

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

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THE  
"Plebs" Magazine

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Vol. V, No. 9.

October, 1913.

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# The "Plebs" League



## Object

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

## Methods

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

## Membership

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


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

## Management

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

The Magazine shall be 2d. per copy, 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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## EDITORIAL

(Continued from last Month)

**W**ITH the invasion of machinery into capitalist industry, with its growing perfection, with the increasing subdivision of labour into processes demanding less craft skill and training as well as less muscular strength, with the intensifying of the competitive conflict on the world market, there has grown the demand for female wage-labour. The labour power of woman has many virtues in the eyes of the capitalist buyer, but none greater than the virtue of *cheapness*. The woman can live on less than the man. She brings into industry through *historical causes* which stretch over many centuries a lower standard of material needs, and a slighter power of resistance as compared with man. She has no tradition behind her such as men have, for the simple reason that the rôle of an industrial is new to her. On the other hand, the aip of centuries of economic dependence, the tradition of ages of domestic life with all its cramping and conservative ideology, does lie heavily upon her. This inheritance from the past she carries into the new rôle, an inheritance which has been fruitfully exploited by the providence of the factory. That woman has and does suffer as a sexual being, is undeniable. So does man too for that matter. The physiological differences cannot be ignored, only we have to repeat that although women suffers as woman, and man as man, the cause of the suffering is not to be found in man or woman as such. A woman is a woman by nature, but not a slave by nature. But because we do not cease to live in nature while living in society, the mode of our social life

seizes hold of our natural characteristics, and as is the case to-day, dwarfs and distorts them and turns them against our own well-being. *Our property-relations have triumphed over our sexual relations.* The control of the latter can only take place when we have learned to master the products of our own hand and brain. And that is predicated upon the transformation of bourgeois property into communal property.



SINCE civilization dawned woman has been enslaved. She has been for centuries, both in law and in fact, completely at the disposal of her husband or guardian. Through this form of chattel bondage she

**The Woman  
as  
Wage Earner**

has suffered as a sexual being and we to-day still reap the bad effects of this. Until the break up of the mediæval form of society however, a woman had a guarantee of existence no matter how rough it may have been. This applies to the workman of the Middle Ages as well. The bourgeois historians are very proud of the freeing of the labourer from the barbaric conditions of feudalism and call it by the proud name of progress. Progress it undoubtedly was in so far as the conditions of productivity were thereby advanced, thus making possible the great modern industrial fertility. But in so far as participation in the results of this progress was concerned, it was confined to a chosen few. The participation of the few was furthermore conditioned upon the insecurity of the many. Capitalist private property rests upon the absence of property among the producers, it is *property based not on personal labour but on the labour of others.* The freeing of the labourer therefore meant first of all the forcible stripping from him of all objective means for securing his needs, and thus compelling him to sell his subjective capacity for labour, as a commodity, to the owners of the productive agencies. He was *free to sell himself* as a piece of merchandise. Once this new creation had developed it no longer required the forcible means characteristic of the the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries in England. The automatic working of capitalism itself reproduced its own labour market, and that upon a scale ever more favourable to the owners of capital. They had no longer need to interfere with the workings of supply and demand through legislation. Supply and demand became a sacred law which must be regarded as inviolable, for now the supply of the wage-labourer was greater than the demand. When the female wage-labourer and the child were also freed for industrial exploitation, the doctrine of *laissez-faire* was born—born in an over-stocked labour market where man, woman, and child, fought for bread. The entrance of the women into industrial production caused the male wage-labourer to offer his commodity at a lower figure, and in turn, this gave a downward impulse to the wage of the female industrial. The same process therefore which opened the gate of the

factory to women compelled her to enter there through. And since the close of the 18th century until the present day, the number of women engaged in industry has steadily increased. True she has disappeared from some branches where at the beginning of the 19th century she was to be found e.g. mining, but the number of new occupations for women far out number the old occupations. The primary reason for the capitalist employment of women is the fact of their cheapness as compared with men. Both the employment of women and their low wage is made possible by the development of machinery. The lower standard in female wages has its roots, as we have before remarked, in the ages-old tradition of women's inferiority as a social being, and the lack of the organizing impulse which lies deep in the centuries of isolation or narrow association. The unmarried young women, generally speaking, earns only in part the maintenance wages of the family and this holds true in a large number of cases with the married woman wage-labourer. The young women looking marriage-ward still, in the majority of cases, even where she may be maintaining herself, is dependent on the purse of her fiancé for participation in social life. The traditional element is still strong enough to maintain this practice and its general prevalence among the proletariat rests upon the low wages of most women. Here we face other factors therefore which tend to check the equalization of wages for men and women. Still further the prospect of marriage, the chase after a husband, the hope of finding an asylum from the ravages of the industrial world, acts as an obstacle to the organization of working women. In the case of the married woman with a family, the organizing spirit is still more stunted. Where married women engage in industry the work of the home becomes also industrialized. What was formerly a domestic product must now be purchased on the market. So that if the collective wages of the wife and husband and working children are larger than what the wages of the husband as the sole breadgetter would be, nevertheless the expenditure has increased by way of offsetting the increased earnings. But above all this is the increasing insecurity which capitalism brings in its path of development and which adds to the precariousness of families. The burden falls heaviest on the married woman, whether she work in industry or in the private household. All this makes the married woman wage-worker an easier prey to the capitalist exploiter. Just as the married workman is less inclined to revolt than the unmarried workman, so, although in greater degree, is the married workwoman more docile than her unmarried sisters and less inclined to organized resistance. The industrial improvements that have taken place with regard to the conditions of employment for women are largely due to the agitation of men, in whose own interests it was to press for such improvements. Even where women are organized in trade unions it is due overwhelmingly to the influence and activity of men working in the same branch of industry.

THE effects of capitalism upon the home life of women wage-earners is too well known to call for any comment. Capitalism, in spite of the capitalist spokesmen, has not left much for Socialism to destroy.

