

2001/15  
ORGAN OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF  
LABOUR COLLEGES

# THE PLEBS

Monthly, 4d.

FEBRUARY, 1929 ✓

MAINLY ABOUT  
OURSELVES



OUR  
20<sup>TH</sup> BIRTHDAY  
NUMBER

N. C. L. C., SWINTON HOUSE, 324 GRAY'S INN ROAD, LONDON, W.C.1

# J. B. LOOKS UP HIS PAST!



He'll be able to carry our new textbook comfortably in his pocket

**NOW ON SALE**

*94 pages, with 5 maps*

A SHORT HISTORY  
OF THE  
**BRITISH  
EMPIRE**

by **J. F. HORRABIN**

*Paper Covers, 1s. (post paid, 1s. 1d.)*

*Limp Cloth, 1s 6d. (post paid, 1s 8d.)*

NOTE SPECIAL REDUCTIONS FOR QUANTITIES

2d. in the 1/- discount on orders for 12 copies; 3d. in the 1/- on orders for 25; 4d. in the 1/- on 50 or over. (Postage extra.)

# THE PLEBS

Organ of the National Council of Labour Colleges

VOL. XXI.

FEBRUARY, 1929.

No. 2

(Published on the 1st of each month).

## CONTENTS

	PAGE		PAGE
TWENTY YEARS AFTER ... ..	25	TWO PAGES OF LABOUR COLLEGE HISTORY	39
"THE MAG." 1909-1929 By J. F. HORRABIN	27	OUR NEW TEXTBOOK By T. A. JACKSON	42
UNAUTHENTICATED MESSAGES ON OUR 20TH BIRTHDAY ...	31	AMONG THE BOOKS By "PLEBS" REVIEWERS	44
THE POWER OF TWOPENCE- HALFPENNY By J. P. M. MILLAR	32	GOOD WELLS By R.W.P.	45
WHO'S WHO IN THE N.C.L.C. ...	35	LETTERS TO THE EDITOR ...	46
"PLEBS" MEETS I REMEMBER By WINIFRED HORRABIN	37	WHAT THE N.C.L.C. IS DOING ...	47

## TWENTY YEARS AFTER

THIS is the 20th Anniversary Number of this magazine, and I.W.C.Ers everywhere will, we are sure, take pride with us in the fact that the movement, begun in so small a way at Oxford 20 years ago, has grown and developed so amazingly. Twenty years is a long life for a Labour journal, depending absolutely and entirely on the support of working men and women: and the success of The PLEBS is sufficient proof of the fact that it stood, and stands, for a *live idea*. That idea—working-class independence—was part of the very basis of the whole Labour Movement. It was the task of The PLEBS to emphasise its application to the sphere of education. We cannot improve upon words written twenty years since—part of the editorial article in the second number of this magazine (March, 1909) The appeal therein made is precisely

the appeal which the N.C.L.C. makes to the movement to-day:—

*To the organised Labour Movement we appeal for support on a question that lies at the very bottom of working-class organisation. We cannot trust our economic safety to the good intentions of the possessing class. We do not rely upon the politics of our employers for measures of progressive legislation. We establish our own economic fortifications, we have our own political weapons, we control our own literary despatches. Why, then, should we not as independently manage our educational affairs? Even as we have a platform of our own, and a press of our own, let us have educational institutions of our own.*

### No Half-Way House

That, we repeat, is still our appeal to-day. And the very growth and development of the

Labour Movement, politically and industrially, make it even more urgent to-day than when it was first made. Labour's very success has encouraged all those who quickly 'grow weary in well-doing' to put forward half-measures as sufficient 'next steps,' and to advocate class-collaboration instead of the old policy of fighting independence. *There can be no half-way house in the struggle for working-class emancipation.* We either go on or go backwards. The support, on particular issues, of this or that individual, or this or that section of our enemies, must not blind us to the elemental fact that it is on our own working-class strength, and our own working-class vision, that we must rely for further advance. The PLEBS, as the organ of the N.C.L.C., stands to-day, as it has stood throughout these past 20 years, for absolute independence in the field of workers' education; for working-class control of working-class educational institutions—for an education expressly designed to assist the workers in their struggle to overthrow Capitalism.

### The Position of I.W.G.E. To-Day

Most of the special articles in this issue look back, as it is appropriate they should, over the events of the last two decades. Here, briefly, we wish to stress one or two facts about the position of our movement to-day. Satisfaction with the results of 20 years' work and propaganda must not blind us to certain urgent needs. The support given us by so many important Unions must not make us forget that the development of our work is still hampered and limited in innumerable ways for lack of adequate finance. We need the support of more Unions. *And we need to keep on working to the best of our ability if we are to ensure the retention of the support we have already won.* 'Education' is all too apt to be regarded—in working-class as well as capitalist circles—as a luxury which can be dispensed with, or economised upon, in hard times. With every advance of our movement there is increased need for unremitting efforts on the part of I.W.C.E. propagandists. We have still to *rub it in*—and to go on rubbing it in

### The Publications' Side

We have an honourable record to look back upon on the publishing side of our movement—a side, it should be noted, which is just as essential, just as vital, to the success of our work as the actual business of class tuition itself. Our efforts to develop real working-class education are futile unless we devote

### The Appeal Still Holds !

ARE you coldly scientific ?  
Is your favourite author Marx ?  
Or do you, along with Orage,  
Rave of profiteering sharks ?  
Maybe you're a subtle Fabian  
Swearing by, not at, the Webbs ?  
Hearken—have you sent that bob yet  
To The PLEBS ?

Are you very keen on Dietzgen ?  
Do you know what logic's for ?  
D'you like Cole and Mellor-drama—  
Or prefer the plays of Shaw ?  
P'raps you favour Yankee flavour—  
Haywood, Walling, Boudin, Debs ?  
Anyhow—just send that bob off  
To The PLEBS.

Do you, with the C.G.T., think  
Politicians up the pole ?  
Are you British first and foremost—  
Do you swallow Blatchford whole ?  
Are you pessimist or opti.,  
As the Movement flows and ebbs ?  
Please yourself! . . . But send a bob now  
To The PLEBS.

J.F.H. (PLEBS, November, 1915).

the same energy to the production and distribution of working-class textbooks as we do to the securing of new students for the classes. For the past three years—since the Black Year of 1926—we have had to struggle hard to make ends meet as regards publications. There are many signs that the spell of hopeless apathy which seemed to have settled down on whole sections of the Labour Movement is lifting. Let us take advantage of this to carry on an intensive literature-selling campaign during these next few months. The books and pamphlets on our stock-room shelves are so much dead matter. You can turn them into high explosive by planting them in the proper quarters. And you can give us the increase in the circulation of The PLEBS which is needed to give us at one and the same time economic

security and the widest possible field for the message of Independent Working-Class Education.

### The Labour College (London)

There is one other important matter in which the interest and assistance of every I.W.C.Er is needed now if a serious setback to our work is not to materialise. The Labour College (London), the parent body of our whole movement, is threatened with extinction in the near future unless additional financial support is speedily forthcoming. Now it is not enough merely that the continued existence of the College should be secured. What we must work for is a closer co-ordination of the work of the

College and that of the classes organised throughout the country in the N.C.L.C. The lack of direct contact during recent years has tended to render much of the work of the residential College sterile. On the other hand, the great need of the classes is for more—and more—trained tutors. We need a residential College. We need one which is an integral part of our whole educational work, and not simply a separate, highly specialised 'side show.' It is for N.C.L.Cers to do everything in their power to win the support of new Unions for the College, and to point out how, if it were organised with that end in view, that institution could assist in securing even better returns than at present for the money devoted to educational schemes.

## “THE MAG.”

February, 1909 — February, 1929

By J. F. HORRABIN

“ENTER The PLEBS, *not from above but from below, not to fight a sham battle among the shadows by the orders and for the interests of our masters, but to fight a real battle in the full light and with a clear knowledge of the issue before us. . . .*”

Those were the opening words of the editorial of Vol. I, No. 1, of the PLEBS, published at Oxford just 20 years ago. The handful of men responsible for the venture—they would hardly, one imagines, have been optimistic enough to foresee that it would still be going strong in 1929—consisted of four students in residence at Ruskin College, and a Secretary, W. G. E. Pratley, who was an ex-student. The contents of that first number included an article by Noah Ablett on “The Relation of Ruskin College to the Labour Movement,” which, together with the editorial, explained

the *raison d'être* of the new publication; an article by Herbt. Ashplant on “The Mutation Theory”—thus early did a fondness for physical science display itself; and the first instalment of a serial, Eugene Sue's *The Gold Sickle*, in Daniel de Leon's translation. (The serial, thanks to an extra long final instalment, was duly completed in the first volume—the one and only serial story ever published in The PLEBS).

The motto on the covers of this first volume was the modest-sounding one—

No one can contemplate the present condition of the masses of the People without desiring something like a revolution for the better. (Sir R. GIFFEN, *Essays in Finance*).

### Was it Goethe?

Not until Vol. 2 did the famous “*I can promise to be candid but not impartial*” make its appearance. Who discovered that motto I don't know. It was always, in those early days, attributed to Goethe; but it

---



---

## TAKE ME BACK TO OLD VIRGINIA—WHY?

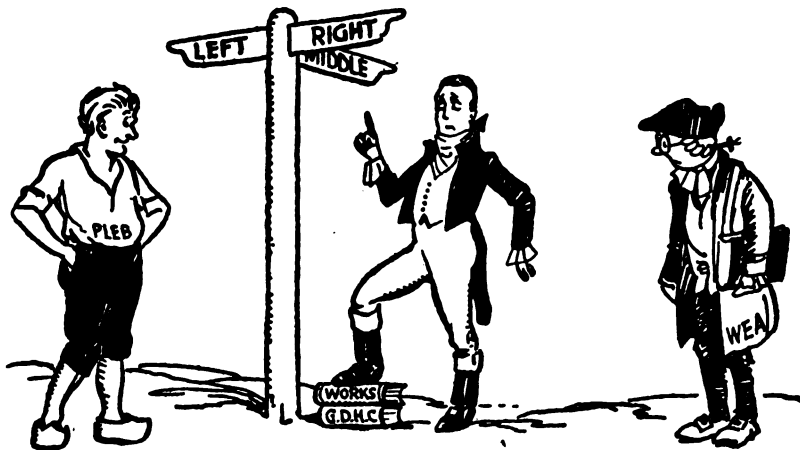
See Chapter 2 of ————— *A Short History of the British Empire*

fitted the Pleb position so accurately that I have always wondered whether 'Goethe' was really the *nom-de-plume* of some epigrammatic Plebeian.

