

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

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THE  
"Plebs" Magazine

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# The "Plebs" 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.

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 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

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## EDITORIAL

**H**OW many socialist parties or bodies are there in Britain to-day? The question is sufficiently staggering to most of us. Especially if we strain our memories to remember how many there were 10 years ago. Then we could have answered with an easy confidence that there were the I.L.P. and the S.D.F., and the different points of view of the respective bodies could be easily and quickly put. But to-day the position is infinitely more complex. For not only has the number of bodies or parties increased, but the touchstone of judgment has changed. To-day we cannot talk of the respective views of the I.L.P. and the B.S.P. on Political action, simply because political action is no longer the measure of judgment in the Labour Movement.

To-day there are numerically strong and exceptionally vigorous bodies, viz. :—I.S.E.L. (Industrial Syndicalist Education League) and the I.L. (Industrialist League), both of which expressly repudiate all forms of political action. In addition to these there are the S.L.P., the I.W.G.B., and last of all the I.D.L., who, whatever their differences, all repudiate the I.L.P. and the B.S.P. The difference in the position between these bodies rests in the value of, and the emphasis on, political action. But there is a great distinct line drawn between the two first and the last four. The latter bodies all hold one thing in common, viz. : that the only creative force of the new order is industrial, i.e., there can be no creative force in the present Parliament or any other centralized political body, while the former hold with pugnacious tenacity that Parliament or other centralized political body is the only power that can really emancipate the workers.

In this article we are only concerned with the latter, i.e., industrialist section of the labour movement.

Their differences depend entirely on the emphasis of political action. The I.S.E.L. and the I.L. are anti-political, while the S.L.P., the I.W.G.B. and the I.D.L., while subordinating political action to the industrial, all agree that prior to the overthrow of capitalism there will be use made, and valuable use, of the political weapon.

Not to dwell on their differences let us for a moment examine their point of agreement, viz. :—that the power to create (and control when created) the new society, is industrial. At this point we perceive a further division. How will the future society be organized? From a centralized authority, as a revolutionized Trade Union Congress, or from a series of locally autonomous bodies? That question is the most eagerly debated and consequently most vital question in the advanced Labour Movement to-day.



As good a testing ground for the value of either theory is no doubt at present to be found in the controversies and their result in the last two years of agitation initiated by the I.D.L. (Industrial

### **The South Wales Miners**

Democracy League) among the South Wales Miners. The South Wales Miners number about 150,000, organized into 18 districts, which are largely autonomous and vary numerically from a district of 3,000 to one of 33,000. The result has been a bewildering variety of wages and conditions in the respective districts. The I.D.L. (or as it was then called, the movement behind the *Miners Next Step*) sought by agitation to abolish the districts; centralize the management of the organization by giving all the power to lodge representatives through a monthly council who should legislate by uniform model principles and regulations, and convert the agents and officials into the servants of the aforesaid council. They succeeded so far as to have a ballot vote taken on the question of the abolition of the autonomous districts. The ballot vote resulted in a large majority in favour of the I.D.L. by the abolition of districts. So far victory for the I.D.L. But now the official machinery comes into operation. In order to abolish the districts a detailed alternative scheme has to be worked out. A conference decides that this shall be done by a committee, half of which are from the delegates and half of which are selected from the officials by the Executive. The committee produce a scheme which in many respects is a distortion of the views of the I.D.L. The conference which further discusses the scheme still further distorts the original intentions, and also unluckily reduces the salaries of the vested interests (miners' agents). The latter retaliate by using every possible advantage their power and position gives them to propagate against the scheme. A ballot is now taken on the finished detailed

scheme and results in a greater majority against, than originally there had resulted for the scheme. So far—defeat of the I.D.L.—autonomy has conquered, centralization is shelved indefinitely. But now comes the next step—what about the *status quo*, can it be maintained?



THE conditions which made the original agitation of the I.D.L. successful still remains, and consequently something must be done. Something is done, and, note carefully, initiated by an autonomous district hostile to the I.D.L. This is a

**The Compromise** scheme to the effect that before an ounce of coal is worked in any new shaft (pit) or new seam in any old pit, a model scale of wages, much higher than obtains at present, and model regulations (things dear to the heart of the I.D.L.) must be agreed to. The employers are caught at the exact point where they are weakest and where the workmen are strongest. The employers have sunk their capital in opening the rock to get at the coal: they are now expecting the returns for their outlay by the development of the coal seams. The workmen have not been employed and have therefore no interest in these seams. The employers invite the workmen to come and develop the new seams that they (the masters) might get the long expected profits. The workmen through their organization reply—Oh! Yes on these model terms we will! The employers say—Oh! hang it! come let us negotiate and if necessary arbitrate, and dont forget we have an agreement with you! The workmen in answer point out that there can be no agreement until they are employed, and they are especially forbidden to negotiate on their model list, mark—forbidden not by the autonomous district, but by the whole organization who take from the district all power to settle such questions. The organization is able to maintain this position without financial loss because there can be no one to pay strike pay to, where none are employed. Hence, as far as all future developments are concerned, the principles propagated by the I.D.L. will operate except that the power will still be vested in the Executive instead of the Lodges. But conciliation, Arbitration, and local autonomy, all receive their deathblow in this scheme. The two undecided questions are—How long can the future developments be worked on this basis before reacting on all the old developments? When this is answered as in practice it must be answered, then how long can district autonomy obtain in face of an unified centralized power which will then be entirely in the hands of a centralized authority? Is the I.D.L. defeated? All that remains for that body is to agitate for the transfer of the control of the organization from the officials to the lodges.

WE referred at the commencement to the number of socialist, syndicalist, and industrial bodies who are propagating their theories. With this in mind we have no hesitation in declaring that this

compromise with the I.D.L., by the South Wales Miners, is the most practical attempt to place not only the bargaining power, but the creation of a revolutionary psychology, on the basis of a control by the workmen of their own wages and conditions, that has been attempted by any labour organization.

The movement cannot stop at new developments, it must soon react on the older developments, and we predict a stirring time in South Wales for the next year or so. Thus, although the "Miners' Next Step" and the I.D.L. have not carried all their schemes, they have succeeded in inducing the less advanced section to provide the material basis that must make for the inevitable triumph of their ideas. Their work now is plain. They should assist the new scheme to the uttermost, at the same time carry on a most vigorous propaganda with a view to reshape the S.W.M.F. to more adequately perform this work on a more democratic basis. When achieved it will do more to demonstrate to the Labour World the ultimate success of industrialism than many speeches, articles, pamphlets, or books.