### **The Market and Matrimony**

While it provides the material foundation for a new home and for a higher form of the family, it destroys the old forms and prevents the new forms from being realized. It turns the inmates outside the home into the factory, inside its walls it unsexes women, cripples children before and after birth, robs men, women, and children of all vitality, and initiative, turns each against the other and throws them back again into what is called a home in which all the antagonisms of the factory are loosened and find free vent. And if the takings of the factory exploiter have not been adequate to satisfy the needs, the home may be turned into a brothel, or the wife or daughter may go to Mahomet, if Mahomet does not come to the mountain. The struggle for existence waxing sharper with the growth of capitalist production, it is not a matter of surprise that a decline in births, decline in marriages, increase in prostitution and divorce, should exhibit themselves hand in hand with that growth. The increasing difficulty of supporting a home and a family puts back both the age of marriage as well as the number of marriages. This acts most unfavourably of all upon women. For upon women the economic pressure increases, which causes them to rush after matrimony more as "a matter of money" than as a matter of individual sex regard. We have here then two opposing tendencies. Men who can less afford to marry, and women who can less afford to be unmarried. Although the age of marriage may be put back, that, of course, does not mean that the gratification of the sexual instinct is postponed. Indeed it is well known how industrial conditions which speed up the labour of men and women oftentimes under overcrowded conditions, in high temperatures, and so on, speed up abnormally the appetite of which we have been speaking. This excessive sexual excitement finds satisfaction in ways that still further adds fuel to the fire. We, of course, do not forget the other pole equally abnormal. We pass over that here to consider the growth of the Army of prostitution, an institution as necessary and indispensable to capitalism as the Army or Navy. In all capitalist countries it is a recognized institution, in some countries it is legally recognized, in our own country it is tacitly recognized. In all capitalist countries it is on the increase and it is highest in those countries most developed industrially. Sexual gratification has become as much a commodity as cotton or coal, although our political economists are too "humane" to give it mention even under their much admired law of "supply and demand." Their silence on the question as well as that of those orthodox writers on other social subjects is an eloquent testimony to the "moral order" of "this best of all possible worlds." But as with the labourers, so on the market of prostitution, *the supply is*

*greater than the demand.* Capitalism acts therefore in the same direction in a dual way. It not only, through economic pressure makes it more difficult for a man to marry and keep up a home, but by the same pressure creating an increasing army of prostitutes, it makes it more easy for a man to gratify his sexual instinct outside of marriage. Prostitution is to these women who seek marriage what blackleg labour is to the trade unionists. The feeling is equally bitter towards the underseller in each case. The chances of the unmarried women are lowered. And she has no power to-day of action against this illegitimate competition. But the evil does not cease at the unmarried woman. It lowers the income of the married woman, an income that is already low when it is received by her husband at the pay box. One consequence of this is to urge married women themselves along the road to prostitution. You cannot have one side of the medal without the other. We are dealing now with married women who are not engaged in industry and who are economically dependent upon their wage-labouring husbands. Here the blows falls heaviest. We may admit that among the proletariat generally when people marry they have the best intentions of living together in mutual esteem. We may agree with Engels, that among the working class love matches are the rule. But love in spite of all these novel wrappings is not some quality transcending time and space. It is conditioned on the material well-being of the parties. If the absence of property makes possible the marriage on the basis of mutual regard, it also is a condition for the destruction of such regard. Insecurity is the badge and bane of working-class existence, and there is more truth than poetry in the adage. "when poverty comes in at the door love flies out at the window." While the generative passion is undoubtedly the basis of marriage it is by no means in itself sufficient to secure a lasting love union. In spite of all the hymeneal lace which veils the subject, the existence of conjugal happiness demands the material satisfaction of physical necessities, the absence of financial worries with its sequel in domestic estrangement. It requires more than that. Love certainly does not come after marriage in spite of our poetic apologists, and the only guarantee of its existence before the fact, and after the fact, is that the woman shall be free to choose as well as the man, that economic pressure shall not compel her to surrender to any man for fear of economic consequences, or compel her to remain with any man whom she does not esteem because of the prospect of economic insecurity. That involves *the economic independence of women*, unmarried and married. Capitalist development has made such a condition a material possibility although its narrow forms prevent the realization of the actuality. Woman's place in production will alone guarantee her place as the peer of man in the home. This is already foreshadowed in the increasing employment of women in capitalist production. Woman suffers as a producer not because she is unfitted for pro-

duction and ought to be as the owls hoot "in the home." The bad side of the picture in modern times in so far as it concerns women wage-labourers, arises from the *wages form* of their labour. Men and women suffer the plethora of physical, mental, and moral evils, because of the *capitalist form* of production. The co-operation of the sexes in the social labour process lays the foundation for the co-operation of the sexes in the work of removing the capitalist character of that process. Even to-day the married woman industrial stands in a much more favourable position than the married woman domestic. The family of the former is generally smaller. Every additional child to the latter is another link in her fetters, and makes her more than ever the slave of her husband. In such a home where the destroying angel has entered, and particularly where the woman has ceased to love, and begun to hate her husband, the case is tragic indeed. A life of torture and misery follows, and once in a while the tragedy ends in suicide and sometimes in murder. And this kind of marriage is called moral. It is made legal by a formula and a signature and these powdered over by a priest's blessing, pronounces the union to be moral for all time. Then legalized prostitution is moral. It is the morality of bourgeois property. Among the ladies of the bourgeoisie we may see how this morality exhibits itself and its source.

W.W.C.

*To be continued.*

## "PLEBS" LEAGUE

**T**HE Fifth Annual "Meet" of the "Plebs" League was held at the College on August Bank Holiday.

Mr. Tom Rees being elected to occupy the chair, opened the meeting by saying he should not take up any time by making a speech, but proceed to the second item on the agenda, namely, the Secretary's Report.

Mr. J. Reynolds, acting-secretary, on rising to give the Secretary's Report, said that considering nearly all the members of the League present had been in attendance at the meetings in connexion with the College during the earlier part of the day, it was not his intention of detaining them by giving a lengthy report.

He was sure everyone present was thoroughly acquainted with the aim and object of the League,—as stated on page 2 of the cover of the Magazine—so that there was no necessity for him to explain them.

While the League and Magazine were in no way officially connected with the C.L.C., the League took an active part in establishing the College, and owing to the limited financial resources of the



latter, much of the propaganda work of the College had been done through the medium of the *Plebs* ever since the opening of the College in 1909.