The May number (No. 4) of that first vol. was headed by the announcement—"With the April No. ended any responsibility for the conducting of the Magazine by Resident Students." The strike at Ruskin College had occurred, and the original board of editors were—outside. The Object of the Plebs League, which in the first three numbers had been stated to be "To bring about a definite and more satisfactory connexion

tary-Treasurer"—indicating the extent to which a single pair of shoulders had to bear the weight of responsibility. Sims remained Editor for five years, until the autumn of 1914. But the majority of the editorials in those earlier volumes were written by W. W. Craik, and magnificent statements of the case for Independent Working-Class Education they were; with a mordant wit, a cutting logic, and a resounding rhetoric all their own. Take, for example, the peroration of the editorial of June, 1909, written soon after the break with Ruskin College. After discussing the

## A PLEBS W.E.A. CARTOON



Mr. Sidney Carton Cole:—"It is a far, far better way that I tread, &c. &c."

Mr. G. D. H. Cole had been advocating a "middle course"—something between the broad highway of the W.E.A. and the straight and narrow path of the N.C.L.C.

(From *Plebs*, March, 1924).

between Ruskin College and the Labour Movement," was in this May issue described as "Now Being Voted Upon." On the June cover it read "To assist in the formation of a Central Labour College, for working men and women, at Oxford, and other similar institutions elsewhere, to be controlled by organised Labour bodies." Events moved quickly in those days. By the November issue the Object had been amended to "To further the interests of the Central Labour College at Oxford . . ." The new College was actually in being.

The later numbers of that first volume bear the name of G. Sims as "Editor-Secre-

proposals for closer relations between Ruskin and the University made by Lord Curzon (then Chancellor of Oxford) the editorial concludes:—

But the curtain is not rung down with the number of Caesars in the Capitol. Philippi has to be faced and accounts have to be squared. If Ruskin College has become fair to behold and pleasing to look upon from the high places, there are those in low places who will at no distant date remind them that Oxford University has added one more claim to its title, "the home of lost causes."

The second day of August next will witness the Declaration of Working-Class Independence in Education, a declaration which will express the fact that the workers prefer to think for themselves outside the 'indescribable glamour' of University life, free from the spell of a servile tradition and a slave philosophy, and to look at the facts as they

see them from their standpoint. Our answer to those who would swing the reactionary rod over the mental life of the working-class is this:—"We want neither your crumbs nor your condescension, your guidance nor your glamour, your tuition nor tradition. We have our own historical way to follow, our own salvation to achieve, AND BY THIS SIGN WE SHALL CONQUER."

There is a real "roll of drums" about passages like that; and it is not too much to say that the spirit of Craik's editorials contributed not a little to the steady building-up of a band of enthusiastic pioneers who carried the message of Working-Class Independence in Education throughout Lancashire and Yorkshire and the Clyde, and laid the foundations of the N.C.L.C. movement of to-day.

### Early Contributors

But if I linger as long over each of the twenty volumes before me as I have done over Vol. I, this article will have to become a serial. I note among the contributors to Vol. II (1910) the names of Lester Ward, the distinguished American sociologist—a close friend of Dennis Hird, first Principal of the Central Labour College—Meredith Titterington, Frank Hodges (on "Is Optimism Irrational?"), W. H. Seed, and Lady Cook ("née Tennessee Claflin")\*. And, in the Dec. issue, there is an article on "The Modern Paul and the Ancient Karl," by F.J.C. (initials concealing, I believe, Sims' identity), in which a book entitled *Karl Marx and Modern Socialism*, by a Dr. Eden Paul, is subjected to some merciless criticism. It was eight or nine years after this that Eden Paul himself became a PLEBS contributor. I think it was his viewpoint, and not that of The PLEBS, which had changed somewhat in the interim.

I turn over my copy of Vol. IV (1912) with a special personal interest. It contains the first numbers of The PLEBS which came into my own hands; and I can remember very vividly the feelings of puzzlement with which I, a *Clarion*-bred Socialist, without much experience of the movement, studied those pages: "The Problem of Knowledge," by Paul Lafargue; "Materialist Philosophy," by D. de Leon; "Paganini," by Heinrich Heine (it was not stated what this was

\* This lady, I believe, was a fiery American suffragist. Where her article came from is not made clear.

reprinted from—or what was its peculiar significance to Plebs); "Neo-Bedology," by Nitus; "Proletarian Monism," by E. Archbold—this was stiff stuff for a beginner! The PLEBS at this time, in fact, was a journal with only a three-figure circulation, appealing to advanced students. There was little or no attempt to interest the newcomer. You walked straight into the company of Labriola, Pannekoek, Pavlovitch, Lester Ward and the rest, and if you felt a bit stunned, well—there you were. Thirteen of the 24 pages of the Jan. 1914 number, for instance, were

### WORKERS' EDUCATION

"IT is not for nothing that the so-called working-class education of the W.E.A. and Ruskin College concerns itself 'with life, not livelihood,' with making the worker 'a more efficient citizen.' These meaningless abstractions are intended to conceal the very thing that is at the root of the problems of the Labour Movement. These problems concern *the man as a worker*, not the worker as a man. It is as a worker that he is exploited and suffers the consequences of exploitation. It is as a worker that he joins a union or goes on strike. It is as a worker that he votes for a Labour representative. *It is as a worker he requires to know.*"

(From PLEBS, January, 1912).

filled by Bakunin's pamphlet, "The Policy of the International," specially translated for The PLEBS by dear old A. J. Hacking. It was valuable historical material, but you needed to know more than a little about the history of Marxism to appreciate its precise significance.

### The War Years

I must hurry on. The volumes from 1916 to 1919—the war years—get thinner and thinner! First the paper on which the mag. was printed got less and less substantial; then the covers went; then we went down to 16 pages. But we stuck to the old price, 2d, until Sept. 1919—when we went back to 24 pages at 3d, "with further extensions and improvements in contemplation"! I had taken over the editor's job from Sims in the latter part of 1914. W.H. had to take over from me in 1918. In May, 1917, we issued the Hundredth Number of the PLEBS, 'featuring' messages of congratulation from Geo. Barker (S.W.M.F.),

Alec Gossip, W. N. Ewer (who sent us a poem specially composed in our honour), Geo. Lansbury, Tom Mann, G. D. H. Cole, Wm. Mellor, Walton Newbold, Wm. Paul and others. The same issue contained an article by G.S. (written from 'Somewhere in France') entitled "Enter Democratic Russia"!

The magazine might get lighter in bulk, but the circulation went up. And we worked off a tidy-sized 'back debt' during those war years, too! We stuck a diagram of a barometer on the inside cover, with the total figure of the debt on top, and the slogan "We've got to get this down to zero." And every month the mercury went down a bit, until in Feb. 1917 we were able to announce, in exultant capitals, "We HAVE got it down to zero"; which, however, was followed by a big "BUT—we've got to keep it there!" On the whole we did, too!

### Colleagues

The next landmark in PLEBS' history is the issue for Oct. 1920, when we went up to 6d, and stayed there, with variations in the number of pages, until Feb. 1924. During these years, and on to the taking over of the magazine and publications by the N.C.L.C. in 1927, the Plebs E.C. acted as an Editorial Board, and the monthly discussions on contents, in which R. W. Postgate, Mark and Kay Starr, Cedar Paul, Ellen Wilkinson, Wm. Paul, John Jagger, Maurice Dobb and others took part, are pleasant to recall. In 1926, Dobb was appointed joint editor, being succeeded at the end of 1927, when the N.C.L.C. Head Office moved to London, by J. P. M. Millar. Let me here and now record my own personal thanks to all the good comrades who have helped unselfishly to make The PLEBS what it has been and is.

The PLEBS of these latter years has endeavoured to appeal to a wider circle of readers than that aimed at in the earlier volumes—first-class of their kind though those volumes were. To do this meant inevitably a lessening of its interest to the 'advanced' few. But the growth of the N.C.L.C. and of the classes everywhere necessitated the change of policy. The editorial for January, 1924—the month before we came down to our present price of 4d—put the matter thus:—

We're not aiming at satisfying the old Hard-baked! We want to print the sort of thing that the ordinary chap, who's keen enough on the movement to look in at classes now and then, will find interesting. There's nothing hard-baked about Tom Mann's appeal for a Six-Hour-Day Bill on another page of this issue—or George Hicks' commonsense about Housing . . . You don't need to have done two-years'-hard at advanced economics to find something to bite on in such contributions.

### Special Numbers

One of the means adopted to facilitate this wider appeal—and one which we hope to make even more use of in the near future—has been the issue of special numbers, devoted mainly to some one particular subject or event. The earliest of these was,

### THE HAPPY WARRIOR

"On the morning of the battle of Messines Ridge the Premier, staying at Walton Heath, directed that he should be called before 3 a.m. in order that he might hear the roar of the explosion in Flanders."

**I**F you're waking, call me early,  
Call me early, James & Co.,  
For I want, at a safe distance,  
To hear that Knock-Out Blow.  
I want to feel the earth shake  
When they explode that mine,  
And yet be safe—a hundred miles  
Behind the firing-line.

W. H. (PLEBS, August, 1917.)

I think, the Marx Centenary No. (May, 1918). Then came the Textbook Number, published April 1920, in which the need for a series of Plebs Textbooks was thoroughly discussed and schemes for books outlined. Other outstanding special issues have been the Labour Centenary Number, 1825-1925 (January, 1925), in which a series of articles sketched the main facts of a century of British Labour history; the Empire Number (May, 1924); the Strike Numbers of the summer of 1926, on the covers of which the T.U.C. elephant made a blushing appearance; and the Russian Number of November, 1927.

