, we have been able to keep up the work of the College to the normal, although we have been prevented from carrying out certain projected works of extension. In addition to the ordinary daily lectures given by Messrs. Hird, Hacking, Sims and Craik, special lectures have been given by Miss Rosalind Travers and Mr. Hilaire Belloc. Mr. J. A. Fallows has again rendered the College excellent service during the Term with his series of weekly lectures in General History, and throughout the year Miss Clara Bunn has voluntarily and effectively conducted a weekly class in elocution. The Board has expressed its indebtedness to those friends for their generous assistance.

We are also indebted to Mrs. Ida Chaytor for voluntary assistance with the typewriting work, and also to Mr. Charles T. Pendrey for his many services to the College. Mr. Pendrey has now left the College and is engaged upon the staff of the Agricultural Labourers' Union. We parted with him with great regret, we shall miss his assistance very much. We hope that he will be successful in his new sphere.

During the winter, courses of lectures have been given in Biography and Literature by Mr. Hird, in Economics by Mr. Sims and in Industrial History by myself. It is hoped to continue this work in the next Term upon an extended scale.

The past year has been the most successful yet experienced in the work of the Provincial Classes. Classes have been conducted at the following places:—Rochdale, Bury, Oldham, Radcliffe, Waterfoot and Manchester, by Mr. C. L. Gibbons; Burnley, Padiham, Colne, Accrington and Nelson by Mr. E. Archbold; Halifax by Mr. J. W. Thomas; Bradford, by Mr. M. F. Titterington; Aberkenfig and Blaengarw by Mr. Frank Hodges; Tonypany, Treherbert, Pentre, Porth and Ferndale, by Mr. W. F. Hay. About 700 students, men and women, have been enrolled in the various classes.

Some provision has had to be made for towns too far removed from London or from a District to be able to defray the travelling expenses of a lecturer from either the College or a District and unable to maintain a special lecturer for themselves. We have tried to meet this difficulty by what has been called a Lectures-by-Post class. The lectures are prepared and typed at the College and are delivered by someone appointed by the class. The questions arising out of the lecture are sent up to the College and the answers are prepared and typed at the College and are dealt with by the class on alternate class nights. The following classes have been so organized:—

Hull Trades Council, Brighton Trades Council, Reading B.S.P.,  
Wolverhampton N.U.R., Shrewsbury N.U.R., Wellington N.U.R.,  
and Leicester N.U.R.

The fees for each of these is 10/- for one lecture and one set of answers. Although this entails considerable extra work for us, we feel that a demand for such a class cannot be allowed to pass without

some effort being made to cope with it. It is hoped that this form of class organization may in time lead to the opening up of new district classes on the lines of those already organized.

A new, and what has already proved to be an effective agency for the development of the College, has been established in the shape of the Women's League of the C.L.C. This body was established by the Staff Committee on the 18th December, 1912, and subsequently endorsed by the Board of the College. The following is a copy of the Staff Committee Minute :—

For the special purpose of raising funds for the C.L.C. and of assisting in propaganda work it is deemed to be desirable to form a women's committee. It is hereby resolved to invite Mrs. Horrabin, Miss Mabel Hope, Mrs. Chaytor, Mrs. Montefiore, Mrs. Cheshire, Mrs. Griffith, to establish such a committee with power to add to their numbers. This committee shall give a report at least monthly to the Staff Committee.

Since then other members have been added including Miss Rebecca West and Miss Winifred Blatchford. Some excellent work has been performed by this body both in the way of raising finance and in propagating the claims of the College. In addition the League has done much to develop the social side of the institution and many pleasant evenings have been spent in the College during the term under the auspices of the League. On the occasion of the N.U.R. Fusion Conference in London, a social was held to welcome the delegates to the conference and to congratulate them on their work. Many delegates attended and a very enjoyable evening was spent. The Board expresses its warmest thanks to the Women's League of the C.L.C.

As on the previous year, the College participated in the First of May celebrations and was officially represented on the platforms at Hyde Park.