The League had taken the financial responsibility incurred through publishing the pamphlet on the *Burning Question of Education*; also special articles on education had frequently appeared in the Magazine, several of which had been reprinted in leaflet form and distributed to inquirers about the work of the College. This had resulted in an ever increasing number of active workers in the various Labour and Socialist organizations throughout the country being added to the C.L.C. army.

For those who were interested in the welfare and success of the College, a knowledge of the facts would easily prove that there was still work for the League to do in this direction and an increasing usefulness for the Magazine.

The circulation of the Magazine throughout the year averaged about 940 per month. This was a slight decrease on the previous year, and was mainly due to the fact of discontinuing to send the Magazine to those who were in arrears with their subscriptions. There were several at the present time in arrears with their subscriptions, and unless these were paid during the next two months, he should reluctantly be compelled to stop sending the Magazine to them.

Good work had been done during the past in increasing the sale of the Magazine among the students of the C.L.C. classes in Lancashire and South Wales, and there were bright prospects of the circulation increasing as the classes developed in the future. Also if every subscriber at the present time endeavoured to secure and be responsible even for only one additional subscriber the Magazine could easily be placed in a much sounder financial position.

From the financial statement to be presented later they would see there was still a heavy debt, which required to be removed. A large amount of this was due to the expense incurred in publishing the pamphlet on the *Burning Question of Education* in 1909, and reprints of Magazine articles from time to time. He hoped the members present would be able to suggest some practical method of clearing off the debt. Also in the unavoidable absence of the Editor he would be pleased to receive any suggestions for improvement in the way of articles for the Magazine.

In conclusion, he would ask them to extend their hearty thanks to Mr. Fox, of Messrs. Fox, Jones and Co., the printer of the Magazine, for his generous treatment towards the League in continuing to print the Magazine, in view of the heavy debt owing to his firm.

On the motion of Mr. J. Clatworthy, seconded by Mr. J. H. Pratt, the Secretary's Report was accepted, and the meeting tendered its heartiest vote of thanks to Mr. Fox.

## Auditors' Report and Statement of Accounts

Mr. W. H. Mainwaring in presenting the Auditors' Report, said he had examined the books, receipts, &c., of the League and Magazine and found everything correct.

### INCOME

			£	s.	d.
To Cash in hand, August 3rd, 1912	...	...	3	0	1
„ Collection, August Meet, 1912	...	...	2	4	3
„ Magazines and Membership Fees	...	...	97	13	7
„ I.O.U.'s since redeemed (1912 Meet)	...	...	6	12	6
„ Deficit Fund	...	...	6	0	0
„ Loan from Treasurer, 1912	...	...	33	2	9
„ Balance down August 2nd, 1913	...	...	58	13	1
			<hr style="border-top: 1px solid black;"/>		
			201	12	3

### EXPENDITURE

			£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By Printing :—Balance due Aug. 3rd, 1912	...	...	47	7	1			
„ „ Magazines, Aug. 3rd, 1912, to Aug. 2nd, 1913	...	...	41	9	11			
			<hr style="border-top: 1px solid black;"/>			88	17	0
„ Postage on Magazines	...	...				14	7	11½
„ „ Receipts and Bills	...	...				1	4	8½
„ Parcels (Railway charges)	...	...				1	12	3
„ Office Material	...	...				4	4	
„ Cash in hand August 2nd, 1913	...	...				3	10	2
„ Due to Treasurer	...	...				33	2	9
„ Due to Fox, Jones and Co.	...	...				58	13	1
						<hr style="border-top: 1px solid black;"/>		
						201	12	3

### LIABILITIES

„ Due to Fox, Jones and Co.	...	...	58	13	1
„ Due to Treasurer	...	...	33	2	9
			<hr style="border-top: 1px solid black;"/>		
			91	15	10

### ASSETS

Outstanding Accounts for Magazines	...	...	19	0	0
Mid-Rhondda "Plebs" Membership Fees	...	...	12	0	0
Bound Volumes of <i>Plebs</i>	...	...	1	2	0
I.O.U.'s (1912 Meet), unredeemed	...	...	5	11	0
			<hr style="border-top: 1px solid black;"/>		
			£37	13	0

Audited and found correct, W. H. MAINWARING.

August 2nd, 1913.

I.O.U.'s (1912 Meet) redeemed previous to August 2nd, 1913 :

		£	s.	d.			£	s.	d.
Archbold, Ted	...	...	5	0	Kershaw, H.	...	...	5	0
Clatworthy, J.	...	...	1	0	Pratt, J. H.	...	...	1	0
Fox, F. W.	...	...	1	0	Rees, Tom	...	...	12	6
Hawkins, T. D.	...	...	10	0	Flint, J. B. (1910 Meet)	...	...	1	0
Keating, T. P.	...	...	1	0					

Unredeemed August 2nd:

		£	s.	d.			£	s.	d.
Brown, G. W.	...	...	1	0	Pell, A.	...	...	2	6
Evans, Jack	...	...	1	0	*Robertson, A. H. M.	...	...	1	0
Hodges, F.	...	...	1	1	*Rees, Tom	...	...	7	6
*Peake, W.	...	...	1	0					

\* Since Redeemed.

The adoption of the Balance Sheet was moved by Mr. F. W. Dunn, seconded by Mr. J. Clatworthy, and carried unanimously.

## The Financial Position

Several suggestions were put forward with a view of clearing off the debt on the Magazine, among which were the following—increasing of the price of the Magazine to 3d. : the method adopted in the past, viz., members giving I.O.U.'s for various sums. Neither of these were considered satisfactory. The reasons given being that the former was impracticable and the latter always resulted in the same few making themselves responsible for losses that should be shared by the whole of the members of the League.

On the suggestion of Mr. F. W. Dunn, **it was eventually decided that a special appeal be inserted in the Magazine, asking each member of the League and reader of the Magazine to contribute 1/- (or more) each towards clearing off the debt.**

The following gave I.O.U.'s towards the debt on the Magazine: Messrs. J. Clatworthy 20/-, F. Fox 20/-, J. H. Pratt 20/-, T. P. Keating 20/-, F. W. Dunn 10/-, E. Edwards 10/-.

## The Magazine Articles

A keen and interesting discussion took place on the invitation for suggestions, in the way of articles, for the improvement of the Magazine.