\* \* \*

Twenty years . . . and the need for The PLEBS is as great as ever. It has been, and is, a magazine with a mission—a special



job of its own. None of us connected with it would claim that it has always reached the standard it should have done, or achieved what it might have achieved. But it has a long and honourable record, one that should inspire the men and women who are coming into the movement to-day to "carry on" in

the old spirit. And if there have been sad incidents in those twenty years, breaks in the chain of comradeship, there has also been more than a little to make those of us who have helped produce "The Mag." proud of having had a share in the making of a chapter of Labour history.

## UNAUTHENTICATED MESSAGES

ON OUR 20th BIRTHDAY

*From 16 King Street*

"Regret we cannot send congratulations to a journal which is so obviously a mere lackey of Capitalism and the Labour Party."

*From Tr-nsp-rt House*

"Regret we cannot send congratulations to a periodical which is so obviously a thinly-disguised organ of the Communist Party."

*From the "Morning Post"*

"The 20th Anniversary of a magazine devoted to the interests of the Communist-Socialist-Labour Party must be an occasion for regret to all right-thinking citizens."

*From Lord E-st-ce P-rcy*

"If there is anything that makes me waver in my passionate enthusiasm for the education of the young, it is the thought that they will in all probability grow up to read such pernicious publications as yours."

*From Sir W. J-ynton H-cks*

"I have had one of my many eyes on you for some time. Be careful—or you may do the next 20 years in another place."

*From a Serious Marxian*

"I trust that now you have reached years of discretion your pages will not so frequently be marred by lapses into flippancy and frivolity. The writings of Messrs. Postgate, Jackson and others are especially disturbing in this respect."

*From the W-rkers' Educ-tional Ass-ciation*

"We can't make out how you've done it. We should never ourselves have survived the diseases of infancy had we not regularly taken State Grants for W.E.Akly Little Ones."

*From the B.B.C.*

"We are looking forward to publishing the 20th Anniversary Number of *The Listener* . . ."

*From Henry Dubb, Esq.*

"Where's your Sports Page?"

## PRACTICAL ECONOMICS

A  
LESSON THAT  
STILL HOLDS  
GOOD.

(From *Plebs* of November, 1925).

Diagram to illustrate method of operation..

# THE POWER OF TWO PENCE-HALFPENNY

By J. P. M. MILLAR

"I AM willing to do quite a lot of work for nothing. I am willing to do it for decent pay, but you can't have me for twopence half-penny,"\* said Mr. G. D. H. Cole, at an educational gathering recently.

That may be a perfectly good general rule, but like all general rules it has its exceptions. The Trade Union Movement could never have been created on Mr. Cole's principle, and there would have been no N.C.L.C. but for the power of twopence halfpenny, backed up by enthusiasm.

To-day the N.C.L.C. has about 30,000 class students, 2500 correspondence course students, thousands of day and week-end school students and yet it is such a relatively recent organisation that even some of its supporters call it the Central Labour College (the Labour College, London) when, as a matter of fact, the N.C.L.C. has no control over that residential College.

To build up in this country an organisation like the N.C.L.C., definitely hostile in its educational policy to the interests of the cleverest Capitalist Governing Class, was a task that to the impartial observer in 1916 might have well been regarded as an impossibility. At that time there was no N.C.L.C. or—in the earlier part—Scottish Labour College. It is true there was a small residential Labour College leading a very precarious existence—a College that was closed down by the war towards the end of 1916. There were also a few Marxist classes scattered throughout the country. Against these facts, however, was the existence of the W.E.A., founded in 1903—an organisation backed morally and financially by the Governing class, by the Government and by the Universities, and having the support of many prominent Trade Unionists. The latter perhaps supported it because they had seen the disadvantages of the lack of a general education and had

concluded that a University education was the torch that would light the workers' pathway when actually it is a pretty candle that goes out in the storm of the class struggle.

## Surprising But True

It was no doubt an apparently extraordinary claim to make that the class that required so much education to help it in its struggle out of social subjection should begin to deem itself fit to provide its own education. It is at first equally extraordinary to be told that the earth is a dwarf in size compared with the sun. Yet both statements turn out to be true, the latter to the astonishment of the earlier scholastics and the former to the astonishment of the modern orthodox educationists.

Between the foundation of the residential Labour College at Oxford in 1909 and the formation of the Scottish Labour College in 1916 a number of classes following the same principles had been held in different parts of the country, especially Lancashire.\* But it was not until 1921 that a Conference called by the PLEBS League decided to co-ordinate the work of these classes and Colleges by founding the National Council of Labour Colleges. That Conference also decided to have an E.C. of five. The Plebs League and the Labour College, London, were left to appoint their own representatives, who later turned out to be J. F. Horrabin and George Sims. T. D. Smith (Birmingham), J. Hamilton (Liverpool) and I (Scottish Labour College) were elected from the Conference. T.D.S. had staked out a claim by efficient management of the hospitality arrangements. I may have been put on because I had had so much to say at the Conference that the Conference may have elected me for the purpose of exhausting my loquacity before the next annual meeting. Jack Hamilton probably appealed to the

\* *Daily Telegraph*, 24/9/28.

\* And also South Wales.

Conference as a stabiliser to keep an even balance between Smith's pessimism and my optimism. About this time George Sims became General Secretary, myself Press Secretary, and J. Hamilton Chairman, while some time later Mark Starr became Treasurer.

### **A Breeze Blows in Penywern Road**

George Sims went back to London and I suspect his colleagues on the staff of the College thought he had been bewitched. He returned like a tornado and it was obvious that he intended a new chapter to be written in Labour College history. Even if the rest of the staff had been deaf, dumb and blind they could not have helped gathering that George had the opinion that it was time they set about making the new N.C.L.C. an organisation even more important than the College.

Truth to tell his colleagues remained somewhat aloof and sceptical over this seeming "bee" in George's bonnet, forgetting perhaps that he had been the main dynamic force that had enabled the residential Labour College to hold out against

the chill blasts of Labour apathy and opposition and the trench mortars of poverty and semi-starvation.

### **Laying the Foundations**

There was not long to await developments. In Scotland, as elsewhere, progress had been remarkable. The Mid and East Lothian Miners had agreed to have a 2d per member scheme with the Edinburgh College. Soon George Sims, thanks to the help of George Hicks and one, especially, of his E.C. members, R. Warburton, was able to announce that the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers had arranged an educational scheme to be financed by the payment of 1/- per member per annum. This was the most comprehensive scheme ever arranged by a British Trade Union. It was introduced by *Our Next Step-Education*, a pamphlet written and illustrated by J.F.H. The W.E.A. had endeavoured to get the Union's scheme, but was overwhelmingly turned down after a debate at the Union's Conference at which both organisations had put their cases.

## **LONDON: GEORGE ALLEN & UNWIN**

**CAPITAL.** KARL MARX. Translated by Eden and Cedar Paul. 12s. 6d.

**THE MODERN CASE FOR SOCIALISM.** A. W. HUMPHREY. 12s. 6d.

**THE STRUGGLE FOR THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS.  
1819 - 1832.** WILLIAM H. WICKWAR. 16s.

**LENINISM.** JOSEPH STALIN. Translated by Eden and Cedar Paul. 7s. 6d.

**THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF EUROPE—PRE-WAR  
AND AFTER.** M. PHILIPS PRICE. 8s. 6d.

**HAVELOCK ELLIS.** HOUSTON PETERSON. 18s.

About a year later, another progressive Union, the N.U.D.A.W., came in with a somewhat similar scheme. From these days onwards, amidst all the difficulties that face an educational organisation financed solely by the workers and having fierce competition from another organisation largely financed by the State and Universities, the N.C.L.C. has never looked back, although of course it has struck an occasional bump on the ground, as when the A.S.L.E. & F. had to suspend its scheme following the tremendous thump on its financial solar plexus delivered by the General Strike.

The relative rapidity with which Unions began to arrange educational schemes with the Labour College movement (these now number 32 and in many cases are for large Unions like the A.E.U., the latter's scheme, which was a transfer from Ruskin College, had to fight five amendments in a battle lasting five hours) alarmed the W.E.A. camp. The result was that for several years an attempt was made to use the T.U.C. either to take the heart out of our educational work or to squeeze us out of the Trade Union movement. It has to be admitted that we could hardly make ourselves agreeable to the W.E.A. because it persisted in giving out that it provided working-class education when what it actually provided was governing-class education. It was, through State grants and University assistance, in the same position to us as Company Unions stand in relation to Workers' Trade Unions. In its favour during the struggle was the fact that a number of Trade Union officers—like a number of rank-and-filers—although industrial and political Labourists, were not educational Labourists. In the end, however, the W.E.A.'s T.U.C. policy failed and the W.E.A. and the N.C.L.C. were left each to go their own way—the path of the former being strewn with Governing-Class sovereigns, while the latter's is scattered with Trade Union coppers.

### The Lap of Luxury

This article is not intended as in any way an exhaustive summary of the history of the movement. Those who want more facts may turn to back numbers of the *Plebs*, to J. F. and W. Horrabin's book on *Working-Class*

## HOLDING UP NOBLE IDEALS TO THE YOUNG



(From *Plebs*, May, 1925).

*Education and to Education for Emancipation* (1928 edition).

I think Mr. A. Hodgetts of N.U.D.A.W. followed by Mr. W. A. Strawbridge of the A.U.B.T.W. are the two senior Trade Union representatives on our National Executive. I do not suppose that Mr. Hodgetts will forget his first attendance at an N.C.L.C. meeting. We had been recommended by a comrade (who, by the way was not due to be at the meeting himself) to an hotel in the Midlands for our E.C. meeting. The recommendation was based on its cheapness and the fact that the host had known William Morris.

Mr. Hodgetts on his way to this, his first E.C. meeting, asked a policeman to direct him to the hotel. The policeman looked at him twice and said: "You are not going to stay there?" Hodgetts replied that he had to go there for a meeting and the policeman, after apparently offering up a prayer, gave the necessary directions. Mr. Hodgetts arrived to find that his colleagues (only a handful there were) had stayed—not slept—the night in cubicles in a semi-frozen condition, in spite of having used their floor mats for quilts, and were busy thawing themselves in the meeting room, the door of which had a piece of knotted rope doing duty for a long departed door handle.