Throughout the year, the College has had to pass through another very critical struggle owing to the still abnormally limited financial resources, and unless something substantial is done to mitigate this difficulty it will be impossible for the College to continue. It does seem absurd that an educational institution of this character, the work of which is vital to the progress of the working-class movement, should be faced with the possibilities of closing, when what is after all a comparatively small financial figure would remove it from all possibility of discontinuance.

Although this matter comes up under another head on the agenda, I should like to urge upon the delegates here assembled, the immediate necessity of taking collective action in a way that will ensure the continuing of the work of the College, a work that has borne fruit and is bearing fruit in the industrial organizations of the Labour Movement. Never was the need for clear thinking so great or so

possible of accomplishment as it is to-day. Working-Class Education is the great armaments question of the Labour Movement. On it our victory depends.

Moved by Mr. T. Lewis (*Garnant S.W.M.F.*), and seconded by Mr. Charles Loxton (*Long Eaton Trades Council*), and unanimously carried, that the Acting-Warden's Report be accepted.

## Treasurer's Report and Balance Sheet

Mr. J. V. Wills presented the above Report as under:—

Statement of Accounts, 1st July, 1912, to 30th June, 1913

				INCOME					
				£ s. d.		£ s. d.		£ s. d.	
By Balance in hand, 1912—									
	General Fund	...	...			7	11	2½	
	Petty Cash...	...	...			3	4	1½	
	„ Scholarship Fees	...	...	451	0	0			
	„ Correspondence Dept.	...	...	33	5	11			
	„ Evening Lectures, &c.	...	...	11	3	10			
	„ General Fund	...	...	262	12	0½			
	„ Rent	„	...	43	1	4			
	„ Sundries	...	...	5	18	0			
	„ Loan (N.U.R.)	...	...	104	0	0			
	„ „	...	...	2	15	7			
							913	16	8½
	„ Overdraft at Bank, 30/6/1913	...	...				2363	11	8
									3288 3 8½

				EXPENDITURE					
				£ s. d.		£ s. d.		£ s. d.	
To Catering	...	...	...	375	15	11			
„ Laundry	...	...	...	16	1	0			
„ Rates, Taxes and Insurance	...	...	...	121	4	5			
„ Library and Furnishing	...	...	...	24	7	0½			
„ Library and Heating	...	...	...	66	0	9			
„ Printing and Stationery	...	...	...	90	4	11			
„ Salaries	...	...	...	203	2	4			
„ Postages	...	...	...	53	13	1½			
„ Sundries	...	...	...	35	1	0			
„ Repairs	...	...	...	7	1	1½			
„ To Bank Charges	...	...	...	132	13	2			
„ Travelling Expenses	...	...	...	3	17	8			
							1129	2	5½
	„ Overdraft at Bank, 1/7/1912	...	...				2159	1	3
									3288 3 8½

I hereby certify that I have audited and found correct and checked receipts this 26th day of July, 1913.

GEORGE BURGNEAY,

*Executive Committee, N.U.R.; Branch Secretary, Rotherhithe  
No. 1 Branch N.U.R.; Auditor C.L.C., 1913.*

## BALANCE SHEET, 31st July, 1913.

LIABILITIES						£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Accounts due	...	...	...	...	...	200	0	0			
Overdraft at Bank	...	...	...	...	...	2353	14	8			
									<u>2553</u>	14	8
ASSETS						£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Premises	...	...	...	...	...	1700	0	0			
Furniture	...	...	...	...	...	500	0	0			
									<u>2200</u>	0	0
									£	s.	d.
LIABILITIES	...	...	...	...	...				2553	14	8
ASSETS	...	...	...	...	...				2200	0	0
DEFICIT	...	...	...	...	...				<u>£353</u>	14	8

Moved by Mr. Traquair (*Building Trades Amalgamation Committee*), seconded by Mr. W. Dudley (*Colwick Junction N.U.R.*), that the Treasurer's Report and Balance Sheet be accepted.