Among those who took part in the discussion were Messrs. G. W. Brown, J. Clatworthy, W. W. Craik, F. W. Dunn, E. Edwards, W. H. Mainwaring, J. H. Pratt, Tom Rees, J. V. Wills and Miss M. Howarth.

One of the speakers was of the opinion that some of the articles in the past were too academic (as to what he exactly meant by the term academic the meeting was not informed), and suggested that articles

dealing with working-class conditions in various parts of the country, e.g., articles on the conditions of the Northumberland Miners, would be of interest to their fellow workers in South Wales, and *vice versa*.

The majority present, however, were of the opinion that it would be difficult to improve the Magazine, and considered that, to use a well-known phrase, "it supplied a long felt want" to those who were desirous of understanding the theoretical side of the Labour and Socialist Movement.

Miss M. Howarth suggested that the series of articles on "Easy Outlines of Economics" by Mr. Noah Ablett, which were published in Volume I (1909) should be reprinted, seeing these articles were only available in the few bound volumes still on hand. This was supported by Mr. E. Edwards, who also favoured the idea of the Magazine publishing some of the ordinary lectures delivered at the College.

Mr. J. V. Wills strongly advocated the insertion of an article, or articles, on the subject of wages and prices. The erroneous ideas and confusion on this important subject sadly wanted removing. For example, the fallacy that an increase of wages was responsible for an increase of prices was responsible for a great deal of the apathy of the workers in demanding an increase of wages.

All the above suggestions were unanimously approved of by the members present.

## The Materialist Conception of History

[*Foreword.*—We have "lifted" the following article from the *New York Weekly People*. We have no scruples in doing so because the aim of that journal is not commercial but educational. They, like we, desire to popularize the only really explanatory social science of the age. The article has been translated by C. H. Seaholm from the Scandinavian of Gustav Bang.]

### 1—The Theory

**A**S little as any other of the great scientific discoveries which have broken new roads for the development of man's spiritual life has the materialist conception of history fallen like an Aladdin apple into the turban of some favoured thinker, or taken its rise through a single fanciful idea of a genius. On the contrary, it is the result of extensive and assiduous research which only by little and little could be crowned with fruition.

The time, first of all, had to be ripe. The technique of production first had to reach such a stage of development and be so thoroughgoing that its transforming influence on all social life and its commanding import as a historical motive power became an obvious fact, forcing itself upon the consciousness of the thinking observer. The new technique of production on a large scale, which in the middle of the nineteenth century swept like a flood over all countries of Western Europe, created just such a situation. New social conditions were unfolded wherever it came, new class antagonisms were brought into being, new ideas sprang forth. And during the year of great revolutions—1848—a most distinct impression of how social thought changed under its influence was given. No one,—and least of all he, who at close range, in the factory districts of Western Germany, of France, Belgium, and England, had come to know the workings of the new technique in production,—could be blind before the fact that "the spirit of '48," the general conception of ideas regarding political liberty, national independence and social equality which at that time set the inner man in motion, was in the highest degree produced by the social transformations which the new forms of production carried in their wake. But when this connexion was evident it lay very near to hand to ask whether it had not also exerted its influence under earlier historical periods, whether the evolution of the material forces in production was not the universal motion power behind all historical changes. Consequently, the time was ripe. The material for the solution of the great problem presented itself. One catches glimpses of an understanding of the theory of the materialist conception of history in the works of various writers on history even before Marx had time to formulate the theory. At approximately the same time did an American investigator, Lewis H. Morgan, through study of the social arrangements of ancient peoples, by entirely different routes, arrive at similar conclusions.

If one follows the unfolding of Marx in his earlier writings one sees how he gradually, and through arduous intellectual exertions, liberated himself from the mystic ideas of previous philosophers concerning man's spirit as the governing world force: one sees how he penetrated problems and acquired an understanding of their nature until this incessantly growing knowledge at last stands forth as a theoretical system. In the preface to the work, *The Critique of Political Economy* (published 1859) which is a forerunner of *Capital*, he presents for the first time this new system. Marx's words are to this day a perfectly unassailable presentation of the views which constitute the basis of the materialist conception of history. They are reproduced below:

In the social production which men carry on they enter into definite, indispensable relations that are independent of their will; these relations of production correspond to a definite stage of development of the material powers of production men have at their

disposal. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society—the real foundation, on which rise juridic and political superstructures and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production in material life determine the general character of the social, political, and spiritual processes of life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but, on the contrary, their social existence determines their consciousness. At a certain stage of their development, the material forces of production in society come in conflict with the existing relations of production, or—what is but a legal expression for the same thing—with the property relations within which they had been at work before. From forms of development of the forces of production these relations turn into their fetters. Then comes the period of social revolution. With the change of the economic foundation the entire immense superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed.

In considering such transformations the distinction should always be made between the material transformation of the economic conditions of production which can be determined with the precision of natural science, and the juridic, political, religious, æsthetic or philosophic—in short ideological forms in which men become conscious of this conflict and fight it out. Just as our opinion of an individual is not based on what he thinks of himself, so can we not judge of such a period of transformation by its own consciousness; on the contrary, this consciousness must rather be explained from the contradiction of material life, from the existing conflict between the social forces of production and the relations of production. No social order ever disappears before all the productive forces, for which there is room in it, have been developed; and new higher relations of production never appear before the material conditions of their existence have matured in the womb of the old society. Therefore, mankind always takes up only such problems as it can solve; since, looking at the matter more closely, we will always find that the problem itself arises only when the material conditions necessary for its solution already exist or are at least in the process of formation. In broad outlines we can designate the Asiatic, the ancient, the feudal, and the modern capitalist methods of production as so many epochs in the progress of the economic formation of society. The capitalist relations of productions constitute the last antagonistic form of the social process of production—antagonistic not in the sense of individual antagonism, but of one arising from conditions surrounding the life of individuals in society. However, at the same time the productive forces developing in the womb of bourgeois society create the material conditions for the solution of that antagonism. This social formation constitutes, therefore, the closing chapter of the prehistoric stage of human society.