Yes, our motto could well be "What twopence ha'penny can do!"

# WHO'S WHO IN THE N.C.L.C.

"What's Doing in the N.C.L.C." has been a regular monthly feature of the PLEBS for some time. This special anniversary issue seems a convenient time for publishing a "Who's Who." Unfortunately, to do this on any adequate scale would have required all our 24 pages. The following very abbreviated effort is, of course, by no means complete, but may prove of use to earnest enquirers.

- A**SHCROFT, T.—Gentleman ranker—student at Lab. Coll. (London) 1919-21, now Principal of same.
- BARR, STUART**—Holds Sports Championship of Summer Schools. Birmingham Scottish. Organiser, Div. 6.
- BROWN, C.**—Best-tempered man in movement. Putting on weight with the years. Organiser, Div. 12.
- CASEY, FRED.**—Lancashire Old Guard. Can tell you how your mind works as soon as he looks at you.
- CLANCY, J.**—London Irish. The bhoys from Battersea. Expert M.C.
- CLARKE, ANDREW**—Gen. Secy., Mid and East Lothian Miners. Trustee, N.C.L.C. *Very* trustee, in fact.
- CLARKE, JOHN S.**—Has fewer hairs and more lantern lectures than anyone in movement. Can prove that Burns was an I.W.C.Er.
- COLDRICK, W.**—Bred in Wales. Now in West Country. A dark horse, but you can put your shirt on him.
- COLYER, W. T.**—America wasn't big enough to hold him. Easily the most enthusiastic Pleb in movement (and the only one with a beaver).
- COLYER, AMY**—Secy., London N.C.L.C. Women's Committee Reliability personified.
- COOK, A. J.**—The villain of the piece. Lab. Coll. student back in the Long Ago. Class tutor for years.
- COPPOCK, R.**—N.F.B.T.O. A terror for his size. Trustee of N.C.L.C.
- COXON, W.**—The voice of Northumbria. Heard at E.C.'s and Annual Meetings. Not easily sat upon.
- DAWSON, A.**—Exec. N.C.L.C. Famous for plus fours and extreme docility on committees.
- DOBB, M. H.**—Cambridge Pleb. Author PLEBS *Outline of European History* and other works. Books, well-written; self, well-dressed.
- EDWARDS, EBBY**—Finance Sec., Northumberland Miners. A pioneer of I.W.C.E. Not so large as the Rock of Gibraltar, but as immovable.
- EDWARDS, NESS**—Looks like a cinema hero. Historian of S. Wales Labour movement.
- ELGER, W.**—Secy., Scottish T.U.C., and looks after the bawbees for N.C.L.C., Scotland.
- ELLIS, A.**—The modern St. Patrick—a missionary to the Irish. Organiser, Div. 11.
- GIBBONS, C. L.**—Englishman from Wales, now in Scotland. Can tell from the outside of your head what the inside's like.
- GOSSIP, ALEX.**—N.A.F.T.A. and Exec. N.C.L.C. The *enfant terrible* of the T.U. movement—and the older he gets the more *terrible* he grows.
- GREGORY, J.**—A.U.B.T.W. Trustee, N.C.L.C. Motto, "A/c payee only."
- HAMILTON, J.**—Chairman, Exec. N.C.L.C. and Organiser Div. 8. Now a City Councillor (Liverpool) in addition, and bound to become an Alderman.
- HICKS, GEO.**—Gen. Secy., A.U.B.T.W. Man of weight. Recreations, Mondism and Marxism.
- HODGETTS, A.**—N.U.D.A.W. and Exec., N.C.L.C. Believes in getting on with the business. And having one afterwards.
- HORRABIN, J. F.**—Comic artist, joint editor PLEBS, map expert, Summer

---

## WHAT THE IRISH DID (AGAINST THEIR WILLS)

for the British Empire

See J. F. H.'s new book

- School revue writer and general odd-job man. Pretty taste in neckties.
- HORRABIN, WINIFRED**—Hon. Secy., Plebs League, for years and years and years. Looks surprisingly young, considering.
- IRVINE, D.**—Tailors' and Garment Workers. Exec. N.C.L.C. Fra' Edinburgh. Man of few words, but they're always to the point.
- JACKSON, T. A.**—Lecturer, writer, wit. In fact, a very pretty wit. Notorious for sartorial elegance and close-cropped locks.
- JAGGER, J.**—President N.U.D.A.W., and many years Plebs E.C. From Yorkshire, and doesn't care who knows it.
- LAWTHER, WILL**—Durham Miners. Ex-Lab. Coll. student and heavyweight. Once Anarchist, now Labour candidate.
- LESLIE, J. R.**—Gen. Secy., Shop Assistants Union and Exec. N.C.L.C. London Scottish. A vegetarian, but quite fierce on occasion.
- LEWIS, R. J.**—Latest invader from Wales—succeeded Mark Starr as Organiser, Div. 3.
- MELHUIH, GEO.**—Treasurer, N.C.L.C., London Div. A Ruskin Coll. foundation student, but looking forward to our 120th anniversary.
- MILLAR, J. P. M.**—Late of Edinburgh, now also London Scottish. Gen. Secy., N.C.L.C. Holds world championship for sending out of forms, circulars, report-sheets, etc. Sometimes known as the Skeleton in the N.C.L.C. cupboard.
- MILLAR, CHRISTINE**—What the stage lost, the N.C.L.C. Correspondence Course Dept. has gained.
- MORRISON, F.**—E.T.U. & Exec. N.C.L.C. Believes in "more light," and sees that his Union does, too.
- NICHOLAS, NUN**—Welsh Old Guard. Knows all three vols. of *Capital* backwards.
- OWEN, W. J.**—Welsh Younger Guard. Highly developed powers of persuasion—and needs 'em. Organiser, Div. 4.
- PAUL, E. and C.**—Strangers never quite sure which is 'E and which She. World's
- champion book-translators. Authors, *Creative Revolution*, etc.
- PHIPPEN, GEO.**—Hails from Rhondda, but so long in London might be mistaken for a native. Organiser, Div. 1.
- POCOCK, T.**—Secy., Governors, Lab. Coll. (London). Looks quite benevolent, but can put his foot down.
- POSTGATE, R. W.**—Ex-Oxford and Plebs E.C. Author *Revolution, 1789-1906; Builders' History; Short History of British Workers*, etc. Hobby, calling a spade a——shovel.

### "The Old Firm—Strictly Impartial"



(From *Plebs*, May, 1925).

- PURCELL, A. A.**—President, N.C.L.C., M.P., Forest of Dean. Ex-Chairman, T.U.C. Always off to U.S., Mexico, Russia, India or somewhere.
- RAE, W. D.**—Sheet Metal Workers. Exec., N.C.L.C. Another London Scottish. Has one with Hodgetts (see above).
- REDFERN, E.**—Most serious man in movement. When he laughs it's put down in the minutes. Organiser, S.E. Lancs.
- REES, S.**—A Welshman on the Tyne. Another man of few words. Organiser, Div. 9.
- REYNOLDS, J.**—Oldest Inhabitant of Lab. Coll. (London). One of the Early

- Fathers, in fact. Recreation, spotting theoretical errors in PLEBS.
- RITCHIE, ALEX.—Glasgow Organiser, N.C.L.C. Knows where Glesca' flies go in the winter-time.
- SHAW, FRED—Genuine Yorkshire—'Uddersfield. Ex-engineer. Would pawn his shirt for a book. Organiser, Div. 7.
- SMITH, J. H.—Managers' and Overlookers' Union. Exec. N.C.L.C. Must be on a good thing—hence his Union has an N.C.L.C. Scheme.
- STARR, MARK—Plebs E.C. for years. Author, *Worker Looks at History, ditto at Economics*, etc. At present taking a look at U.S.A.
- STARR, K.—Plebs Office Secy., 1921-28. Author, 1,032,187 nice letters reminding comrades that their accounts were overdue.
- STRAWBRIDGE, W. A.—A.U.B.T.W. (S. Wales) and Exec., N.C.L.C. Once a W.E.Aer, but has lived down his Dreadful Past.
- THOMAS, D. W.—Healthiest looking ex-invalid on record. Sometimes mistaken for gentleman farmer. Organiser, Div. 2.
- TITTERINGTON, M.—Another Early Father. Now a City Father (Bradford).
- WALKER, S.—Head Office. Star comedian, Summer School revues, etc. Believed to be direct descendant of Johnny.
- WARWICK, FRANCES E., Dowager Countess of—Has come to the rescue on more than one critical occasion. Motto: "Deeds, not words."
- WILKINSON, ELLEN—M.P., Ex-Plebs E.C., and regular contributor to magazine. Part author, *Plebs Strike History*. Late mascot of the Ginger Club.
- WILLIAMS, A. L.—Post-war generation. Good stuff. Organiser, N. Lancs.
- WILLS, J. V.—N.U. of Public Employees, Exec., N.C.L.C. Was first treasurer of Lab. Coll. (London), back in the Middle Ages. Hobby, being Mayor of Bermondsey.
- WOODBURN, A.—Edinburgh Scot. Looks like a barrister. Baritone champion. Writes booklets on *Banking*. Secy., N.C.L.C., Scotland.

## "PLEBS" MEETS I REMEMBER

By WINIFRED HORRABIN

IF there is anything more calculated to make one feel like the oldest inhabitant than sitting down to write reminiscences, I don't know of it. One feels positively doddering. But the twentieth anniversary of anything is bound to remind some of us that time flies, and we must make the best of that awkward fact.

In one respect, the Plebs, the N.C.L.C. and the London Labour College all resemble capitalism (as Marx described it)—a series of crises ending in a period in which 'crisis' became the normal order of things. And in remembering our annual meetings one is forced to smile at the unfailing regularity with which we were faced with ruin, immediate devastating and dire, if something did not turn up, or if something was not done. But something always did turn up, and Micawber-like we proceeded on our way, always optimistic, living from hand to mouth, taking in each other's washing,

### IMPORTANT PRELIMINARY NOTICE

The **50<sup>TH</sup>**  
ANNIVERSARY No.  
OF "THE PLEBS"

*will be published  
on Feb. 1st, 1959*

Why not make sure of your copy  
by becoming a regular subscriber  
**NOW?**

Postal Sub.: 6 months, 2/6. 12 months, 5/-

economic determinists with no economic foundations, materialists with little material support, anti-idealists with our ideal as our chief sustenance, prize-builders of castles in the air.