After a discussion on ways and means took place, it was moved by Mr. P. Friedberg (*Walthamstow Trades Council*), seconded by Mr. J. Humbles (*Wood Green N.U.R.*), that this meeting pledge itself in its individual and collective capacity to make the Prize Draw a success and to take concerted action in the respective districts with a view to organizing district conferences and thereby securing a greater measure of support from the Trade Unions and other Labour organizations.

### Correspondence Department Report

Mr. Hodges, in calling upon Mr. Hacking to present the report of his department, spoke in high terms of the "unpaid" labour of the Correspondence Department Secretary.

Mr. A. J. Hacking presented the following report :

This shows the subjects of study and number of students to be as follows :—

English Grammar	...	...	...	70	Students.
Economics	...	...	...	33	"
Logic	...	...	...	34	"
Industrial History	...	...	...	17	"
English Literature	...	...	...	5	"
Evolution	...	...	...	2	"
				<u>161</u>	
Total	...	...	...	161	

There is a slight decrease upon the numbers of the previous year. The work done has been, generally speaking, satisfactory, pointing to industry and interest on the part of students.

It is to be regretted that withdrawals amounting to 68 in number have to be reported. This figure is exclusive of the 161 students notified. This can be accounted for owing to the fact that earnest students join the department but find that their work therewith is largely hindered by the energy and effort put forth for the amendment of social conditions.

The Department is capable of great expansion but, in common with other branches of College work, we are cramped by want of necessary funds.

Moved by Mr. George Brown (*Hull No. 2. N.U.R.*) seconded by Mr. W. Beynon (*Tillery Lodge, Mon., Western Valley Miners.*) that the report be accepted with best thanks to Mr. Hacking for his services.

### Women's League (C.L.C.) Report

Mrs. Winifred Horrabin, Hon. Secretary of the League reported as under:—

The Women's League of the C.L.C. was formed, in response to an invitation by the Staff Committee, in December of last year. A provisional committee carried on the work of the League until May, when a public meeting was held at the College, a constitution drawn up and accepted, and a committee and officers elected.

The constitution defines the League as "a Socialist and Trade Union Women's League formed with the object of helping in the educational work of the C.L.C., by collecting funds for scholarships for men and women, and by helping in the social work of the College."

The officers and committee are as follows:—*Chairman*: Mrs. D. B. Montefiore, *Treasurer*: Mrs. I. Chaytor, *Secretary*: Mrs. Winifred Horrabin, *Committee*: Mrs. Mary Cheshire, Miss Grace Neal, Miss Mabel Hope, Miss Wilkinson, Miss Gernsheimer, Mrs. Zhook, Mrs. Ormonde, Mrs. Grey, Miss Barbara Low, Miss Winifred Blatchford and Miss Rebecca West.

During the year the League has been successful in raising close on £40 towards the Special Appeal Fund.

Very successful Social Evenings have been arranged by the League (reports of which have already appeared in the "*Plebs*" Magazine).

During the coming year the League hopes to send speakers to Trade Union branches in the London District to urge the necessity of independent working-class education, and to appeal for support for the C.L.C.

Moved by Mr. Charles Loxston (*Long Eaton Trades Council*), seconded by Miss Mary Howarth (*Bury C.L.C. Class*), that the report be accepted.



In concluding the meeting and thanking the delegates for their attendance and assistance Mr. Hodges moved from the Chair that this meeting expresses its sincere regret at the absence from the College of Mr. Dennis Hird through his long illness, and sends to him its earnest wishes for his speedy and complete recovery, and return to the work of the Central Labour College.

The resolution seconded by Mr. J. Clatworthy (*Woolwich A.S.E.*) and carried unanimously.

### Board of Management C.L.C.

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## On Matters Communistic

**W**HILST it may be truly said an understanding of the Past will enable one to realise the Present, it is also true that present events may help one to seize more readily the happenings of Ancient History. The passage of primitive production, the downfall of Gentile Society, the breaking up of primitive Communism are matters often difficult to grasp, and it is still more difficult for the student to have a mental vision of those early days on the threshold of history.

The following quotation is taken from *The Nation* of September 23rd, 1911. On the Russian plains a scene in the Industrial Drama was being reproduced which had been enacted 3000 years ago beneath the sunny skies of Attica. The matter is extremely interesting economically and historically.