These are, in brief, the fundamental aspects of the materialist conception of history. Later investigators have had no occasion to amend this, Marx's, presentation; they have only, by putting it to test under a variety of situations, won ever new confirmations of its validity; they have illustrated the theory by a multitude of illuminating examples, taken from the most diverse fields, and they have experienced how this scientific way of observation renders free of access an entirely new, fruitful and more perfect, richer and deeper-going understanding of the phenomenon of historical evolution than it would have been possible to attain in any other manner.

Certain people have sought to find a new name for this theory, and to call it the "economic" instead of the "materialistic" conception of history,—manifestly for the purpose of giving it a more neutral designation and making it more attractive in circles where it is supposed the word "materialism" might give offence. Such a change of name, however, would only side-track and make the concepts unclear and indefinite. This it would have for its result because the economic conditions, the distribution of property, the class antagonisms, the forms of exploitation, &c., are not in themselves the basic factors in social evolution, but rather manifestations of production's material conditions, and can be understood only in their proper relation to these, the material conditions of production, which in every age are the real foundation of the entire social structure, and which, through their constant changes, cause all the mutations in the social structure. Just on this purely material movement,—in contrast to man's ideas as independent historical forces—stress must be laid if the name is really to express the content of the theory.

Naturally, with materialism in the philosophic sense the materialist conception of history has nothing in common beyond the purely accidental likeness in name. Philosophic materialism inquires into the relations between man's physical and mental life, and sets up the theory that all psychic action is but the expression of the process of corporeal life and consequently must cease when the corporeal life-process comes to an end. To the historical materialism this is a wholly non-essential question. What the historical materialism concerns itself with is, not the general laws governing man's reasoning faculties, but the laws which have the effect that the opinions—*not the opinions of every solitary individual but those of great masses of the people*—are reconstituted from time to time, given new contents, creating interests in new matters, embracing new ideals, all under the influence of environmental social conditions. To trace these purely social laws, that, and nothing else, is the task it has set to itself to accomplish.

Nor has that other philosophic controversy concerning **determinism**, the question as to whether or not the human will is bound or free, —any connexion whatever with the problem the materialist conception of history occupies itself with. Whether the individual in making up

his mind has certain leeway for a really free will, or whether, in his decisions, he is led by foreign forces so that his free decisions become nothing but self-illusions, that is a question which does not concern the materialist conception of history. To it Paul and Peter are persons of no consequence; to it only the mass of individuals is of importance. The same regularity which the statistician finds prevalent wherever he has to do with large numbers—for instance, year after year, and in spite of all individual peculiarities, the number of people, in proportion to the population, who commit suicide, marry, steal, bring illegitimate children into the world, and so forth, is about the same—the same uniformity presents itself when one surveys history, a certain plan, or system, becomes evident in the social consciousness and endeavours of the people, and it is these common to all, social characteristics that the materialist conception of history traces back to their sources.

However, this should not be taken to mean that the material conditions of production directly and mechanically create all the various phenomena of social life. **Nothing is further from the purport of the materialist conception of history than to consider historical evolution to be a purely automatic process,** blindly guided by Fate, a process the separate manifestations and arrangements of which can immediately be made out if one takes a glance at the prevailing material conditions of production. On the contrary, the whole affair is rather complex and awfully intricate: a variety of conflicting tendencies cross each other. Between the material production on the one hand and currents of intellectual moment on the other are found a number of transitional forms of human endeavour which partake of the qualities of both; all the diverse impulses pass through human minds, are there brought into a state of readiness, and thence carried further. The ideological concepts regarding Good and Evil, Right and Wrong, Truth and Untruth, the Beautiful and the Ugly, play an important rôle in the historical evolution; the materialist conception of history **does not underestimate this, the significance of the ideas,** it shows they do not float in the air, but that they, on the contrary, have their roots in the opinions prevailing among the different classes in society, that these opinions are determined by property relations and that these finally rest on the material conditions of production: consequently, the materialist conception of history does not overlook the importance of the ideas; it hauls them down from the airy regions and makes clear their terrestrial origin. **Neither does the materialist conception of history underestimate the influence of great minds on historical evolution;** it but shows the life-work of such men never came into being through chance but by natural necessity sprang from social environments whose root in turn extended deep into the material relations of production prevailing at a given time. Columbus and Newton, Luther and Holberg, Watt and Edison, Darwin and Marx,—all found the problems waiting for them which they tackled. It was the problems that occupied the



age and demanded solution. The significance of these men lies in that they had the ability to view these problems with greater acuteness than their contemporaries; that they were capable of collecting various features under one common perspective, and that they had imagination, courage, and endurance to deduce the consequences therefrom. Thus the materialist conception of history does not content itself with external appearances, but seeks to the very fundament of social phenomena, explains their origin and from thence gets an understanding of their effects. It proceeds like the chemist when he analyses the vast variety of substances and, decomposing them, finally arrives at a small number of elements. And in every place, wherever the historian makes his analyses in a really scientific manner, he ultimately stands face to face with the material relations of production.

We have sought to give a general presentation of the subject's nature. In the following we shall endeavour, by aid of sundry historical examples, better to elucidate it.

*Weekly People*, New York.

(To be continued)

## The Trade Union Congress

### The Central Labour College and Ruskin College

**A**T the Trade Union Congress held at Manchester last month another attempt was made to gather upon the Congress that perverted child Ruskin College. In October 1909, three months after the Central Labour College had become an established fact, a conference was called by Ruskin College at Oxford for the purpose of replastering the frontage in the shape of a new constitution. To this undertaking they had been driven by the C.L.C. movement. Under the genius of the Liberal Member for Northampton, Prof. H. B. Lees-Smith, the Conference adopted the new coating which however was thin enough to let the old show through. Among other things the constitution provided for two representatives of the *Parliamentary Committee* of the Trade Union Congress and two representatives of the *Management Committee* of the General Federation of Trade Unions. The Congress was not asked, be it observed, to appoint two of their number. That would have been too dangerous. But, it was intended that through the agency of the two representatives of the Parliamentary Committee, Ruskin College should be regarded as the official college of the T.U.C. The two members of the Parliamentary Committee appointed not by the Congress, but by the Committee were Mr. Bowerman, who had previously been a member of the old management at Ruskin and Mr. Sexton.