The first Meet I ever attended comes back to me as a memory of the large Hall of the London College in a dim greenish light, due to hanging trails of Virginia creeper over the big window; a recollection of Mrs. Bridges Adams and Frank Hodges (of all people) deep in some conspiratorial confabulation, while the "officials" orated about finance and a group of disgruntled students (these we had always with us) scowled their disapproval and filed their "demands" in the background. Little did we think that there were among that group men who would take their turn at being hated "officials"—be scowled at in due order by a new generation of students. Those were the days when Will Lawther was an anarchist!

### August, 1914

The 1914 Meet remains vividly in my memory. It seems now that in our ardour for our own cause we naively resented the fuss people were making over that remote and rather melodramatic happening, the declaration of War between France and Germany. How did it concern us? How foolish of our good German comrades, Bertha Braunthal and Toni Germsheimer to weep over it, to refuse to dance and to talk of catastrophe. What confident assurances we gave them that it would "all be over in a month or two." We did not foresee then that in four years' time the melodrama would have become so melodramatic that many comrades would be in prison, many in the army, and some dead. Or that the melodrama would occasionally turn to farce as when "bobbies" surrounded the suspected Plebs Meet while John Maclean, on unofficial leave, addressed a 'forbidden' political gathering. It was at this meet that a comrade said "After four years of European war and ten years of class war, we Plebs look forward to the fight ahead. We take off our hats to the past and our coats to the future." This was inspired no doubt by Maclean's fiery address, and the sight of Litvinoff, disguised as a Pleb, in the audience.

### John Willie Thomas

The first Meet held outside London was at Bradford soon after the war, when the N.C.L.C. was not yet a living entity, albeit that in true Marxian fashion the seed of it was maturing ready to burst into bloom later. Was it on that occasion, or was it at Crich later that, lovers (or shall we say followers) of Dietzgen were provided with a hearty laugh by good old John Willie Thomas—of pleasant memory? Sims had thundered out a crushing tirade and had closed his speech with a dramatic gesture and the words, "Is that true or is it not?" To which John Willie replied in his best Yorkshire and his best 'Dietzgen': "Part true, part *not!*" It was at Crich (which is on the summit of a Derbyshire mountain) that Willie Paul and Newbold arrived in a car—travelling backwards very slowly up the steep ascent. Their petrol was short and the steepness of the hill had caused it all to run to the wrong end of the tank.

One remembers, too, an occasion at Manchester when Tom Bell, in the chair, not only controlled Sims but reduced him to silence, a feat that might be likened to putting Mussolini in his place.

There are, too, memories of the basement at Buckingham Palace Road—such as the postcard we got which had stamped across it—NOT *Buckingham Palace!* Or those "unofficial" meets when comrades up in town on business called in and K. Starr put the kettle on, Jack Williams unbent from his invoices and the big book of accounts which we nicknamed "the Bible of the Working-Class," 'Andy' went out for buns and fags, and we had a good talk round the fire. Nowadays discipline prevails—a good thing perhaps—but one may be permitted a sigh over old times.

Was there ever a movement of hard-shelled economists with such little economic foundation for itself—or are they all like that? Perhaps only idealists start with a bag full of money. At least we have lived up to the emblem we chose, for it has always been a question where our next meal was coming from—and it is still not too certain!

The *Sunday Worker* of Jan. 6 had a paragraph headed "LECTURER SHOT DEAD." Some people carry their opposition to education a little too far. L.S.



# TWO PAGES OF LABOUR COLLEGE HISTORY

By J. REYNOLDS

**T**HE early pioneer work of developing Marxian thought in this country was carried on by the old S.D.F., led by Morris, Hyndman, Bax, Quelch and others. But the S.D.F.'s attitude toward the Trade Union movement considerably limited the progress of this development. The S.L.P. took up the work and carried it further, with success. But it had become apparent in the first decade of the century that a development and extension of working-class education was required.

## First Educational Efforts

The first attempt to constitute an organisation, the specialised function of which would be to provide the Trade Unions and Labour Party with men trained in the science of social relations, was made by two institutions established at the beginning of the century—the Workers' Educational Association and Ruskin College. The first of those institutions aimed at setting up tutorial classes throughout the country; while the latter, which was established in the old University of Oxford, sought to draw men from the workshops to the college for a year or two. But the founders of neither had any clear appreciation of the problems of the Labour movement. They imagined that the culture of the Universities, the same culture that fitted the representatives of the bourgeoisie to govern, could equally well fit Labour to govern. For them, knowledge was a field which all classes might cultivate with mutual advantage, and this knowledge was, therefore, in fact, bourgeois knowledge, however much they might in theory try to exclude this class qualification.

Some of the more far-seeing bourgeois elements saw in Ruskin College and the W.E.A. the possibility of reconciling capital

---



---

*The Only  
Co-operative*

|| *Cocoa* ||

Lutona Cocoa

|| ||

Lutona Cocoa

|| ||

Lutona Cocoa

|| ||

Lutona Cocoa

|| ||

Lutona Cocoa

|| ||

Lutona Cocoa

|| ||

---



---

Sold in 6½d., 1<sup>⁄</sup> and 2<sup>⁄</sup> tins

*By all Co-operative Societies*

---



---

and wage-labour. But economic development was at work intensifying the actual struggle between the exploiting and exploited classes and asserting their irreconcilable antagonism. This had two consequences; first, to strengthen the interest of the bourgeoisie in the activities of Ruskin College and the W.E.A., and, therefore, to accentuate the influence of bourgeois culture in both; second, to develop among an ever-growing section of young workmen a hostility to those institutions.

In 1906 and 1907, there was set on foot among the students of Ruskin College a movement to make Ruskin College definitely Labour in its teaching and in its constitution and control. The movement continued to grow in strength and determination and ultimately resulted in a meeting being convened by the resident students of Ruskin College, on Friday, 9th October, 1908, at which it was decided to establish the Plebs League and to issue a Magazine. The declared object of both League and Magazine was "to bring about a definite and more satisfactory connexion between Ruskin College and the Labour Movement." The magazine was to be issued immediately, but, owing to unavoidable difficulties, the publication of the first number was delayed until February, 1909.

### The Founding of the Labour College

This organised activity on the part of the students merely intensified the determination of the reactionary elements to persevere in reaction. The crisis came to a head in 1909, when the Principal of Ruskin College, the late Dennis Hird, was forced to resign because he was suspected of favouring this reformation movement. The students went on strike in April of that year. It now became clear that the original objective of the newly-formed Plebs League was impossible. In August of the same year the Central Labour College, now the Labour College, was founded in Oxford, and was moved to its present premises in London in 1911.

The struggle to build up the Labour College and an independent proletarian culture was a severe one. Trade Unions had to be won over to the new idea in face of the opposition

For PROPAGANDA WORK  
USE A

*Gestetner*

A British Machine—  
Made by British Labour

"Every Local, every Trade Union Branch, every Ward Party, should have its own duplicating machine. If you can afford it, get a self-feeding Rotary machine."

—Lansbury's Labour Weekly.

For particulars apply to:

*A. Gestetner Ltd*

37 Ludgate Hill, E.C.4

'Phone: HOLBORN 0142

of many of their leaders, who favoured the "broad" education of Ruskin College as against the "narrow Marxism" of the Labour College. But the pioneers of the Labour College had an irresistible ally in the economic evolution which proclaimed in fact the antagonism which the "broad and impartial education" sought to conceal. The latter might try to eradicate the *idea* of a class struggle. It could not eliminate the struggle *in practice*. And now this struggle was carried over into the theoretical field, and the science of society which alone is founded on the fact of class antagonism—Marxism—became the fulcrum of the Labour College.

### The Fight For and Against Marxism

The nature and intensity of the struggle to build up the College can readily be imagined since, within the whole province of social theory, no theoretical system has been so fiercely and frequently assailed as that of Marxism. But every advance in capitalist development re-inforces our conviction of the scientific soundness of Marxism and, on the other hand, increases the in-

tensity of the attack upon it. With the passing of the years, the conscience of capitalism grows more uneasy and it calls out even more desperately for its knight errants to go forward and slay the Marxian dragon. They fare about as well in their heroic adventures as did the knight of Cervantes! The British bourgeoisie, under the guise of giving a "broad and impartial education" to the workers, is now promoting anti-Marxian propaganda. Well may these anti-Marxians advocate a "broad" education, since it is a breadth that is due to a lack of depth!

### **The Need for Co-Ordination**

But the work of the Labour College (London) as a residential institution is, and must be, incidental to the more far-reaching work of carrying working-class education to the great mass of the workers throughout the country—the work carried on by the National Council of Labour Colleges. There is a great and growing need for the co-ordination and extension of the educational work of the residential College and the N.C.L.C. A larger measure of unification of forces—financial and otherwise—than that which exists at the moment is needed. What might be done with greater resources is made abundantly plain from what has been done with the relatively slender means so far available.

The need for establishing an additional number of resident scholarships and increased financial support for the Labour College is vitally pressing, if its work is to continue. Although, in the past, a number of Unions have provided resident scholarships for their members at the College, by far the major portion of the financial cost of maintaining the institution has been borne jointly by the South Wales Miners' Federation and the National Union of Railwaymen. The College, since 1916, has been owned and controlled by these two Unions. During the past few years negotiations have been conducted with a view to the College being taken over by the Trades Union Congress, but, so far, the negotiations have not been successful.

It is imperative that those Unions which recognise the need of independent working-

class education should render immediate assistance by joining in with the S.W.M.F. and the N.U.R. in maintaining and extending the work of the resident College. This need arises as a result of the acute depression in the mining industry.

### **The Present Situation**

This depression has, unfortunately, resulted in the S.W.M.F. being faced with a serious financial embarrassment. Owing to the depletion of funds, the Executive considers it has no alternative but to recommend to a delegate Conference that its financial liabilities in connection with the College should be discontinued next July, unless sufficient additional support from other Unions is guaranteed. The present financial difficulty is not due to a lack of conviction on the part of the S.W.M.F., as their pioneer work in the educational sphere so amply testifies.