One permanent consequence alone will be left of M. Stolypin's long period of power—the destruction of the Russian "mir". His name is associated by Western Liberals chiefly with the ruin of the democratic Duma. But we question whether in the end this violence of his struck so harshly at the deeper roots of Russian life as the breaking up of the village community. The commune undoubtedly

stood in need of reform. It had encouraged a shiftless system of agriculture, and it acted as a check on individual enterprise among the peasants. But against these evils was to be set the fact that it ensured to every peasant his share in the land, provided for the orphan and the widow, and, above all, kept alive the spirit of mutual aid. It should have been easy to devise a wiser system of dividing the common lands, and to introduce into the old patriarchal foundation a modern system of co-operation.

M. Stolypin has destroyed what can never be re-created. Everywhere the old communal lands on the dissolution of the "mir" are passing into the possession of the usurer and the dram seller. The indebted peasants sell their patrimony, and drift into the towns to reinforce the industrial proletariat, or sink into the position of landless labourers. A conservative class of small proprietors is arising on the one hand, a great pauper horde is gathering on the other to swell the forces of some distant revolution. His warmest admirers cannot pretend that M. Stolypin has solved the problems of Russian misery.

Since the publication of the above, there has appeared a more comprehensive article in *The Contemporary Review* on the "Abolition of the Russian Mir," by Boris Lebedeff.

The Edict of November 1906 for abolishing the Russian Mir, issued by Stolypin, caused a great amount of controversy to be raged about the question of communal land tenure. Since the abolition of serfdom (1861) no act has been more drastic and revolutionary; it was passed by bureaucratic methods without the aid and sanction of the Duma, but accepted by the Duma in July 1910. Russian conditions under this law are interesting. Previous to 1906 the Russian Government thought the Mir the corner stone of the economic edifice. Land had been granted to the liberated serf and the £9 millions of rent and taxes were collected through the village communal institutions. The peasants were also allowed to leave the commune if they paid up fully for their holdings to the Government. This was often a difficult matter but there was noted a growing exodus to the towns and the advent of the land speculator. 1893 saw an act forbidding the peasant to redeem his land or leave the commune without consent. The Government stood by the commune to prevent its members from becoming paupers and to check the growth of the proletarian classes. The general policy of Alexander II, the Peasant Tsar, was intended to be favourable to the peasants, and included fullest redemption of lands, reduction of payments, and diminished excise on salt. In 1903 the Government abolished the joint responsibility of the members of the communes. The smallness of the peasants holdings and other matters caused the riots of 1904-5. The same year the peasants were freed from unpaid redemption monies. In 1906 the Government reversed its position and began to break the Russian peasant. The laws of redemption had come too late, the

commune could not go back over the path it had travelled. Statistics show that "altogether about 7,849,000 peasant households had insufficient quantities of land in their possession and as was said in the second Duma, the peasants should have 140 million acres more in order to enable them to live on the land with their families." The only solutions were to increase the amount of land or adopt intensive culture. Stolypin's Government tried to do both, but not so much in agricultural knowledge being given as changes in the ownership of land. Communal land tenancy was doomed and the ownership by individuals took its place.

The economic aspect was thus eliminated and its political aspect pushed to the fore. . . . The Government decided to create amongst the peasants a class of conservative and economically strong independent proprietors in order to check the socialistic tendencies of the 'mir', which were held responsible for the peasants representatives in the 1st. and 2nd. Dumas.

To help the peasants, Land Banks were introduced, but with no good results and ultimately ceasing to deal with the village communal purchases and dealing for the preference with individual buyers. The following tables show the working of these Land Banks.

	Land Bank's purchases from landowners. Acres.	Land Bank's sales to peasants. Acres.
1906 ...	3,088,400	1,412,900
1907 ...	4,103,500	2,518,800
1908 ...	1,534,200	2,751,000
1909 ...	467,100	3,312,500
1910 ...	459,100	4,184,500

The following table shows the distribution of each 100 acres purchased by the peasants from the Land Banks.