During the month of August 1911 there appeared throughout the press an announcement to the effect that the Parliamentary Committee of the T.U.C. had established a scheme of scholarships at Ruskin College. The South Wales Miners Executive sent to Mr. Bowerman a strongly worded protest against this high handed action, and among the Unions supporting the C.L.C. a general indignation was felt. Nothing more was heard of the S. W. M. F. resolution and nothing more was heard of the so-called scheme of scholarships. If readers of the magazine will refer back to the November issue of 1911, they will find a report from Noah Ablett as to the steps taken at the Newcastle Congress in September of that year, to get at the bottom of the actual relation of the Congress to Ruskin College. Ablett saw Mr. Bowerman, but could get no satisfaction from that quarter. Mr. Bowerman promised to make a statement to the Congress. But the gentleman *made no statement*. Mr. Morris of the Bricklayers attempted to raise the question during the discussion on education, but was *ruled out of order*. A deputation was offered by the C.L.C. to meet the Parliamentary Committee on the question during the Congress week. *But all to no purpose*. All the doors were shut which would lead to any investigation. Mr. Bowerman promised to have the matter looked into later. We are still under the spell of Mr. Bowerman's silence.

At the Congress held at Newport the following year the question of Ruskin College was not brought up and no opportunity of raising it from the body of the hall was given. At the recent Manchester congress however the matter was again brought forward and an attempt made to rush through a resolution, which, however pious and formal it may have been, was intended to give to Ruskin College the official endorsement of the Trade Union Congress.

During the discussion on the Parliamentary Committee Report Ted Gill and Frank Hodges representing the South Wales Miners, put some pertinent questions to Mr. Bowerman. When had Congress decided to support Ruskin College? When did Congress appoint Mr. Bowerman and Mr. Sexton on the Board of Management at Ruskin? Mr. Bowerman answered these questions by saying, that *the Parliamentary Committee had decided* to appoint the two representatives, and that the Congress had *previous opportunities of calling this action in question*, an answer that appears decidedly at variance with the experience at Newcastle. Mr. Bowerman was asked if the Parliamentary Committee had considered the position of Ruskin College. He replied that they had this knowledge before them at the time of appointing representatives on Ruskin College Board. He then went on to cover up this inaccurate answer by a few fine phrases about unity and the desirability of having one College. Curiously enough, he had been just previously apologizing for the existence of the General Federation of Trades in connexion with the Joint Board.

We are of course quite at one with Mr. Bowerman about the need for unity; but *not any kind of unity*. Unity of organization must be based on oneness of principle and policy. We are quite prepared for unity with Ruskin College to-morrow, on the basis of *working class* education. But Ruskin will have to change something more than its constitution if it is to realize those conditions.

Messrs. Gill and Hodges were unable to follow up their questions to Mr. Bowerman, the president informing the delegates that there would be opportunity for discussion and further questions when the resolution supporting R.C. was brought forward.

Fifteen minutes before the adjournment of Congress on Friday evening, *Mr. Bowerman moved* the resolution which appears elsewhere in the *Magazine*.

In his speech Mr. Bowerman was very careful to say nothing in the nature of controversy about Ruskin College and ourselves. He contented himself with eulogizing the work of R.C. and emphasizing the need for the Congress to secure for it a greater measure of financial support. The resolution was seconded by a delegate who further glorified the institution. The chairman proceeded to put the resolution, when Gill rose to lead the opposition. The chairman seemed surprised that there was to be an opposition! Gill most effectively showed the injustice involved in the passing of such a resolution and this was forcefully backed by our first C.L.C. student, now a miners agent in the Garw Valley—Frank Hodges. Both speakers showed how anomalous the situation was which the Congress were asked to accept. The resolution asked the Congress to endorse an institution that a large section of the congress had repudiated. It was pointed out that as a matter of fact, a larger number of organizations represented at the Congress supported the C.L.C. than those which supported the R.C.

Hodges described the resolution as a piece of impertinence, and after he had resumed his seat, up rose the other Parliamentary Committee representative at Ruskin College—Mr. Sexton. He at once adopted the "heavy father" rôle towards Hodges and characterized him as the finest type of impertinence before the Congress. That finished Mr. Sexton, who was called upon to "withdraw" from all parts of the Congress, and finally by the Chairman of the Congress, who ruled that Mr. Sexton had made a personal attack. After making the withdrawal Mr. Sexton was ill at ease and indulged in some very crude criticism of the C.L.C. The C.L.C. was out to smash the trade unions,\* to promote syndicalism and the I.W.W., to attack labour leaders, and to teach about tadpoles and protoplasm! Such was the many-coloured mosaic of Mr. Sexton's argument. So eager was he to multiply charges against us that he was quite oblivious to the disparate character of those charges. He might have generalized the whole indictment, as a conspiracy against the

Cosmos, which ought to be sufficiently comprehensive to include Mr. Sexton. He never seemed to realize the irony of his position as a representative of an educational institution. A man who sneers at science is surely out of place in an institution even of the calibre of Ruskin College. Such sneers may serve as substitutes for arguments against secular education. They will hardly do for a defence of Ruskin College, which, by the way prides itself upon a broad education, and that surely embraces some of Mr. Sexton's despised relatives.

Mr. Sexton's speech found the intelligence of the Congress at too high a level to evoke any enthusiasm. Several other delegates were on their feet after he had resumed his seat, and Jim Winstone, Miners' Agent, Eastern Valleys, succeed in getting a few words in, advising the Parliamentary Committee to withdraw the resolution as it would certainly be lost. But no, *it was not to be withdrawn*. The resolution was put to the vote and *lost by a large majority* in a scene of much enthusiasm. Then *Mr. Bowerman called for a card vote*. By this time the delegates were leaving the hall and as they could not be re-assembled, the chairman announced that the card vote would be taken on Saturday morning. All those circumstances favoured the resolution. But between the close of the Congress on Friday and the opening on Saturday morning, the promoters of the resolution had realized that the card vote would be even more pronounced against the resolution than the hand vote had been. And so on the Saturday morning *the Parliamentary Committee expressed through the chairman their willingness to withdraw the resolution*. What they would not do before the vote on Friday evening, they were prepared to do after the vote had gone against them, and when they realized in what direction the card vote would go. It was an ungraceful retreat. Retreat it was, and in forcing this fall back, the C.L.C. has every reason to be satisfied with the result. Our very best thanks are due to our stalwarts who represented our claims at the Congress, and who so effectively caused the opposition to retire, a reversal that the opposition can ill afford. We await with interest representations from the Parliamentary Committee and we shall be delighted to talk the matter over with them. We are not afraid of the results providing we can openly state our case to the workmen of this country. Whenever we have done so, success has materialized. Let every reader of the Magazine and supporter of the College put forth his best service throughout the coming winter on behalf of the institution, so that when the next T. U. C. comes round we shall be so strong as to be unassailable.