Not only is there a need for the maintenance and extension of education among the working-class in this country, but there is also an ever-growing need for international co-ordination among the proletarian cultural institutions throughout the world. When the workers of each country know more about the history of the workers in the other countries, they will recognise the oneness of their oppressors and the oneness of their salvation; and then all the more speedily will they translate this knowledge into oneness of action before which the ancient house of oppression must crumble into dust and cease from troubling the toilers of the world.

## **AFGHANISTAN**

See page 41  
THE PLEBS ATLAS

Price 1/-  
(1/2 post paid).

# OUR NEW TEXT BOOK

*Criticism and Appreciation*

By T. A. JACKSON

**L**ET us now praise famous men and our fathers that begat us . . . !” Also—  
“’Tis a wise child that knows its own father !”

Which means, being translated, that the efficiency of the working-class movement is in exact proportion to the extent to which it realises (a) the immensity of the revolution worked in the world by the bourgeoisie; and (b) the fact that the utmost the proletarian world revolution can accomplish is to complete the work which the bourgeoisie began—but wishes to leave only half-completed.

We wish for an ordered world in which man and nature are used to the uttermost to make possible “life, and that more abundantly.” Well—has not the bourgeoisie, in making and remaking the world “in its own image,” created not merely the possibility but the means for ensuring that that can and will be done?

## What the Bourgeoisie doesn't know

True, the bourgeoisie doesn't know it—any more than Christopher Columbus knew what he had done when he discovered America, or George Stephenson when he built the “Rocket” and conceived boldly that men might some day travel as swiftly as “twenty miles an hour, beyond which it would be imprudent to attempt to go.” That in no way alters or minimises the fact pointed out long since by Marx and Engels in the *Communist Manifesto* that the maximum conceivable dislocation and disturbance created by a Proletarian revolution would be, historically considered, a flea-bite beside the world-transformation, destructive and constructive, achieved by the bourgeoisie.

Nothing shows this better than the history of the British Empire.\* It is not possible in the space of the small book within which necessity has compelled J. F. Horrabin to work, to do more than sketch in the broadest outline the mere narrative of its coming to be. Analytical Sociology has perforce to be reduced to a succession of hints—most of the finely lurid details (which show how truly bourgeois to the point of respectability were Captain Kidd, Jack Sheppard, Dick Turpin and Deadwood Dick) have to be surrendered—no doubt, with a sigh. But enough is left to show the magnitude of the achievement, and still more the inescapability of the fact that the Empire must be taken as the basic fact in all the policy building of the Labour movement.

## What of the Future?

J. F. H. rightly leaves this debateable land unentered. It is his function simply to lead us to the problem, not to solve it. But (and this is the chief merit of the book)

---

## HOW MUCH DO YOU KNOW?

- 1.—*What English monarch was descended from a family of Merchant Adventurers?*
- 2.—*Who was the first English slave-trader, and what did he adopt as his crest when he was knighted?*
- 3.—*At what date did overseas investments begin to be popular with the British middle classes?*
- 4.—*Early voyages to the East were for spices. What rate of profit did these show?*
- 5.—*At what period was kidnapping in English towns resorted to, in order to supply white slave labour for the West Indies?*
- 6.—*By what Treaty did Britain gain the exclusive right to supply negro slaves to the Spanish American colonies?*
- 7.—*Who were the first emigrants to Australia?*

(Answers on page 48).

---

\* *A Short History of the British Empire.* By J. F. Horrabin (N.C.L.C.).

one simply cannot read on to the skilfully dramatic break with which it ends without speculating further.

What is to be the future of the Empire? Will India slide in placid trustfulness down a broadening succession of precedents—(thank you, Mr. Tennyson! exactly like tobogganing involuntarily downstairs, is it not?)—until one fine morning it wakes up to discover that it has become just like Australia or Canada, only more so? Will Australia continue to export wool, dairy produce and cartoonists in exchange for Test Teams and incidentals?

Will——? But one might go on indefinitely were it not that this book has already set us on the road to a solution. The British capitalist bourgeoisie did not build the Empire either for fun or from uncontrollable benevolence. They built it as a business—and as a business concern it has got to be kept in being.

### The Alternatives

Two broad lines of development stand out as clearly conceivable. One, that India, Africa, China, etc., can develop (with British capital) “from Handicraft to Capitalism” as simply and “naturally” as Britain itself developed. On this theory Britain (the “homeland”!) must decay economically and politically until its population after years of degeneration in unemployment and parasitism have become transferred as janissaries and pretorians to the East, and the seat of government has been (as Shaw suggests) shifted from London to Babylon or beyond.

Alternatively, the Home Capitalism must, in view of the immensity of its home holdings, check the beginnings of such a possibility by employing every device to canalise the development of the overseas areas into the permanent production of cheap food-stuffs for British proletarians and cheap and ever cheaper raw materials for British manufacture.

No one can read this little booklet without inferring in advance that the latter is the more likely; no one can collect critically the available data without seeing that it is the policy now actually being pursued—a policy of which the Empire Marketing

## New Books about Co-operation

For Student, Member and Employee

*Just Published.*

**New Co-operative Directory**, contains addresses, postal and commercial information concerning all Co-operative Societies, branches and organisations. Price, 10/- net; 10/6 post free.

**Handbook for Members of Co-operative Committees.** By Prof. F. Hall, M.A., B.Com. Everything the administrator, official, worker or student of the Co-operative Movement want to know about the practical working of modern Co-operative Societies. Revised up to the last minute. Price, 7/6 net; 8/3 post free.

**Economic Advance of British Co-operation.** By H. J. Twigg. Accurate, factual, cogent and straightforward, this handy book is equally popular with general and co-operative students. No student of economics can afford to be without it. Price, 2/- net; 2/2 post free.

**What is the Co-operative Commonwealth?** By Jos. Keen. Price, 3d net; 4d post free.

OBTAINABLE FROM

### THE CO-OPERATIVE UNION

(Publications Dept.)

Holyoake House, Hanover St., Manchester

Send a Post Card for a full Catalogue.

Board is an indication and its propaganda a proof.

With the Labour Party again on the eve of power, the question of this policy and its continuity becomes one of front rank importance. No one who reflects can fail to see that it will and must reproduce upon an ever intensifying scale a modern equivalent of the 18th century struggles with Ireland and America.

\* \* \* \*

The book (I had almost forgotten to say) has faults. The chief is that there is not enough of it; only less in importance is the fact that there are not half enough chapters and each chapter is too small by at least a half.

Also, I wish there had been more about Ireland; and more might have been made of the Navigation Laws. But the book has five good maps and an excellent chronological table—and, anyway, what do you expect for a bob?—the British Museum?

---

“What is bias?” asked the learned Judge in the Neil Maclean v. Workers’ Union case. We shall have to send him a copy of the Psychology Textbook.

# AMONG THE BOOKS

By

## "PLEBS" REVIEWERS

EVERYONE knows and appreciates Benn's Sixpennies. They are a boon and a blessing, and far better than the popular press for whiling away the hours between, say, London and Manchester. So why, O why has Sir Ernest Benn been and gone and done this "Self and Society" Series?—for unsuspecting folk may purchase these impostors in mistake for their more interesting brothers and, worse still, may even encounter the one written by S'rnest himself. The others are efficient—if rather dull—*The Road to Enjoyment*, by L. P. Jacks, proved to be the road to sleep for me; *The Discovery of the Consumer*, by Beatrice Webb, as thrilling as a shredded wheat biscuit (quite nourishing, of course, but . . .); *Daily Bread*, by Evelyn Sharp, wistful and beautiful as the smile on a working woman's face, but not exhilarating; *The Recovery of Citizenship*, by Harold Laski, which manages brilliantly to be Socialist under the watchful eye of S'rnest; *The Faith of a Democrat* by Philip Snowden, desiccated Socialism, about as inspiring as a meal of chaff.

But S'rnest's own contribution, *Producer v. Consumer*, is a disgrace to the firm which only the head of it could get away with. His booklet closes with this gem: "Appearances to the mind," says Epictetus, "are of four kinds. Things either are what they appear to be, or they neither are nor appear to be, or they are and do not appear to be, or they are not and yet appear to be. Rightly to aim in all these cases is the Wise Man's task." So now you know, and when I tell you that Epictetus is clear compared to S'rnest you can guess what his effort is like.

This "Self and Society" Series deals with our old friend the consumer and the struggle that goes on between us (or in us) when we turn one way as a consumer and the other as a producer. You feel like a Siamese twin that has quarrelled with itself.

I suggest to S'rnest that he renames it the "Self and Friends" Series.

It isn't fair for publishers to write and publish their own works. They ought, first, to submit them to a competent fellow-publisher under a pseudonym. But then S'rnest wouldn't have an earthly! And, moreover, it's no good him getting amongst a lot of clever writers and thinking that he'll be mistaken for one. He won't. W.H.

\* \* \*

*First Player*, by Ivor Brown (Howe, 2/6) is a tonic testament of dramatic faith. From its origins in cave charades and rain-and-sun ritual dances he traces the art of acting, showing us how slap-stick became "slap-thought"—how the First Player, who began as a mime, finds new service as a messenger—how, in short, the play moves on. A stimulating, and sometimes surprisingly Marxian, outline.

*Drama*, by J. R. Williams (A W.E.A. Textbook, 1/- paper, 2/- cloth) is not so stimulating. Plain, painstaking guides are not meant to be. But Mr. Williams does his job quite competently. Occasionally he positively scintillates, as in his definition of the

Toller-Kaiser-Capek school as having "broken through realism and come out at the other side." . . . P.

\* \* \*

Whether anti-Marxists like it or not, Marx's *Capital* is still one of the intellectual giants amongst books. Recently it has been impossible in this country to buy the most famous of the volumes—Volume I—(which to many folks is *Capital*) as the old edition published on this side was out of print. Messrs. Allen & Unwin have now issued a new edition of Volume I (Price 12/6) translated by two well-known Plebs, Eden and Cedar Paul. We hope to review the book at length later. One point strikes us at a glance and that is that Marx's many quotations, which in the old edition were given in Greek, Latin and other foreign languages, are in the new edition given in plain English—a great help to the worker-student. Every serious student of economics must possess a copy of *Capital*. Messrs. Allen & Unwin now publish the only edition purchasable in England. H.O.