N.A.

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## Collective Telesis

*(Continued from June No.)*

**I**N treating the relations of sociology to the various other sciences—cosmology, biology, anthropology, psychology—in the earlier papers of this series, and in the more general discussion of the position and affinities of sociology, I would have been glad to institute a thorough comparison of sociology with economics, from which to many it seems so difficult to separate it. My failure to do this was not at all due to any such difficulty in my own mind, but wholly to the fact that before a comparison could be properly made it was absolutely necessary that the principles to be set forth in the other papers and in the present one, be first laid down as the basis of any real distinction. We are now fully prepared to consider this question, but the limits of space will necessarily render its treatment brief. It is best therefore to come directly to the point.

The fundamental distinction between sociology and economics is based on the difference in their respective beneficiaries. Both have utility for their end, but the recipients of the utility that sociology aims to confer belong to a different class from those of the utility which economics aims to confer. Broadly stated economics may be said to benefit the producer while sociology benefits the consumer. But the term producer must here be taken in its widest and really proper sense of anyone who by any form of labour adds anything to the value i.e., to the utility, of a product. The term consumer, on

the contrary, must be taken in the narrower sense of the enjoyer of a product irrespective of whether he is a producer or not. It will add to the clearness of the distinction, and will at the same time be approximately correct, if we identify the producing class with the business world in general, or the industrial world as a whole, and the consuming class with the public in general or society as a whole. The latter class of course includes the former, but, disregarding parasites, the former includes all of the latter except the helpless, whether from age, disease, or physical and mental defectiveness. It is not the relative size or quality of these two classes that constitutes the distinction in question, but the direction given to the utility by economics and sociology respectively. In short, economics, as so many economists have insisted, concerns itself with the creation of wealth irrespective of who shall receive this wealth, though this is properly assumed to be those who create it. It narrows down therefore to the question of *earnings* and *profits*. It deals with wages, salaries, dividends, receipts and expenditures as related to each other, and marginal values. The class considered is the earner in the widest sense of the term. It is the makers, those who increase the value, and the sellers or disposers of goods, with whom economics has to do. The primary question in each case is: Is the business a success? If it is not it must go down. The buyer, the user, the enjoyer, the consumer, is left out of the account. "Political economy . . . has nothing to do with the consumption of wealth, further than as the consideration of it is inseparable from that of production, or from that of distribution" (J. S. Mill). In sharp contrast to this, sociology is exclusively concerned with the *destination* of wealth, in so far as it deals with wealth. It is no more interested in the benefit that the producer receives than in that which it confers on any other class. If a business, no matter how "successful," is injurious, it is a *failure* from the standpoint of sociology. And in broader national affairs it is not a question whether a policy is or is not a source of revenue to the state, but whether it is a benefit to the public. Thus in the question of taxation, of whatever kind, sociology is not concerned with its "fiscal" effects, but with its "social" effects. A tariff, if defended, is so not because it proves a successful and easy way to raise revenue, but because it diversifies and elevates population.

It is true that certain modern economists have insisted more or less that consumption should be regarded as a legitimate subject of economic study. I gave a brief history of this movement in economic thought in a former paper, treating it as an advance in economics which I called "social economics." That paper was specially addressed to economists, and no attempt was made to harmonize it with the present series of papers, which, however, were at that time for the most part written, and began to appear a month later. It is only necessary to say now that social economics as thus defined is simply

sociology, and those economists who proceed from the standpoint of consumption, whether they realize it or not, whether they desire it or not, are in so far sociologists.

One or two examples of the two distinct points of view of economics and sociology will make them clearer. Prior to the year 1881, in the capacity of librarian of the United States Bureau of Statistics, I had occasion to study the statistics of railroads of various countries. Many foreign countries had commenced the assumption of their control by the state as their charters expired, and already a large number of important lines to France, Italy, Austria, Germany, and other countries on the continent had passed out of corporate management and were administered by the state either as owners or for the companies. The agitation of state ownership had begun both in Great Britain and in the United States. The railroad journals were filled with the discussion of this question, and I had it as a part of my official duty to keep abreast of the movement and to compile statistics bearing upon it. The tone of the railroad Press was of course uniformly hostile to the movement, and I observed that all the arguments were directed to showing that the companies "managed" the lines with greater economy than the state "administered" them. I was required to prepare tables demonstrating this, which was an easy matter, and there really was no room for a difference of opinion. As a pastime I had devoted considerable of my unofficial time for the preceding fifteen years to writing and rewriting my *Dynamic Sociology*, which was then nearly ready for publication, and I could not avoid occasionally taking the sociological point of view as distinguished from the economic one, alone taken by the railroad press, and I took home some of the elaborate Prussian statistical reports, usually several years behind date, and searched carefully through their complicated columns for all possible facts bearing on the sociological side. The year 1874 was well adapted to this, the state management having then extended to about as large a number of lines as were still in the hands of the companies. I selected the columns for freight and passenger rates, happily given, and wanting in the statistics of nearly or quite all other countries. I worked these up for that year and gave the result in a footnote to page 581 of the second volume of my book. The general result, as there shown, was that "while the roads owned and worked by companies yielded 13.7 per cent greater profits than those owned and worked by the state, the latter carried passengers 9.4 and freight 15 per cent cheaper than the former."

One other example will be merely referred to, because its elaboration would occupy too much space. The Bulletin of the Department of Labour, No. 7 for November 1896 contains a most important study by Ethelbert Stewart on "Rates and Wages paid under Public and Private Contract." The title, however, is misleading, because in addition to rates paid under contract it includes those paid by municipalities themselves. It is a comparison of these, where they exist, with those



paid by contractors, whether public or private, that furnishes interesting matter for the sociologist. A glance at the tables given for Baltimore, Boston, New York, and Philadelphia is sufficient to show that in nearly all the leading industries the municipalities pay higher wages than either contractors or private companies. These and similar investigations are being conducted by the Bureau of Labour and by the census. In scarcely any other way could they be made, since private enterprise has no incentive to conduct strictly sociological investigations such as this one pre-eminently is. They can afford to study only the economic side to ascertain whether any enterprise is profitable to its managers. Public considerations are wholly foreign to their interests. But the state, as already remarked, is essentially benevolent, and all its operations, however shortsighted and fruitless, aim at least to benefit the people. In the hands of wise and humane officials, they are certain to be productive of immense public good.