W. W. C.

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\* It may be interesting to look at some of those C.L.C. "Trade Union Smashers."

EDWARD GILL, Executive Member of S. Wales Miners' Federation  
 FRANK HODGES, Miners' Agent " " "  
 D. WATTS MORGAN, Miners' Agent " " "  
 NOAH ABLETT, Executive Member " " "  
 J. E. WILLIAMS, General Secretary Nation Union Railwaymen  
 ERNEST EDWARDS, Late E. C. Member " " "  
 BEN DAVIES, Miners' Agent, S. Wales Miners' Federation

Mr. Sexton's arguments are certainly not smashing !

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## Ruskin and Central Labour Colleges at Trade Union Congress, 1913

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**Mr. Bowerman, M.P., submitted a resolution recommending trade unions to send a sufficient number of students to the Ruskin College to secure a satisfactory and permanent income, and, where possible, to make grants to meet the present liabilities.**

Mr. Bowerman said he moved the resolution in support of the Parliamentary Committee's recommendation concerning Ruskin College. This college, like other Labour institutions, had passed through certain vicissitudes, and it was only a matter of two or three years ago that there seemed a probability of that college being brought to the ground. It passed through that ordeal successfully.

The measure of support from trade unions was increasing year by year in spite of the unhappy differences that took place two or three years ago. The committee could truly say that at present, and since the dispute, Ruskin College had been controlled in an absolutely democratic manner. The work was going on with increasing success, and he asked the Congress to back up the appeal made by the Parliamentary Committee in order to make the college free from its financial difficulties.

Mr. E. Gill (Miners), speaking in opposition, said he knew there were delegates present representing trade unions that were affiliated with the Central Labour College, and they far outweighed the number of delegates associated with trade unions

that supported the other college. He appealed to their sense of justice and said they had no right to prejudice the life of the Central Labour College by giving support to one institution before finding out what support had been given to the other. (Hear, hear).

**The resolution was lost by a large majority amid cheers.** A card vote was demanded, and it was announced from the chair that this would be taken to-day.

*Daily Citizen*, September 6th.

## " Referred Back "

The resolution of support for Ruskin College was lost on Friday, and it was intimated that a card vote would be taken on Saturday. The chairman, however, stated that if it was the desire of delegates, the Parliamentary Committee were quite willing to accept a suggestion that the conditions of the other college should be enquired into and the matter referred back for twelve months.

Mr. J. Hewson (Sailors and Firemen) moved that the whole matter be referred back to the Parliamentary Committee for their consideration.

This was seconded by Mr. J. Winstone (Miners), and carried.

*Daily Citizen*, September 8th.

**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.**

## Reports

### NORTH EAST LANCASHIRE CLASSES

We have completed all arrangements for the coming winter in the above area. Classes will again be held in the following towns, i.e. Burnley, Nelson, Colne, Padiham and Accrington, and everything promises for a successful winter.

A short while ago I received a letter from the College, which had been sent on at Craik's request by Jim Reynolds, in reference to an inquiry by the Blackburn Railwaymen. I am pleased to report that I have been successful in establishing a class in the town of Blackburn.

They intend to take first a course in Industrial History. I am enclosing copy of the Blackburn Syllabus.

With reference to the College itself, I notice that in going through the balance sheet there is a large deficit. Now to me the best way to get rid of that liability is to boom the College, and I should suggest that you appoint an organizer on behalf of the College to tour the country and place the position and educational objects of the College in front of the unions. I find this myself: that when I have appeared before any trade organization and place our position, they have immediately realized the false position of Ruskin College and the Workers' Educational Association. I think that after what happened at the Trade Union Congress, a bold step forward would be the wisest. I believe that if the Northumberland and Durham districts were tapped you would be able to establish provincial classes.

W. H. BARTON, Gen. Sec.

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## Mr. Shaw's Latest

The artist-philosophers are the only sort of artists I take quite seriously. . . . The abyss that lies between the fashionable author who could see nothing in the world but personal aims and the tragedy of their disappointment or the comedy of their incongruity, and the field preacher (Bunyan) who achieved virtue and courage by *identifying himself with the purpose of the world as he understood it*. . . . Bunyan's perception that righteousness is filthy rags, his scorn for Mr. Legality in the village of Morality, his defiance of the Church as the supplanter of religion, his insistence on courage as the virtue of virtues, his estimate of the career of the conventionally respectable and sensible Worldly Wiseman as no better at bottom than the life and death of Mr. Badman: all this, expressed by Bunyan in the terms of a tinker's theology, is what Nietzsche has expressed in terms of post-Darwinian, post-Schopenhaurian philosophy; Wagner in terms of polytheistic mythology; and Ibsen in terms of mid nineteenth century

Parisian dramaturgy. . . . Bunyan's whole allegory is a consistent attack on morality and respectability, without a word that one can remember against vice and crime. Exactly what is complained of in Nietzsche and Ibsen, is it not?

. . . After all, the main thing in determining the artistic quality of a book is not the opinions it propagates, but the fact that the writer has opinions. . . . All the assertions get disproved sooner or later.

[Epistle Dedicatory to *Man and Superman*.]

**A**NDROCLES and the Lion," produced at the St. James' Theatre on September 1st, is one of the most exciting, most moving, and most characteristic of Mr. Shaw's plays. Whether it will read as well as it acts is perhaps doubtful. For one thing, no ordinary reader could conjure up a mental picture of a lion half so full of character and humour as the joyous beast portrayed for us by Mr. Edward Sillward on the stage. And almost every other part is as sympathetically played. On the stage, at any rate, and produced as it is at the St. James', "Androcles and the Lion" touches high-water mark. Such feasts are all too few and far between.