By village community:—			
1906	1907	1908	1909
96.9 ...	97.5 ...	61.2 ...	21.57
By individual owners:—			
3.1 ...	2.5 ...	38.8 ...	78.5

The change of conditions, outlined above by the change in figures, was originated by Stolypin's report to the Tsar, "that the principle of the agrarian policy must be, not to increase the quantity of land in the possession of the peasants but to introduce order into the peasant's households." Communistic society stood in the way and it had to go, and the effect of this was to give an impetus to the emigration to Siberia, which has only accelerated the pauperisation of the masses. The general policy was to enable those who desired, to become individual proprietors, and where the land had undergone no repartition since 1861, the land was considered to be held in

individual ownership. Thus every member of the commune had individual rights of ownership of the communal land and these rights he could sell. The break-up came slowly but was aided by the institution of Land Captains. Of course, there were obvious difficulties and interesting details in the transitional form, due entirely to the communal institutions and the working of the common lands.

The general change was wrought on these lines:—

1. Notification of desire to leave commune.
2. Sanction by authorities and transference of land to personal holdings.
3. Petition to Land Commissioners to have separate parcels of land in one block, at one place.
4. Block of land actually received.

This was the necessary procedure to become a free independent landowner; 8% of the peasants are partial individual owners and only 2.6 have received their land in one block. "It means that after the first few moments of passivity and fear, the peasants are now beginning to resist the law more energetically, indicating they are in no hurry to free themselves from the communal yoke as was predicted." The effect of the Government's action to break the "Mir," in the interests of Industry, has given a filip to the newer methods of agriculture, to wit, the adoption of the "group system," instead of strips of land. On the other side the Land Commissioners grant money to those leaving the commune, and the proprietary rights are invested in the head of the family. This, in face of the family control in the commune, is a drastic change. Formerly it was the custom, when the peasant was too old to work, for the control and management, to pass into the hands of the sons. Now the head of the family has, and retains, legal rights and is master of the situation. The aspirants to, and devotees of Industrial Individualism often desire to return to the "mir." Whilst some are repudiated entirely, others are accepted on conditions. M. Lebedeff concludes, there is a great antipathy to the law, although the operation of it does not really threaten the stability of the "mir."

Yet how long can this form of communism exist? Can this modern citadel of communism withstand the battering ram of Capitalism, the sapping influences of modern industry? Certainly, it stands with a good store of vitality, possessing none of the weaknesses of early communism, or that of the Middle Ages, but having to hand the enormous resources of an age of invention, and holding to a healthy form of peasant-proprietorship which may not be sanctioned by Chesterton. Is this persistence of communism an augury for the future? May not Russia, with its teeming millions, find itself fulfilling the role of the Germanic tribes in Roman history and thereby tumble over theories that the present world powers will

be the innovators of a Collectivist State? Why should not Russia, with all its communistic and proletarian possibilities, find itself raised to the crest of the world wave and flung far on the rising shore of Industrial and Social Democracy? Economic virility and not philosophical subtlety is the factor that counts. The Will to Power and that Power the Will to live communally and thereby individually is more effective than all the Edicts by a class-controlled State or the academic utterances from class-culture schools and spokesmen.

MEREDITH F. TITTERINGTON

## A Ruthenian Philosopher on Education

**J**ANEK PRZEMYSLOV,\* "the Sage of Tarnopol," who was also a reluctant and pre-occupied parent, once formulated a brief theory of education, for the benefit of an English audience. In his opinion, three qualities only were essential to the character of a contented human being; Sense of Humour, Love of Nature, and an Appreciation of One's Own Company. And he maintained that it lay within the power of education to supply such qualities. When Przemyslov's hearers, pained at the undue importance given to these slight and trivial elements in the personality of the Good Citizen, pressed him to deliver himself more seriously on the matter, he consented to add two other qualities: Love of Work, and (as he described it) "a feeling for the Romance of Morality."