It was the great Descartes who first enunciated the truth that all questions of quality are reducible to those of quantity. This mathematical axiom finds its economic expression in the corresponding truth that all questions of principle are at bottom questions of interest. The object of all science is to create art which will assist nature in furthering progress. Art has its highest expression in machinery. Art and machinery belong to economics because they are economical. They consist in the enlistment of the forces of nature in man's service. The physical forces have already been so enlisted until the power of production has become next to unlimited.

This has brought about a state of things in which there is a constant tendency to what is called "overproduction." What is meant is the production of more than can, in the present state of society, be consumed. But the inability to consume is not due to incapacity for consumption itself, except in a few articles. It is due to the inability to *obtain*. The fact that there are thousands in want even of the necessaries of life that are thus overproduced shows clearly enough that there is no more produced than would be eagerly consumed if it could be obtained. The problem of the age is to put what is produced into the hands of those who desire to consume it, and to do this in harmony with economic laws, and not as a gift or charity, which violates economic laws.

While no one is wise enough at the present day to formulate a plan for securing this result, the general principle underlying the problem may even now be stated. It is this: The progress made in economic art and machinery is far in advance of that made in social art and machinery. Production is essentially an individual enterprise and comparatively simple, while distribution, not in the economic but in sociological sense, is highly complex. Production is the result of individual ingenuity applied to the physical and vital forces of nature. Distribution must be the result of collective ingenuity applied to the social forces. There are physical forces that will secure it to a certain

extent, but they are subject to the law of competition, which sets a limit to their action and soon chokes up the avenues of distribution. The kind of ingenuity needed to secure free circulation of products is social ingenuity, i. e., *collective telesis*. A social machinery of free distribution must be invented and perfected by social ingenuity. The machinery of production is a product of physical science. The machinery of distribution will be a product of social science. Sociology stands in the same relation to the distribution of wealth that economics stands to its production. Most of the so-called over-production is simply the choking of the avenues of distribution. It is the problem of social science to clear these avenues and let the products flow freely wherever they are attracted by human wants. The sociologist believes this possible through social ingenuity and social machinery.

This general social art, the scientific control of the social forces by the the collective mind of society for its advantage, in strict homology with the practical arts of the industrial world, is what I have hitherto given the name *Sociocracy*. It has sometimes been confounded with *socialism*, and I cannot perhaps better conclude than by briefly pointing out wherein, so far as I understand what socialism is, this differs from it, and also from the prevailing competitive régime or individualism. This can only be done at this stage by a few antithetical propositions whose elaboration is for the present postponed :

1. Individualism has created artificial inequalities.
2. Socialism seeks to create artificial equalities.
3. Sociocracy recognizes natural inequalities and aims to abolish artificial inequalities.
4. Individualism confers benefits on those only who have the ability to obtain them, by superior power, cunning, intelligence, or the accident of position.
5. Socialism would confer the same benefits on all alike, and aims to secure equality of fruition.
6. Sociocracy would confer benefits in strict proportion to merit, but insists upon *equality of opportunity* as the only means of determining the degree of merit.

A cycle is thus completed. Sociocracy is a return to nature from which society has departed. Individualism was the original and natural method recognizing natural inequalities and apportioning benefits according to natural ability. Individual telesis has completely abolished this method. Socialism recognizes this, and would remedy it by an equally wide departure from the natural. Collective telesis can alone remove the artificial barriers raised by individual telesis and place society once more in the free current of natural law.

LESTER F. WARD

## The Panama Canal: Its Economic Significance

**W**HEN the Panama Canal is finished, a new world route, almost parallel with the equator, will girdle the globe. What will be its influence on international commerce and how will the relations of Europe and America, struggling for possession of the great Asiatic market, be effected? Despite assertions that the canal is primarily of strategic importance, it is clear that this monument of engineering skill, the greatest known in history, has as its basic purpose the opening of the markets to the Pacific. The United States undertook the task of building the canal to gain supremacy in the ant hills of the yellow world. The whole problem consists in unloading, at the lowest possible price, the products of American factories on the swarming millions who people the coasts of the Pacific, and for this the shortest and therefore cheapest route is necessary. Let us see how far the Panama Canal solves this question, in what degree it increases the chances of the United States gaining supremacy in the Pacific.

According to the latest data, the foreign commerce of the Celestial Empire with the principal countries, in 1910, amounted to the following:

	Imports into China.	Exports from China.
Great Britain ... ..	£9,552,267	£2,518,133
Hong Kong ... ..	23,085,393	14,637,956
British India ... ..	5,918,334	610,520
United States ... ..	3,338,890	4,347,220
Germany ... ..	2,876,856	1,796,294
France ... ..	371,719	5,227,830
Russia and Siberia ... ..	2,160,460	6,188,105
Japan ... ..	10,334,017	8,294,331

As may be seen from these figures the United States by no means occupies first place in the commercial relations of China. The lion's share in exports, especially, belongs to Great Britain. Turning to other Asiatic markets we shall find that in 1910 there were imported into Japan manufactured goods to the value of 94,700,911 \*yen from Great Britain; 106,361,497 yen from British India, and but 54,699,166 yen from the United States. As for India, the Asiatic market next in importance to China, her commerce with the United States is insignificant as yet, the imports amounting to but 1.5 per cent. of the total. They lag behind those of Germany, Belgium, Austria-Hungary and other countries. But it is not only in the Asiatic markets that Europe, chiefly Great Britain, is ahead of America. The same is true of all the countries washed by the waters of the Pacific Ocean. Thus the imports from Great Britain