\* \* \*

"We insist that there is a class struggle; that the working class must recognise it; that they must organise economically and politically upon the basis of that struggle; and that when they do so organise they will then have the power to free themselves and put an end to that struggle for ever."

Such is the simple but glorious message of the *Speeches of Eugene V. Debs* (International Pub., N.Y., 25 cents). Yes, meet a Pioneer, "born in Socialism in the roar of the conflict." D.L.

## THE CHINESE REVOLUTION, 1926-1927

A Record of the period under Communist control as seen from the Nationalist Capital, Hankow.

By H. OWEN CHAPMAN, M.B. 12s. net

*Truth*:—"No more enlightening and opportune book on modern China has appeared. Writing with personal knowledge acquired as an eyewitness, the author discloses the revolution to us in a light widely different from that in which it has been generally represented."

— Read also —

### MY LIFE

By GEORGE LANSBURY. 10s. 6d. net

### THE INTELLIGENT WOMAN'S GUIDE TO SOCIALISM AND CAPITALISM

By BERNARD SHAW.

22nd Thousand. 15s net

### A HISTORY OF SOCIALIST THOUGHT

By HARRY W. LAIDLER

Illustrated. 15s. net

10 Orange St., W.C.2

**CONSTABLE**

**P**ATHE'S Gazette tells us that to travel much is to learn much. To the worker who is a Socialist a trip to Russia would indeed be an educative venture. While numerous books have been published about, and from, Russia they have been mainly concerned with party tactics, immediate political aims, etc. In *Life Under the Soviets* (John Lane, 6/-) Mr. Alexander Wicksteed gives a most interesting narrative of everyday life in the busy parts of Russia. We are told about shops and trading (even to the price of boiled ham!), restaurants and houses, tram and railway travelling and city street life. One feels while reading this book that Mr. Wicksteed has given a reliable and conscientious account of Russia as it is to-day. Although not a Bolshevik, Mr. Wicksteed feels bound to pay tribute to the governing party in Russia. He declares, in answer to the question of why he is content to live in Russia (p. 193), "I suppose the chief reason is that Russia is a free country, the only free country I have ever lived in," and, further (p. 194), "Perhaps the next important reason is that in Russia you are living in an atmosphere of hope." What better reasons can one put forward? To those who cannot hope to visit Russia this book will serve as a very good substitute. S.W.

*The Slum Problem* (By B. S. Townroe, M.A., Longmans, 6/-) purports to be a strictly *non-political* survey of the slum problem, but a few "side-licks" such as the following rather give the lie to this assertion: "The output of the operatives steadily decreased" (no evidence to support a rather familiar accusation against the trade unions); "We have become so bewildered by various social reform expedients, all paid for out of the public purse, that many people lose sight of the fundamental defects of State or Municipal ownership, and forgetting what private enterprise has done in the past, fail to see what it is accomplishing quietly to-day, and how it may well develop still further in the future" (A million houses short at least!); "The Socialist advocates of municipal ownership are strangely silent about such private service (Voluntary Schemes) which is by no means unique"; in reference to some experimental Dutch Training Colonies (for eradicating what is called the slum maker) "One Communist admitted among the forty families can infect all with his revolutionary doctrines, and that the political consequences of herding these unfortunate peoples with a slum mentality may be more serious than is foreseen." We agree, but hasten to add, 'not before it is needed.'

These idiosyncrasies of the author discount heavily the value of the book, despite its very useful statistical and other information. J.H.

*Craftsmanship and Science*, by Prof. Sir Wm. H. Bragg (Watts & Co., 1/-) attempts, in a very limited way, to demonstrate how much the Industrial processes owe to scientific research, and that industry ought to repay this debt by developing the research side and thus find jobs for trained students. The latter point is not mentioned in the text, but it is obvious by implication. The Professor's excursions into economics and sociology are a joy for ever. Craftsmanship, he says, is any human effort that is necessary. The usual primitive society example is set out before us. What the savages achieve by their craftsmanship, argues the professor, is their "wages." If wages are to be raised, then more production is required and here science steps in and behold, more production. The whole book is a travesty of the actual facts of tool development, and naturally ignores the class basis of society and also who gets the benefit of increased production. F.S.

## GOOD WELLS

By R. W. P.

**O**NE opens a new novel by Wells with apprehension rather than joyful hope. Suppose this book\* turns out to be another *Soul of the Bishop* or, worst of all, another *Secret Places of the Heart*. Is Wells not, like Wordsworth, running down in his old age?

This book is evidence that he is not. The accepted comment on it is to say that he has "returned to the manner of *Mr. Polly*." This is untrue. No man ever recovers precisely the manner or even the mannerisms that he has outgrown. But he has "returned" in this sense: he has once more written a story in which there are events and excitement, and once more permitted his story to be of greater importance than the rather vague preaching in which he has recently delighted.

Arnold Blettsworthy is a man of mixed Canary Island and old-English-family descent, brought up by a kindly and broad-minded rector of a type which exists but is rarer every day. He dwells (the book is written in the first person) with considerable complacency upon the correctness of the instincts thus implanted in his character. The book takes him to Oxford, and later he starts an ambitious bookshop with a friend who was more incompetent and grandiloquent than dishonest; and he falls in love with a pretty and trivial shopgirl. The shop reaches its inevitable failure just about the time when he finds the girl embracing his partner. For the moment his life is shattered.

He fled, almost literally fled, and bicycling recklessly in the dark, crashed into a lorry. His relatives picked him up, and to compose his mind and his health, sent him on a sea voyage on a sailing ship. The ensuing passages are admirably written. The sour captain and the baiting of "Miss Blettsworthy" as they called him, by the lesser officers, who despised this supercargo as a nuisance, continued and worsened from port to port up till the time when the engines, overdriven by the captain's folly, failed off the South American coast. The crew escaped, but as a last stroke of malice, the captain left Blettsworthy on board to die.

Delirious from exposure and illness, he found himself rescued by cannibals who lived on Rampole Island, and saved from death only to be preserved by them as a Sacred Lunatic. Wells' description of that dis-

\* *Mr. Blettsworthy on Rampole Island*, by H. G. Wells. (Benn, 7/6).

LEAKEY'S

### Introduction to ESPERANTO

THE POCKET BOOKLET

New and Revised Edition. PRICE 4d.

SHORT AND LUCID

From The British Esperanto Assn.

142 High Holborn, London, W.C.1

and all Booksellers

gusting primitive society is among the best things he has done. The tribe lived in a narrow valley, forbidden by taboos to go on to the uplands on which roamed stinking giant sloths, survivals of a prehistoric age. All the tribe was enslaved to its customs, which no one had the courage to question or power to defy. They were cannibals, but, as is common in primitive society, a second name replaced the real one.

"Human flesh was never known as human flesh; it was spoken of as the Gift of the Friend, and to have inquired about either the friend or her gifts would have amounted to the extremest indelicacy. Oddly enough, and a thing in complete contrast with the ways of other savages, there was a theory that only in warfare was it lawful to kill a human being of set intention. There was, however, a very exacting code of behaviour, and the slightest infringement of innumerable taboos, the slightest disregard of ritual observances, novelties in deportment, any unexpected proceeding, and even indolence and the incapacity to perform an assigned task, was punished by a blow on the head known as Reproof. As the Reproof was administered by a powerful savage, equipped with a club of hard wood weighing about two hundred-weight and set with shark's teeth, it rarely failed to slay."

The account of his stay in Rampole Island ends surprisingly. Several reviewers, I believe, have 'spilled the beans.' I will not be one of them. The book is excellent.

We regret that in one of our reviews last month the publishers of *Radiant Motherhood*, by Dr. Marie Stopes, was given as Messrs. Pitman. The publishers of that book, as of others of Dr. Stopes' books, are, of course, Messrs. Putnam.

## LETTERS

### THE MECHANISATION OF INDUSTRY

I WAS much interested in your article, "The Machine—and Your Job" which appeared in the January issue of the *Plebs*, particularly as the mechanisation of music is now beginning to affect musicians. I refer, of course, to the introduction of "Movietones," "Vitaphones" and similar mechanical musical instruments which are beginning to displace the human element. A number of companies have been floated to manufacture these instruments. The prospectuses stress the point that the introduction of such machines would enable cinema proprietors to dispense with their orchestras and thus save many thousands of pounds annually.

A number of the instruments have already been installed, with the result that in several cases the number of musicians in the orchestras have been reduced and in others have been abolished.

I understand a similar state of affairs exists in the U.S.A., but there the results have been more serious to American musicians and the menace is already beginning to affect musicians in France, Germany, Australia and New Zealand.

Whether these instruments have come to stay will depend on the public who, in these matters, are the final arbiters.

After the novelty has worn off they may refuse to support "Canned Music" and will gladly return to the human element.

In this respect musicians are more fortunate than

many of those in other trades in which the machine has become a permanent factor.

Yours faithfully,

E. S. TEALE,  
General Secretary, Musicians' Union.

(We shall be glad to receive letters from other *Plebs* readers giving their experiences of mechanisation.—Ed.)