He was never known to give any practical account of the means whereby these five qualities should be developed in or impressed upon the characters of the young, further than this: he firmly believed them to be, psychically speaking, infectious. It followed, therefore, that the gifts and personality of a teacher of children were all important, and her attainments negligible. "If the governess can inspire my children TO WORK with their hands, TO LEARN with their brains," said he, "she may teach them to crochet and read the lives of the saints for all I care!"

However, it does not seem that Madame Przemyslov chose the instructors of her young family by any standard other than the normal, so that the philosopher's children received a sound English education. They passed from kindergarten and Organized Games to the public schools, they went on to the Universities, and became in due time journalists, city men, and Suffragettes. They early learnt to mistrust all the subtler forms of humour, and to round their backs, as it were, under the hailstorms of Przemyslov's destructive criticism of their pleasures and their duties; and possibly they, with their mother saw him finally return alone to the place of his birth without much

\* Note, Pronounce "Schemisslov."

regret. But his "five principles of education" may have some interest for those unpractical minds who walk a little apart from the highway of contemporary thought.

By "love of work" Przemyslov means, not the enjoyment of the task itself, but the hearty performance of the function of working, whatever the task may be. This can be called "a taste for industry" and does not play a large part in modern education. It is found easier and more effective for the teacher to induce his pupils to like Latin, to enjoy mathematics, to delight in geography, to appreciate history, and so on, than to make the mere habit of working at their studies normal and satisfactory to them. Some people say that this last result was more often obtained in the old-fashioned days of education, when the pedagogue made no attempts to level the steep path of learning for his pupils. They were not then cajoled into relishing their lessons, but driven to work—or suffer; and it seems possible that the majority suffered, if the few acquired or evolved the "taste for industry" above mentioned. Modern pedagogy holds that the pupil may painlessly and unconsciously acquire this taste through the enjoyment of each task: Przemyslov used to maintain that, under modern systems, the "love of work" inherent in the few choicer pupils was softened away. When these two views were materialised (as sometimes happened) in a conversation between Przemyslov and a headmaster, discussion died violently in a turmoil of conflicting evidence; and the philosopher swung off to the football field—"since there, at least, I can watch my boys taking pains about *something!*" And, as they grew up, he was able to contrast their application and nicety of aim when addressing a golf ball, with the casual and indeterminate action of their minds when following a political argument.

Przemyslov would occasionally draw examples from cottage life to support his theory that young people may acquire a taste for industry if they live in close contact with those who possess it. His knowledge of the English peasantry was wider than one would expect; and he could describe how the energetic, industrious mother will sometimes succeed in bringing up the whole family to be good workmen: the boys "always turning a hand to something," the girls "taking a real pride in their work."

As regards physical labour, the taste for industry seems to be a virtue that has no single drawback, but when we turn to the more complex and far-reaching world of mental toil, its merits are not unalloyed. We owe to it many unrewarded scholastic achievements, and monuments of compilation or research; but we must also ascribe to this hearty and uncritical performance of the function of working those myriad volumes of "books about books," such as the monograph of Silas P. Browne (Yellowstone University) upon Dr. Jones' comment upon the essay of Robinson the Elder upon Shakespeare.

Janek Przemyslov, however, was a clear thinker who would not disown the ultimate conclusion of his theories. Therefore he generally defended the ant-like industry of such book-makers. "Certainly," said he, "these men are so many proofs to the good for me; since, mark you, we are not talking of Efficient Citizens, but of Happy and Contented Human Beings. Are not these meretricious writers nearly as pleased and busy at their desks in the British Museum as beavers making a dam? And, in the end, Literature suffers no more permanent harm from their efforts than does Nature from the streams that their broad-tailed prototypes have blocked up!"

Pursuing the same ideal of individual happiness, Przemyslov never encouraged his pupils (when he possessed any) to concentrate or narrow their efforts to one direction. "Even in journalism, that industrial world of thought which concerns most of us nowadays," said he, "Jack-of-all-trades is still the happy man; and the 'fatal facility' as you call it, is a gift of the gods. He who has wandered from West Africa to the Caucasus, or Persia and can write illuminating articles on all three places, will have a far freer survey, a much larger fund of those memories and interests, which alone bring content, than the human moles about him, who are making their names by concentrating themselves upon some ten square miles of Europe!" And from time to time one of Przemyslov's friends would follow this advice and his own inclinations; thereby condemning himself to an independent and careless obscurity.