\* A yen is equal to about 20½

into Australia in 1910-11 amounted to £36,646,441 and from the United States only £6,449,829, about one-sixth of the English imports. But what is of especial significance, even South America has remained chiefly Europe's customer; England, Germany and France all ranking ahead of the United States in selling there. This has been especially humiliating to American capitalists with their motto of "America for the Americans." The average share of the United States in the foreign commerce of South American countries is between ten and fifteen per cent. In general it may be said that despite the wonderful advance of her industry in the last decades and despite her advantageous geographical position, the United States has with difficulty kept up to the struggle in the Pacific against Japan, Germany, and particularly Great Britain, which still retains the world's commercial supremacy. The reason for all this, which seems incomprehensible at first glance, lies in the advantage which the Suez Canal has heretofore given to the European powers in the struggle for supremacy in the Pacific. To reach the coasts of China or Japan, American ships have to traverse about 2,700 miles more than the English or German ships. To compete with Europe in Pacific waters the United States has to surmount the colossal advantage of a shorter route which the Suez Canal gives to Europe. In the struggle for industrial supremacy in the Pacific Ocean, the Panama Canal will be a mighty weapon in the hands of the United States. If we are to believe American scholars and writers, the Atlantic period of the world's history is already nearing its end. The centre of gravity in economic life is being rapidly transferred to the Pacific Ocean, hitherto lying in the backyard of history. To quote Roosevelt, the "Pacific Ocean era" is beginning now. And dominion over the Pacific, owing to the Panama Canal, must inevitably belong to the United States.

To begin with, let us see what effect the opening of the canal will have on the struggle of Europe for the Pacific markets. It will to a great degree allay the fears of the European pessimists and dispel the illusions of the American optimists. For under no circumstances can the Panama Canal destroy the importance of the Suez route, which will remain for all Europe the shortest way to the Asiatic and Australian coasts of the Pacific Ocean. The Panama Canal will not facilitate commerce between Europe and Asia, and from that point of view will be useless to Europe. The route from Liverpool, Havre, Hamburg, and Antwerp to the coasts of the Far East is shorter by thousands of miles by way of the Suez Canal. The following table gives an idea of the advantages of the Suez route (in nautical miles of 6,080 feet):

	Via Suez Canal.	Via Panama Canal.	Difference in favour of Suez Canal.
London-Hong Kong	... 9,700	14,300	4,600
London-Shanghai ...	.. 10,600	13,700	3,100
London-Yokohama...	... 10,920	12,645	1,725

As for Marseilles, Genoa, Trieste, Naples and other ports lying on the Mediterranean, as well as the Russian ports on the Black Sea, the Suez route to the Asiatic coasts is also better for them. A difference of 1,000 miles of sea route represents, in the case of a 5,000-ton vessel, a saving of 500 tons of coal. On the other hand, the distance between European and Australian ports via Suez is longer than via Panama, as may be seen from the following (nautical miles):

	Suez route.	Panama route.	Difference in favour of Suez route.
London-Melbourne ... ..	11,728	12,728	1,000
London-Sydney ... ..	12,192	12,377	185
Southampton-Melbourne ...	10,800	12,400	1,600

As regards New Zealand, the Panama route is somewhat shorter than that of Suez, but the latter being rich in coaling stations and markets for the sale of goods, the advantages will remain on its side for a long time to come. Thus it is clear that the Suez route will remain as formerly the great European commercial route, and along with the development of industry and international relations its rôle as the greatest world artery will also increase in importance. The economic revival of the Balkan peninsula will also increase the value of the Suez Canal to an extraordinary degree.

Now then, the Panama Canal will in no way shorten the journey from the great European ports to those of Asia. But it will bring about a revolution in commerce between the United States and the Pacific coasts of Asia, Australia and South America, as can be seen from these figures (in nautical miles):

Distance from New York.	Via Suez Canal.	Via Panama Canal.	Difference in favour of Panama route.
To Hong Kong ... ..	11,700	11,000	700
„ Shanghai ... ..	12,600	10,400	2,200
„ Yokohama ... ..	13,800	9,300	4,500
„ Valparaiso ... ..	9,700	5,400	4,300
„ Sydney ... ..	12,900	9,800	3,100
„ San Francisco ... ..	14,800	4,700	10,100

Thus the Panama Canal will shorten by thousands of miles the distance between New York and the most important commercial ports of the Pacific. Though offering little to Europe, this route will give much to the United States and will tip the scales in favour of the latter. Many markets of China, Japan, British India, Australia, and South America, heretofore lying nearer to Europe, will in 1914 find themselves much nearer to New York and other great American cities, as will be seen from the following table (nautical miles):

	From the Channel via Suez	From New York via Panama	Difference in favour of Panama
To Shanghai ... ..	10,600	10,400	200
„ Yokohama ... ..	11,000	9,300	1,700
„ Valparaiso ... ..	8,400	5,400	3,000
„ Sydney ... ..	13,100	9,800	3,300
„ San Francisco ... ..	8,000	4,700	3,300

With the opening of the Panama Canal the United States will at once be able to compete victoriously with Europe in all the markets of Japan and in the principal markets of China and Australia. England's commercial supremacy heretofore unquestioned, is therefore seriously threatened. Soon all the talk about the "German menace" will be forgotten and the new cry of an "American menace" will resound over all England.

But the opening of the new route will be of the greatest moment to the Pacific coast of South America. It will mark a new era in the development of Peru, Boliva, Chile, Ecuador, those countries so rich in useful minerals and yet so remote from the world's centres of culture and industry. Henceforth there will be no need of doubling the entire coast of South America to get to Lima or Valparaiso from New York. Until now, North Americans have preferred to go to South America by way of Europe, mostly via Paris and thence to the Suez Canal. Thus in order to get to Valparaiso from New York, many used to make a voyage round the world. Around South America, through the rocky and stormy Straits of Magellan so dangerous for navigation, steam ships are sent by only one great English company, the Pacific Steam Navigation Co. Its vessels run from Europe directly to Callao, the port of Peru's capital, Lima.

It is manifest what a revolution in the economic destinies of South American countries will be brought about by the opening of the Panama Canal. First of all hundreds of sailings vessels, which have hitherto held sway over the entire Pacific coast of South America, will disappear, making room for giant European and North American steamers. At the same time the opening of the new route will tell favourably on the development of commerce between those countries and the United States. In the foreign commerce of those regions, as in other parts of the world, the principal role is played by Great Britain, about the imaginary decline of whose international commercial influence so much has been written of late. England still holds first place in the foreign commerce of Chile and Peru, as is evident from the following figures. In 1909, the exports of Great Britain to Peru amounted to £1,567,907, and of the United States to Peru, £846,127, while the imports of Great Britain from Peru were £2,672,540, and the imports of the United States from Peru, £1,495,623. Similarly the exports of Great Britain to Chile, in 1910, amounted to 94,084,000 pesos (peso equals 1/6), and of the United States to Chile, 36,629,000 pesos, while the imports of Great Britain from Chile were 127,087,000 pesos, and of the United States, 67,619,000 pesos.