In "Androcles," Mr. Shaw has invented a new art form—or revised an old one, which is much the same thing. He calls it a "fable-play." One of his few intelligent critics describes it as a "religious pantomime," and the phrase is so good that one's only wonder is that Shaw did not hit upon it himself. The play is a magnificent mixture of real religious feeling (see definitions in quotations from "Man and Superman" above) and that rollicking, happy humour which one usually associates with pantomime. Cultured people (like the majority of the dramatic critics) are shocked into hysteria by such a combination. Simple souls (like Mr. A. B. Walkley, of *The Times*, and the folk who pay for their seats in pit and gallery) enjoy it and are happy and grateful—grateful not only to Shaw but to the Censor, who considered "Blanco Posnet" blasphemous, yet has permitted us to see "Androcles."

For that "Androcles" is blasphemous no one would trouble to deny. It blasphemes against current morality, respectability, and "English country-house religion." It speaks openly of sacred (and therefore secret) things. It even laughs at the laughable aspects of martyrs and martyrdom, in the same breath stirring you profoundly by its real dramatic insight into the characters of the martyrs and the grim reality of their situation. So that it is all naturally very confusing to people who prefer their 'tragedy' and 'comedy' in separate compartments, hermetically sealed and distinctly labelled. Believers are horrified, their minds going back to the beauty and nobility of "The Sign of the Cross." Cultured unbelievers call its humour "infantile." Once again, in fact, the wise and prudent go away irritated, and the babes have a jolly evening.



In "Androcles," Mr. Shaw applies his accustomed historical method—that is to say, he treats his dramatis personæ as though they were contemporaries, and makes them talk colloquially, instead of in "congealed blank verse." All sorts of stupidities have been uttered by the critics concerning this habit of his. He obtains his effects, says one, by means "hardly beyond the schoolboy who puts a bowler hat on a portrait of Cæsar." Yet it is surely obvious that until we do put a bowler hat on Cæsar, he remains a dim and distant stranger to us. Shakespeare put an Elizabethan hat on Cæsar. The first essential of historical drama or fiction is that we should be made to realize that what we are accustomed to think of as mere names were really men and women. And if we recognize a man better in a bowler hat, by all means let him wear it—even if he is great Cæsar. The only alternative seems to be that he should pose on a pedestal in an unnatural attitude and spout blank verse; and that, besides being unhistorical, is distinctly boring. Accordingly, in this play, Mrs. Androcles expresses a quite natural contempt for Christians and such-like people, "the lowest of the low," reminding us that *her* father kept his own public house. Andy himself addresses the King of Beasts as a man ordinarily addresses an animal—in baby talk; adjuring it to be a nice good liony-piony, and make velvet paws. And the noble army of martyrs, having really got hold of something they can believe in as sure and immovable, are happy, make jokes and behave cheerfully, in direct contrast to their blasé guards, tired of the monotony of "duty." The whole play, therefore, is alive and human.

It is also Shaw. And since the "artist-philosophers" are, on his authority, the only sort of artists worth taking seriously, we must not dodge the philosophy of "Androcles and the Lion." In essence it is an assertion of the necessity for religion, and of the superiority of the really religious man (again see definitions above). These early Christians were people who "achieved virtue and courage by identifying themselves with the purpose of the world as they understood it." Some of them doubtless "arrived at understanding" in quaint ways. But they had, says Mr. Shaw in effect, the root of the matter in them. What they called Faith, we should perhaps call Will. "All the assertions get disproved sooner or later." But a fine character, like a great work of art, remains noble so long at least as men remember it.

Not very novel, perhaps! Almost Victorian in its high seriousness.

We are given in the play four types of religious people. Androcles, simple and gentle, the "fool" whom Tolstoy loved, a lover of animals, who "could never hate anyone enough to fight them," who has only once been roused to anger—when he saw a man illtreating an old horse—timid, yet with a little streak of bravery, above all lovable. He reveals himself in one magnificent sentence, when he excuses himself from fighting the gladiators, declaring that he prefers

"to be thrown to the lions with the ladies." Ferrovius, a blacksmith of mighty physique and equally mighty "natural" instincts, is a sort of fighting Covenanter; his life is a never-ceasing struggle between his natural impulses and his new-found religion. It comes hard—very hard—to him to turn the other cheek, and his great fear is that in the arena he should "betray his Master" by turning on his persecutors. He holds out until his brethren are lashed with whips to make them fight, and then he "sees red" and kills all six of the Emperor's pet fighting men. "I am a servant of Mars," is his final confession. "The Christian God is not yet. And I must serve the gods that are." Spintho, the third male martyr (or rather would-be martyr, for his cowardice cheats him of martyrdom though not of death) is the despicable person who in terror of his own past clutches at any hope of escape from hell. "If you die a martyr you go straight to heaven—no matter what you've done!" is his repeated whine. He is a Christian simply because he is a coward; and his fear of death proves stronger even than his fear of hell. "You're the sort as makes duty a pleasure," remarks the centurion as he kicks him.

The fourth of the martyrs is Lavinia, one of those women, not rare in the plays of Shaw and Ibsen, beside whom the men look a little foolish—when not actually caddish. She has little or no definite conviction concerning God or a future life. But she has found reality among the Christians, and she will not do homage to shams even by so much as throwing a pinch of incense on the altar of Diana. The well-bred, rationalist, very English Roman captain who endeavours to dissuade her from going to her death, comes off but ill from the contest, and when his prisoner in turn questions him has to fall back on the order forbidding prisoners to put questions to soldiers "to which answers are not supplied in the military regulations."

He, as well as the martyrs, is a person of flesh and blood. So is Mrs. Androcles—a Roman Cockney. So is the drily humorous centurion—a Roman drill-sergeant. So are also the degenerate Emperor and his pet fighting men, the nonchalant call-boy of the Colosseum, and the young exquisite who insults the Christian women and, faced by Ferrovius, promptly cries for his mother. (This last episode was as satisfying as Dickens.) And there was the Lion himself; *not* a "pantomime animal," but a delicious Shavian parody of the King of Beasts, the bubble of his dignity pricked as effectively as that of many pompous humans by Mr. Shaw.

God send that Mr. Shaw may write more "fable plays."

J. F. HERRIN.

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