After these loose utterances upon concentration and advancement, our philosopher's theory of the "romance of morality" seemed to draw his hearers up short, as it were, and fling them into the confined world of Victorian ethics. First, he maintained that the average child has a free, uncritical interest in questions of morality, conduct and the welfare of its own soul; and this interest, he held, may be so stimulated and guided into wholesome paths by its reading and its teachers, that a child may learn to take the same pleasure in the pursuit of good conduct that it would in the exercise of a simple art. Beginning with the "Rollo Books" and similar honest and innocent productions, he would not debar children even from the world of persuasive religious fiction, holding that a little Revivalism in early years did no harm. In this matter Przemyslov relied, for once, more upon books than on personal influence, and his method here postulates a child that is fond of reading. He gave the reason that books create for children a little inner world apart, from which suggestions concerning conduct would arise with special authority and influence.

He advised that boys and girls should be supplied with plentiful reading from George Eliot, Kingsley, Tennyson, Miss Charlotte Yonge, and all those kindred Victorian writers, who show how even the humblest life may be one long and profoundly interesting conflict of (as they would say) the Soul with Sin. "But think how inspiring, whichever way you choose to interpret it! For every trifling act, and

even thought, becomes an incident in the magnificent and continuous battle of Good and Evil that is waged within the young mind; a battle-scene of deep earnestness and devoid of all humour, where the "daily kind action" of the Boy Scout becomes a triumph, and the second helping of pudding is a defeat! And, later on, consider the interest of working, almost hour by hour, at the training of your own character in a thousand homely details—toiling at personal morality as other people labour nowadays to train their poor bodies into strength and grace! They moved in a world of restrictions and renunciations, the good Victorians, but these only contributed to the absorbing mental effort of forming their own characters, and "making their souls" in the literal sense of that phrase. I would not advocate the cultivation of the "romance of morality" in those minds that already possess an art or an enthusiasm; indeed, where these last arise, the romance of morality is sure to fall into the background: but in theories of education we are generally thinking of the Average Man and how to make him happy and useful. Believe me, I have gone up and down the earth and tried many pursuits, good and bad—or, as you now say, conventional and unconventional—but I have seen nothing so satisfactory as personal morality. For it is a hobby indifferent to time and circumstance; your character is always with you, and, even in solitary confinement, there is scope for the exercise of conduct. It matters not upon what religion your theory of conduct is formed—let it be orthodoxy, philanthropy, mysticism, or some private heresy of your own breeding, or from America—it matters not; if it gives you an ideal of personal life, and forms in you the habit of attending to your actions and thoughts."

Many objections may be brought against this theory, too long and serious to be entered upon here; and it must be allowed that the term "priggish" might find a place among these: but this word had no terrors for Przemyslov. However, the chief practical objection is, that the romance of personal morality simply does not interest the younger generation at the present day—a fact which our philosopher fully recognized.

Passing to lighter themes, he would maintain that every child ought to spend a little time daily in freedom and complete solitude "so as to make acquaintance with his own Self, and find out what amuses it." He would cite the pitiable condition of the modern child, if isolated by chance during the holidays; and tell how the poor little product of boarding-schools, corporate life, and Organized Games, could find no pleasure in the solitary walk, no invisible playmate in garden or field, but must beseech the company and assistance of its elders in dealing with the Children's Competition Page of *Suburban Life*.

But the man who grows up from a less trammelled childhood, with many bright and solitary hours, has, as Przemyslov would say, won an



agreeable life-companion through the cultivated appreciation of his own society. "After all, whether you see much of him or little, Yourself, is indissolubly bound to you, for better or worse."