As to Ecuador, she receives annually imports from Great Britain to the value of 512,000 pounds sterling, and from the United States only 482,895 pounds sterling.

The Panama Canal will open up to the United States the markets of South America and make possible the realization of the cry "America for the Americans." New York will be 2,837 miles, New Orleans 3,550 miles nearer than London to the Pacific coast of South America. It must not be forgotten that, thanks to its natural resources, the Pacific coast of South America will develop from the economic point of view with extraordinary rapidity. John Barrett, director of the statistical bureau of American republics, has calculated that the foreign commerce of the South American coast, now amounting to \$300,000,000, will soon reach the billion dollar mark. A whole series of facts shows that the capitalists of the United States are aiming at monopolizing this market and have been taking measures to drive their competitors out of these regions.

M. PAVLOVITCH (Paris),  
in *The New Review*.

## Women's League, C.L.C., Reports

### The May Social

Summer weather notwithstanding, there was a good muster at the Social Evening, held at the College on May 31st. Orchestral selections were rendered by members of the London Socialist Orchestra, conducted by Mr. J. Weinhart. Miss Janet Tillet (songs) and Mr. Bianchi (piano solos) also contributed to the programme. After the coffee-interval, the two-act play, by T. C. Murray, "Birthright," was performed, those taking part being Winifred Horrabin, H. Buckley, G. A. Hammond, W. F. Northend, and J. F. Horrabin. Once again, the staging arrangement, for which Messrs. Sims and Pendrey were responsible, were much admired, the clever lighting in the second act being particularly effective. The sum of £2 5s. od. was realised by the sale of programmes and refreshments.

### A Good Example

The National Society of Tailoresses, Dressmakers and Kindred Trades, is nothing if not revolutionary. They have proved this by voting almost solidly for a levy of twopence a year per member for the benefit of the C.L.C. The figures are:—for the proposal, 83; against, 9.

This result is significant in many ways. The Union, though small in numbers at present, is growing rapidly—largely owing to the energy and enthusiasm of Mary Cheshire, the secretary, who is a member of the committee of the Women's League. The Tailoresses have set a magnificent example to the big men's unions. When will the Railwaymen follow suit?

## Women's League, C.L.C.

[The letter from "Charlotte Corday" appeared as below in the *Daily Herald* issue 27th May last. A reply appeared in *D.H.* issue 31st May. As part of the letter was "blue-pencilled" we print the letter in full—the parts "censored" being put in brackets and in italics. *Ed.*]

### WANTED—WOMEN UNITED FOR SOCIALISM

TO THE EDITOR, *Daily Herald*.

Sir,—I am glad to hear of the good work being done by our comrade Mrs. Bridges Adams, and of the hard spade work which is being done by Mrs. Montefiore, who is trying, I learn, to form a Women's League, which will consist of working women banding themselves together to study and propagate our faith. Being a revolutionist myself and eager for the time when "all will be better than well," I can but know that why we get no nearer is because of the lack of women in our movement, and I am filled with admiration for these women who are working so hard, each in their own way, to make efficient our working comrades.

But I see danger ahead and am troubled. I do feel and know that these two organizations—Bebel College and the women at the Central Labour College—both depending for their existence on Trade Unions, will be crippled and held back for want of funds, and much good work will be wasting. Why do they not see this and join forces?

CHARLOTTE CORDAY

TO THE EDITOR OF *The Daily Herald*.

May 28th, 1913.

Sir,—A writer signing "Charlotte Corday," makes a statement about the Socialist Women's League of the C.L.C., (of which I have the honour to be Chairman,) that I think calls for an explanation in the columns of the same paper, in which the letter I allude to, appeared. Your correspondent writes of me as "trying to form a Women's League, which will consist of working women banding together themselves to study and propagate our faith." I fail to recognize either my own work or that of the Women's League in this description. The Socialist Women's League was called into being last year by a Resolution passed by the Board of the Central Labour College, which Board desired to give a definite impulse and shape to the work of the revolutionary women grouped round, and interested, in the College. The object of the Women's League's existence is to help financially and socially the Central Labour College. We carried on our very modest work for some months without a constitution, and solely in response to the above-mentioned Resolution; but on May 21st of this year we called a public meeting, before which we laid our report of work done, and our financial statement; and we called for nominations for officers and a working committee. As the result of that public meeting our League is now democratically organized, and our officers and



committee democratically elected. Mrs. Horrabin, who has done such excellent work as Hon. Secretary from the first inception of the League, was unanimously re-elected. Mrs. Chaytor is Hon. Treasurer, and I remain Chairman.

*[Among our Committee, I am proud to say we have Trade Unionists, such as Mrs. Cheshire and Miss Grace Neal; journalists, such as Rebecca West and Winifred Blatchford; Civil Servants, typists, and other working women; and in their name, and in that of the Board of the C.L.C., I am compelled to make the statement that it would be absolutely out of the question for us to join forces with any organization unless we had full knowledge of the sources of that organization's funds, and an assurance of its democratic constitution and work. The C.L.C. has already the support of the best of the revolutionary Trade Unions, and, as a League, we have no fear but that our own work, in proportion as it is known and recognised, will be supported by all class-conscious and militant proletarian organizations, which may desire to obtain for the younger men and women rebels of our movement an education based on the real facts and inspiration of the prolonged industrial struggle.]*

If "Charlotte Corday," will send me her name and address, the Committee of our Women's League will be happy to send her an invitation to the next social held under our auspices at the C.L.C., and to give her full information about the activities of our very successful League.

Faithfully, DORA B. MONTEFIORE.

## What the Workers require

THE causes of economic conditions have changed of recent years, and we are afraid there is just a little too much tendency for some of our working-class educational organizations to hug books and theories that one can hardly square with what is going on around us. Mr. Mansbridge, at the Co-operators' Easter Week-end, said he *hoped that a book on economics from the working-class point of view would not be written*. He pleaded for the true point of view. Still, the working-class view is essential to the welfare of the masses. Hitherto, as Mr. Mansbridge hinted, we presume, the middle and upper classes have had these things—such as the interpretation of history and economics—all their own way. Hence we would like to see the working-class point of view, just to give a better balance to the co-ordinated knowledge. But what we are hoping to witness is a working-class democracy sufficiently educated to write its own histories and economics without having to depend upon either the compilation or the interpretation of the other classes. Who should be able to write a more effective industrial history than an educated worker who at the time of writing is daily experiencing the burden of industry—under a one-sided economic system?

*Co-operative News*, Saturday, 12th April, 1913.

## Some Australian Rebel Writers

THIS short article does not pretend to deal with Australian literature as a whole, but merely with one phase of it, a phase, which relatively to the whole output, is extremely rich both in quantity and quality,—the conscious voice of the people, challenging existing conditions, and demanding revolutionary changes in the bases of Society. Among these writers, women take their place with men, both as challengers, as rebels, and as heralds of the days that are to come; and the names of Mary Gilmore and Marie Pitt will be written side by side with those of Bernard O'Dowd and Louis Esson as among those who have made songs for the wakening proletariat.

I had the pleasure of meeting Bernard O'Dowd among the organized Socialists of Melbourne, while Marie Pitt is one of the joint Editors of *The Melbourne Socialist*. I cull from her little collection of verse entitled *Horses of the Hills*, the last stanza of her poem "Reveille":

They call our flag a rebel flag, our creed a rebel creed,  
Who scrawl on every wave-worn crag the autograph of greed.  
O'er hills which man's injustice smote, the People's hymn we'll raise,  
Shout! every throat, a major note, Australia's Marseillaise!

When I write that Marie Pitt's husband died after months of terrible suffering from the dreaded miners' phthisis, these powerful lines from her poem, "The Keening" will strike home to many a rebellious heart:

We are the women and children of the men that mined for gold:  
Heavy are we with sorrow, heavy as heart can hold;  
Galled are we with injustice, sick to the soul of loss—  
Husbands and sons and brothers slain for the yellow dross!  
We are the women and children of the men ye mowed like wheat;  
Some of us slave for a pittance—some of us walk the street;  
Bodies and souls, ye have scourged us; ye have winnowed us  
    flesh from bone:

But, by the God ye have flouted, we will come again for our own!

The following extracts are from the poems of Bernard O'Dowd, who besides being a remarkable philosophic thinker and writer, is a rebel of the first water. These lines from "The Poet" should have a special significance for every son and daughter of the race which has produced an unbroken line of poets of rebellion;

They tell you the poet is useless, and empty the sound of his lyre,  
That science has made him a phantom, and thinned to a shadow his fire;  
Yet reformer has never demolished a dungeon or den of the foe  
But the flame of the soul of the poet pulsed in every blow.  
When, comrades, we thrill to the message of speaker in highway or hall,  
The voice of the poet is reaching the silenter poet in all:  
And again, as of old, when the flames are to leap up the turrets of wrong  
Shall the torch of the New Revolution be lit from the words of a song!

In "The Bottom Dog Brigade", in an unfinished lyric to Bacchus, in most of the verses in "Dawnward", and in "The Seven Deadly Sins", the same mingled note of a deep brooding cosmic philosophy, and of rebellious challenge of existing values and conditions is again and again struck. I quote from the last mentioned volume :

If staunch we fight in the wars of woe  
 Against oppressors high or low,  
 And whether we win or fall,  
 Then, whence we came or whither we go  
 It mattereth not at all.  
 If patient we bear the traps of greed,  
 If the sick we comfort, the hungry feed,  
 And sweeten the rue of shame,  
 It mattereth not at all our creed,  
 Our titles, or blood, or fame.

That O'Dowd is a real poet of a high order, no competent critic will doubt; and though I have not in my quotations shown him perhaps at his best in his mastery of rhythm and of word, I believe I have given enough to encourage students of revolutionary trends of thought to dip again and again into his pages. Mary Gilmore, who now edits the Woman's Page of *The Worker*, strikes a less radical and more intimate note, but she also is of the race of the pioneers of thought who have seen the vision of the New Order.

Ah! if we only could . . . . Hold fast each other's hands—  
 Nor loosely let them go—  
 Until each understands, and loving learns to know.

The name of Adam Lindsay Gordon is better known to the general public than that of any other Australian writer; but he was of English birth, and throughout his writings there runs the thread of rebellion against conventionalities, and of contempt for orthodox values. In his poem "The Sick Stock Rider" he lifts the veil of his ponderings on life, and gives us the philosophy of the ordinary man of action :

I've had my share of pastime, and I've done my share of toil,  
 And life is short—the longest life a span ;  
 I care not now to tarry for the corn or for the oil,  
 Or the wine that maketh glad the heart of man.  
 For good undone, and gifts misspent, and resolutions vain,  
 'Tis somewhat late to trouble. This I know—  
 I should live the same life over, if I had to live again ;  
 And the chances are I go where most men go

These pioneers in a land of Drought and Desert, whose daily hand-to-hand fight with stubborn primæval nature steeped them in loneliness, and too often in despair, had to sing of what they knew and had experienced, and their song, in consequence, was but too often bitter and broken.

Henry Lawson tells us how

Time means tucker, and tramp they must, where the plains and  
scrubs are wide,  
With seldom a track that a man can trust, or a mountain peak to guide;  
All day long in the flies and heat the men of the outside track  
With stunted stomachs and blistered feet must carry their  
swags Out Back.

If we want a glimpse or two of how the long long, thoughts evoke  
vision in the poet bushman, Edward Dyson tells us how

Bushmen loaming on the ridges, tracking 'colours' to their sources  
Swinging axes by the rivers where the mill saws rend and shriek,  
Smoking thoughtful pipes, or dreaming on your slow, untroubled horses,  
While the lazy cattle feed along the track or ford the creek.

And Essex Evans sings of

The gray gums by the lonely creek, the star-crowned height,  
The wind swept plain, the dim blue peak,  
The cold white light,

The solitude spread near and far around the camp-fire's tiny star,  
The horse-bell's melody remote, the curlew's melancholy note  
Across the night.

These have their message; yet from these our songs have thrown  
O'er all our Austral hills and leas one sombre tone.

Whence does the mournful key-note start?  
From the pure depths of Nature's heart?

Or from the heart of him who sings and deems his hand upon  
the strings

Is Nature's own?