Properly trained, and not unduly fostered nor restricted, Oneself becomes a delightful comrade that time rarely can spoil. To be sure, it has its caprices, this other self of ours; we who are solitary by habit or temperament know that there are days when, though all outward circumstances may be serene, the other self wakes up morose, and, after the heavy day is over, accompanies us still disgruntled to bed. But again, what periods of sure contentment it has given us! What relief after wearisome society! what satisfaction, even on leaving those who have delighted us, when we draw up the armchair and take down several books; or when the garden-gate clangs after us, as we set off for a lonely day by wood and field.

Solitude, as well as sleep, "wraps one round like a garment" with a sense of almost physical well-being; and folded in this invisible robe, we are within touch of those vague aery presences that do not show themselves when other human beings are near.

Those who are not only solitaries but lovers of nature—and indeed the tastes are akin—will be reminded by the "garment of solitude" of that other sense of pleasant, magical enfolding which comes upon us when we leave the high road and slip into a wood. The trees have closed round and we are freed into another world. From the Sussex beechgroves, to the melancholy Galician pine-forests and the woodlands of Bukowina that were more familiar to Przemyslov, the dual sense of enfolding and emancipation is always the same. Love of Nature embodies itself in different images to each of us—for one it is a moorland, for another open meadows and the sea, for another it is the hills; but to one and all it gives the "key of the fields." How are we to put that key into the hands of many? and would we, in fact, do so if we could? Here Przemyslov would return to his main contention: education in its right sense must leave the child free to develop a latent love of Nature if he possessed it at all: and "if he did not, he could collect beetles or stones and be no worse off." Our Ruthenian philosopher believed that the curiously-matter-of-fact and yet sentimental atmosphere of modern middle-class education, its heavy-footed, benevolent pursuit of the strange little souls of children must hinder them sadly from finding and grasping the key of the fields. And his rage with the valuable science of Nature Study knew no bounds. "It might make scientists and petty observers out of those who would never feel the coming of twilight over the hills—for the rest, it is like teaching young souls to pick out and examine all the punctuation marks in an act of *Midsummer Night's Dream*! Leave an ordinary healthy child alone in the garden or free to roam the country-side, and some form of the love of Nature will surely come out of him; if it doesn't, you can send him to a public school."

The first item on Przemyslov's list of qualities essential to the happy human being was the only one upon which he and Modern Education were in accord. Georgians and Victorians alike hold a sense of humour to be the most enduring gifts of the gods. (Yet it was not represented on Olympus, and for lack of it, says Meredith, the Olympians themselves fell away). And prize it though we all may, nobody except Przemyslov was ever so bold as to suggest a method of implanting or cultivating this happy sense in the bosoms of the young. They have often a feeling for comedy in the most primitive meaning of that word; but the true sense of humour, which may be a man's surest standby in later years, only develops with maturity. For this means more than a perception of the ridiculous; it is the critical and rather detached attitude toward life, and above all towards one's own splendours, failings and absurdities, which gives us peace and inner freedom in the end. It does not, I think, hinder its possessor from playing the great part, if circumstances demand; but he will give that great part a touch of something interesting, roguish and human, which will send it home to the heart. (Przemyslov was no classic, so that his interpretation may be a mistaken one, but he always understood Socrates' last wish to have a cock sacrificed to Aesculapius in this sense).

It is curious how he perceived and enjoyed the quality in question, yet himself possessed it only in a very small degree. Trusting, as he did, in the ultimate perfectibility of human nature, he thought that young people might acquire the sense of humour by association with those who had the gift; and to this end he once introduced into the Przemyslov household a secretary who appeared so qualified. The experiment was brief, for the secretary maintained a detached and critically humorous attitude not only toward life, but toward his duties also; and, no other such gifted exponent of this quality being found, the young Przemyslovs grew up unhelped.

As I have said, none of their father's "five principles of education" have touched them at all. They remain, however, excellent examples of modern English-bred citizens of affluence: dreamy materialists, whose minds are like a quiet London street—dull, wide, incoherent, and speedily ending in a fog. They have singularly little kinship with their father, one of the most brilliant and ineffective thinkers of the time: too critical for his own countrymen, too original and turbulent for ours. The Astrologer of Tarnopol says concerning him: "Przemyslov was born under Saturn, and his destiny has been much tormented."

ROSALIND TRAVERS.

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