My last quotations are from Louis Esson's *Bells and Bees*. Esson  
is now proving himself a successful dramatist; and the two verses I  
am about to quote show him to be steeped in the beauty and the  
music which are the necessary companions of the sweet singer!

At peep of dawn, when the world is still,  
*Hear the magpies calling!*

We leave our hut upon the hill,  
*Hear the magpies calling!*

The soil's unbroken by the plough  
From gully deeps to ranges brow;  
Primæval peace enfolds us now,  
*Hear the magpies calling!*

His little poem "The Mother" holds all the questioning  
of the intellectuality awakening woman, who asks why her birthright  
of motherhood should, unlike Nature's other birthrights, be turned  
into a burden of shame!

The late spring blooms. The teeming earth  
Yields fruits and flowers on hill and plain.

Along the myrtle track I wait  
To watch the drovers pass again.  
Love, once he said, made all things grow  
As innocent as sun and rain.

The Season's ripe. And rain and sun,  
 Like wedded wife and husband came,  
 The fruit hangs heavy on the tree,  
 And rich increase the creatures claim.  
 But baby, baby, at my breast  
 Your birth alone brings sin and shame.

Australian writers are rapidly "making good"; and are weaving through the webb and woof of their fantasies the inspiration of the proletarian who is coming into his own.

DORA B. MONTEFIORE.

## Light and Leading

WE frequently receive requests from readers asking for lists of books to read: these inquiries usually come from friends who wish to equip themselves for propoganda work in the Labour and Socialist movement. 'Tis a most difficult matter to advise on, but with our usual assurance we rush in where angels fear to tread. Always presupposing a student who is prepared to give a few hours a week to serious reading, the following list of pamphlets and books may help, viz.:

1.— <i>The Communist Manifesto</i> by Marx and Engels ...	...	2d.
2.— <i>Wage-Labour and Capital</i> " ...	...	1d.
3.— <i>Value, Price and Profit</i> " ...	...	3d.
4.— <i>Socialism: Utopian and Scientific</i> by Engels ...	...	1d.
5.— <i>The Origin of the Family, &amp;c.</i> " ...	...	1/7
6.— <i>The Class Struggle</i> by Kautsky ...	...	1/7
7.— <i>Ethics and History</i> " ...	...	1/7
8.— <i>The Evolution of Property</i> by Lafargue ...	...	1/7
9.— <i>The Eighteenth Brumaire of L. Bonaparte</i> by Marx ...	...	1/7
10.—All Bernard Shaw's Plays ...	...	—
11.—All Daniel de Leon's Pamphlets ...	...	—
12.— <i>Capital</i> , Vol. I (for general reading, particularly from Chapter X onward) ...	...	4/-

These books are to be read, and read, and read again; to be used freely for reference: above all, to be privately owned. The only expensive books in the above list are those of the aristocratic G.B.S., who really writes "books for millionaires." Some works of his are published at prices within the purchasing power of working folk, but they are mainly useless, except to members of Bands of Hope and P.S.A's.

The list here given is strictly utilitarian, its aim is to give the student a comprehensive grasp of the forces underlying social evolution. Culture is not aimed at, not because it is despised, but simply because where opportunity exists for wider reading, our list

once mastered will suggest useful additions. In addition, books are luxuries, and only the essential works on social science for a proletarian library are given. Three other essential books (for private ownership) the writer would perhaps add, viz., a Bible ! a classical dictionary, and a Chamber's dictionary.

Perhaps the most astounding book in the above list, from the ordinary reader's point of view, is No. 9. And it is this work that suggested the present article. Kerr & Co., of Chicago, are just publishing a reprint of it in their 50 cents. library (1/7 to our readers) and the issue of this edition is the excuse to try, however inadequately, to give a belated publicity to one of the most useful volumes issued by this famous publishing house.

*The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* is one of Karl Marx's most profound and most brilliant monographs. It may be considered the best work extant on the philosophy of history, with an eye especially upon the history of the Movement of the Proletariat, together with the bourgeois and other manifestations that accompany the same, and the tactics that such conditions dictate.

So says the translator, himself one of the most able exponents of Socialism now living, a man of great culture and of penetrating insight. High praise indeed coming from such a source ; and, also, having regard to the genius of the author of *Capital*. We venture to say the praise is merited. The work is an application of the socialist principles to the events of French history between February, 1848, and December, 1851. It was written in 1852, and while the events it records, analyses and explains, were the subject of wild and feverish guesses and speculations both in France and the rest of Europe—while yet the person of one of the chief actors in the drama of its history, Napoleon Bonaparte (Napoleon III), was dominating the bourgeois horizon and casting the glamour of the Napoleonic tradition over the doings of that "Imperial" adventurer. "The adventurer," says Marx, "who hid his repulsively trivial features under the iron death mask of Napoleon." The work could not have obtained any great publicity : how, otherwise, could the great Victor Hugo, himself a prominent actor in the events recorded, have perpetrated that exceeding poor attempt at an explanation (and condemnation) contained in his "historical sketch : " *Le Petite Napoleon* (Napoleon the Little), since translated into English under the title of : *The History of a Crime*. No greater contrast, in analysis, understanding, and strength of characterization, has ever been afforded than these two attempts to record the history of a movement by two great writers. Both were exceptionally qualified for the task from the technical point of view ; masters of strong, virile language and used to the technique of the writer's art ; yet one wrote a classical record of the events, the other's work is

gladly forgotten as unworthy of the man and of the period. Hugo failed, with all the dice loaded in his favour—a Frenchman, an actor in the events, and with an antagonist's hatred of the figure-head of the revolution, Napoleon III,—because he lacked the one thing needful to successful interpretation, viz., a scientific principle of inquiry. He was the ordinary Liberal "democrat," a type eternally pilloried by his great rival, Marx, in the work under consideration. Let us quote :

No party exaggerates to itself the means at its disposal more than the democratic, none deceives itself with greater heedlessness on the situation . . . . the democrat—by reason of his representing the middle class, that is to say, a TRANSITION CLASS in which the interests of two other classes are mutually dulled—imagines himself above all class contrast. The democrats grant that opposed to them stands a privileged class, but they, together with the whole remaining mass of the nation, constitute the "PEOPLE." What they represent is the "people's rights"; their interests are the "people's interests." Hence, they do not consider that, at an impending struggle, they need to examine the interests and attitude of the different classes. They need not too seriously weigh their own means. All they have to do is to give the signal in order to have the "people" fall upon the "oppressors" with all its inexhaustible resources. If, thereupon, in the execution, their interests turn out to be uninteresting, and their power to be impotence, it is ascribed either to depraved sophists, who split up the "undivisible people" into several hostile camps; or to the army being too far brutalized and blinded to appreciate the pure aims of the democracy as its own best; or to some detail in the execution that wrecks the whole plan; or, finally, to an unforeseen accident that spoiled the game this time. At all events, the democrat comes out of the disgraceful defeat as immaculate as he went innocently into it, and with the refreshed conviction that he must win; not that he himself and his party must give up their old standpoint, but that, on the contrary, conditions must come to his aid.

Who can fail to see in this telling word-picture the criticism and the epitaph of both Hugo and his book! The latter attempted to pillory Napoleon—and incidentally, the apotheosis of Hugo: it only succeeded in giving some sort of status to the Imperial adventurer by contrast with the sorry childish figure cut by the poor strutting figure of the writer. Against this we have in Marx's book the searching light of a master-mind turned on the real causes and forces underneath the raging, tearing superficialities on the surface of events—and, incidentally, the scathingly, sardonically-humorous dismissal of the Napoleonic adventurer. As for example :

A long adventurous, vagabond career had gifted him with the best developed antennae for feeling out the weak moments when he could venture upon squeezing money from his bourgeois. He carried on regular blackmail.

\* \* \* \* \*

As a fatalist, he lives devoted to the conviction that there are certain Higher Powers, whom man, particularly the soldier, cannot resist. First among these Powers he numbers cigars and champagne, cold poultry, and garlic-sauce.

\* \* \* \* \*

He was constantly accompanied by affiliated members of the "Society of December 10." This society dated from the year 1849. Under the pretext of founding a benevolent association, the slum-proletariat of Paris was organized into secret sections, each section led by Bonapartist agents, with a Bonapartist general at the head of all. Along with ruined roués of questionable means of support and questionable antecedents, along with the foul and adventures-seeking dregs of the bourgeoisie, there were vagabonds, dismissed soldiers, discharged convicts, runaway galley slaves, sharpers, jugglers, lazzaroni, pickpockets, sleight of hand performers, gamblers, procurers, keepers of disorderly houses, porters, literati, organ-grinders, rag-pickers, scissors-grinders, tinkers, beggars—in short, that whole undefined, dissolute, kicked-about mass that the Frenchmen style "la Bohème." With this kindred element, Bonaparte formed the stock of the "Society of December 10," a "benevolent association," in so far as, like Bonaparte himself, all its members felt the need of being benevolent to themselves at the expense of the toiling nation. The Bonaparte, who here constitutes himself CHIEF OF THE SLUM PROLETARIAT; who only here finds again in plenteous form the interests which he personally pursues; who in this refuse, offal, and wreck of all classes, recognizes the only class upon whom he can depend unconditionally;—this is the real Bonaparte, the Bonaparte without qualification. An old and crafty roué, he looks upon the historic life of nations, upon their great and public acts, as comedies in the ordinary sense, as a carnival, where the great costumes, words and postures serve only as masks for the pettiest chicaneries.

So far for that side of the picture. But the real greatness of the work is in those illuminating glimpses of the great world-drama, one of whose scenes are here unfolded by a master-craftsman for the guidance of the class to whose cause Marx devoted his great gifts. Here, a masterly pen-picture of the purposes of the great French Revolution, as a means of throwing the present revolution into its true historic setting: now, a penetrating study of the reasons for the general failure of the proletarian party to this contest, and sage comments on such failures, in general: there, a powerful portrayal of the aspects, distinctions, and expressions of bourgeois and proletarian movements: again, a piece of classic literary description and illustration. In short, in this book we have literature, tactics, history, sociology, accompanied by prophetic insight and masterly characterization: as arresting, as up-to-date, as necessary to the propagandist as in any of the sixty-



one years that have elapsed since it first saw the light. Had this book been written yesterday its writer's name would be on the lips of all, and not to know its contents would earn our excommunication from the ranks of the Elect. The writer gave up health, ease, and position to serve the Movement—and not the least of his gifts was this book—a guide, a counsellor, and a friend to all who aim at the abolition of classes.

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## A Man's Prayer

If plunging winds and beating rain  
 Call me to battle, but in vain,  
 Or if I am afraid to rise  
 And bear a burden of grey skies,—  
 Then to my sick heart requiem give,  
 I am too poor a thing to live.

If hands of mine forget to pray  
 And torn feet fear a stony way,  
 My heart grow weary of the quest  
 And long for an untimely rest,—  
 Then cross my hands and let me be,  
 Life is too fierce and sweet for me.

If open lands and windy skies  
 Wake not new wonders in mine eyes,  
 Or through the goodly world I go  
 And love no friend and hate no foe,—  
 Then, though my destined days abound,  
 Let me be lying underground.

If, while I draw exulting breath,  
 I seek to run away from Death,  
 And do not welcome him, nor strive  
 With him to keep my soul alive,—  
 Then, in that hour, may Death strike deep,  
 For I am only fit for sleep.

But while I love the wind that blows,  
 And scent a mystery in a rose,  
 Or while my torn feet do not tire,  
 And heart of mine seeks high desire,—  
 Then, though a spectre, gaunt and wan,  
 God, give me strength to struggle on.

T. WEMYSS REID,  
*in Westminster Gazette.*

**FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING**  
**CENTRAL LABOUR COLLEGE**  
 AND  
**"PLEBS LEAGUE,**  
**On Bank Holiday, Monday, August 4th, 1913.**

**MEETING OF C.L.C.**  
 at 11 o'clock sharp.

**"PLEBS" LEAGUE at 3 o'clock.**

AGENDA:

Secretary's Report  
 Financial Statement  
 Other Business

N.B.—Members who are in arrears with League or Magazine Subs. should endeavour to clear their accounts before July 26th next, to allow of Accounts being prepared up to the end of July.

**SOCIAL EVENING**

Commencing at 7 p.m.,  
 under the direction of the Women's League, C.L.C.

MUSIC            DRAMA            REFRESHMENTS

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GEORGE SIMS

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