### THE LABOUR COLLEGE EXPULSIONS.

The N.C.L.C. has received a number of resolutions regarding the students who were expelled from the residential Labour College, London, implying that the N.C.L.C. is responsible for these expulsions. We therefore desire to state:—

1. That the National Council of Labour Colleges has no control over the residential Labour College in London. It has held the opinion that it would be better for the N.C.L.C. and much better for the College itself if there were some definite co-ordination between the work of the two organisations. There is, in fact, none. The College is entirely controlled by the N.U.R. and the S.W.M.F.
2. That we have enquired at the Labour College as to whether the statement made and repeated in the *Sunday Worker* that the students—or any of the students—were expelled "for taking part in a concert for the Rego strikers." We have been definitely informed that there is no truth whatever in that statement.
3. That if any Labour organisations desire any explanation regarding the matter they should direct their letters to the Secretary to the Governors, the Labour College, 13 Penywern Road, London, and not to the N.C.L.C.

the WIRELESS  
the CINEMA  
the PRESS  
the THEATRE

*These are the "dope" agencies against which a movement for real workers' education has to contend—these are the means by which Capitalism puts across its ideas to the adult workers.*

*Next month's "Plebs" will be a  
SPECIAL NUMBER  
devoted to a study of these  
Propagandists of Capitalist Ideas.*

**ORDER NOW**



# WHAT THE N.C.L.C. IS DOING

**O**UR NEW TEXT BOOK.—The Publications Committee ask all the Colleges and Divisions and Class Secretaries to undertake a Special Campaign to sell the new Text Book. The book will be of interest not only to students but to anyone who takes any notice of current history at all. Even the best book, however, will not sell itself, so we ask all our supporters, individual as well as official, to do their bit

**HOW IS YOUR COLLEGE GETTING ON ?** Every College and Division should have a stocktaking at the end of each quarter in order to see exactly how much progress has been made regarding class students, affiliation fees and literature sales. No college can get the best results unless this is done. Our national figures for the summer session show that there was a reduction last year as compared with the summer of the previous year. We hope, therefore, that colleges will immediately enquire how the October-December session compares with its predecessor and will do their utmost to make up any leeway during the current session, which is the final one for the year. Care should be taken to send frequently competent speakers to the Branches of Unions with N.C.L.C. Schemes to ensure that the members are kept in touch with our educational work.

So far as last summer's figures are concerned, the following Divisions show an increase on the previous year as regards classes and students :—

Divisions 1, 2, 3, 4 and 10.  
Division 5 shows an increase in classes but a decrease in students. Divisions 6 and 7 show a decrease in classes and students. Division 8 shows an increase in classes but a decrease in students. Division 9 had a very large decrease in classes and students (16 classes, 675 students). Division 11 had an increase in classes but a decrease in students. Division 12 shows the same number of classes and a small increase in students. But for Division 9's figures there would have been a substantial increase both in classes and students for the country as a whole.

**PLEBS SALES.**—The following table shows the number of *Plebs* sold in each Division as compared with the number of students :—

Div.	5—1	Plebs to every	2 students.
"	2—1	"	4
"	3—1	"	4
"	8—1	"	4
"	7—1	"	5
"	1—1	"	8
"	12—1	"	8
"	10—1	"	9
"	6—1	"	13
"	4—1	"	14
"	9—1	"	17
"	11—1	"	29

It will be noticed that the agricultural Divisions, as distinct from the highly industrialised Divisions, come out best. This is partly due to economic conditions, but so far as we can see at Head Office the main reason is the superior organisation of *Plebs* sales.

It is therefore up to the industrial Divisions to endeavour to recover the lead.

If every Division sold one *Plebs* to every two students the *Plebs* would pay its way and have a balance to help our publication work. We are sure that all Divisions will be interested in the above figures and will do their best to improve on them.

**CAMPAIGN AMONG THE UNIONS.**—Now is the time to start a campaign among the students who are not members of Unions with N.C.L.C. Schemes to get the matter raised at their Unions' Annual Conferences. The Branches that are interested in I.W.C.E. should submit resolutions for the Unions' annual conferences. College secretaries and tutors can do valuable work by drawing the attention of all students and sympathisers to the desirability of raising the question of having an Educational Scheme.

## KERR BOOKS

*To PLEBS readers in the early days, Charles Kerr & Co. of Chicago were THE publishers of Marxist works. To-day they are still the largest English-speaking publishers of Marxist literature.*

*The N.C.L.C. Publishing Society has become agents for Kerr's famous books. Here are the titles of some of the classics :—*

	Post Free
<b>The Class Struggle (Kautsky)</b>	2/6 2/9
<b>Ethics and the M.C.H. "</b>	2/6 2/9
<b>The Social Revolution "</b>	2/6 2/9
<b>Evolution of Property (Lafargue),</b>	2/6 2/9
<b>Right to be Lazy "</b>	2/6 2/9
<b>Social and Philosophical Studies</b>	" 2/6 2/9
<b>Science &amp; Revolution (Unterman)</b>	2/6 2/9
<b>The World's Revolutions "</b>	2/6 2/9
<b>Marxian Economics "</b>	5/- 5/6
<b>Positive Outcome of Philosophy (Dietzgen)</b>	9/- 9/6

**Note the SPECIAL PRICES.**

All the Books are Cloth Bound.

**N.C.L.C. Publishing Society,**  
324 Gray's Inn Road., London, W.C.1.

**CLASSES THE PRINTING TRADES DO NOT LIKE.**—In order that we may protect them from the wrath of the printing trades, we shall be glad to have a note of any classes which do not take the *Plebs* and do not regularly have books on sale.

**NEW LOCAL AFFILIATIONS, NOT RENEWALS.**—Glasgow, 5; London, 4; Liverpool, 3; North Lancs., 2; Hebden Bridge, 1; Felixstowe, 1.

### WHAT THE DIVISIONS ARE DOING

#### DIVISION 2.

Swanage is to have a course of lectures on Local Government. Portsmouth is arranging a series of lectures on Problems of a Labour Government and is including some public lantern lectures on War against War. Guildford Co-op. Society has made a grant of £5 5/-. The College is running a Social. Eastleigh is to have lectures on Modern Soviet Russia. Bishopstoke will discuss International Problems. This class rendered fine service in raising money and collecting 8 cwts. of clothes for the Rhondda Miners' distress. The Moordown and Littlehampton classes have Comrades Whitehead and Harrison as tutors. 43 students enrolled at Moordown. Comrade Huxstep represented the N.C.L.C. at a public meeting of the Warsash Labour Party. The same comrade has been pushing the N.C.L.C. on the committee of the Hants. Agricultural Workers and hopes to arrange some lantern lectures for the rural areas. Centenary lectures on Josef Dietzgen were given by the organiser at Salisbury, Oxford, Guildford, Southampton, Portsmouth and Bournemouth and were much appreciated. Bournemouth is now leading in sales of *Plebs* and other literature.

#### DIVISION 3.

Undiminished interest characterised the opening of the new session. At Staines, Luton, Maldon, Ipswich and Felixstowe International Politics is the subject and the Lantern Lecture on Imperialism which opened the course was well received. This experience suggests that the portable lantern will be a valuable asset in Div. 3. Peterborough is continuing its class on Public Speaking and is "watched over" by J. F. Horrabin, who has already paid them two visits. The fortnightly Sunday Lectures on Modern Problems is the "special item" in the St. Albans programme, with the Social History class, under J. F. Gardener, not far behind. Miss Cranham, who has rendered the Division excellent tutorial service is leaving for Oxford and the gap at High Wycombe will be filled with classes on Public Speaking and Rationalisation.

### ANSWERS TO QUERIES

on page 42

- 1.—See p. 19 of our new "BRITISH EMPIRE" textbook.
- 2.—See p. 19, ditto.
- 3.—See pp. 26-27, ditto.
- 4.—See p. 28, ditto.
- 5.—See p. 35, ditto.
- 6.—See p. 36, ditto.
- 7.—See p. 53, ditto.

#### DIVISION 5.

The Gloucester Labour College is making a great effort to start the New Year well, and the secretary, Miss Stoddart, has put in a tremendous amount of work to revive local interest. After what has been done, no trade unionist in Gloucester will be able to say he is unaware of the college activities. If the response is half as good as the effort of the secretary, there should be record attendances in Gloucester. The classes in Swindon and Chippenham continue to make progress, but the students in Bristol do not appear to have recovered from the Xmas feeling. It is hoped they will realise that movements can only grow by work, and that all their efforts are required if the local college is to prosper. The Organiser will be glad of any assistance they can offer.

#### DIVISION 6.

The new session has started well in Birmingham. Classes are being held at Yardley, Saltley, Erdington, Perry Common, Stirchley, West Bromwich, Bearwood, Alum Rock and the City. A class has been arranged in conjunction with the Shop Assistants' Union on "Distributive Trade Workers and Protective Legislation," and Organiser Barr is attending an aggregate meeting to outline the course with a view to stimulating interest. The new Organising Secretary of the Shop Assistants has been appointed to serve on the No. 6 Divisional Council. Organiser Barr is giving a Burns' Recital for the Nuneaton College at the end of January. The classes there are doing well. A special lecture for women has been arranged in Coventry.

#### DIVISION 8.

**NORTH LANCS.**—The first half-session registers indicate a very steady average of attendance. Sixteen classes have been arranged for the next half-session, and we hope to be able to report increased enrolments in a number of districts. Tom Ashcroft lectured at a Day School in Preston in December, and the local committee has in hand arrangements for the exhibition of the Soviet Film on March 3rd next. A good committee is now in operation in Burnley and is organising Sunday evening meetings.

#### DIVISION 9.

Three conferences have been held in the North Eastern College area—at Birtley, with S. Estell of the A.U.B.T.W. in the chair and Comrade Coxon and the Divisional Organiser as speakers; at Blyth, with Coun. W. M'Lean in the chair and H. Floyd and J. Stewart as speakers; at Sunderland, with Coun. Rutherford in the chair and Comrade Coxon and the Divisional Organiser as speakers. Other conferences are to be held shortly. Preparations are being made for Week-End Schools during the summer. It is intended to hold a big Week-End School at Newcastle at Easter. Classes for the second half of the Winter Session are well under way. Some new classes intend starting.

#### DIVISION 12.

Mansfield Labour College is making arrangements to celebrate its Tenth Anniversary during February. It has a splendid record of work done for I.W.C.E. during that period. Many of those who have passed through its classes are now giving valuable service to the Working-Class movement throughout the area in which its activities have been carried. In most places in Division 12 the new session shows an increase of interest in the classes, and in the work of the N.C.L.C. It is hoped that special efforts will be made in all parts of the Division to push the sale of *Plebs* and N.C.L.C. literature.

# BOOKS TO BUY

## AND TO GET YOUR FRIENDS TO BUY

---

*Price. Post free.*

### ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY AND IMPERIALISM :

<i>Plebs Outline</i> ... ..	2/6	2/8
<i>Plebs Atlas</i> ... ..	1/-	1/3

EUROPEAN HISTORY : <i>Plebs Outline</i> ...	2/6	2/8
---	-----	-----

PSYCHOLOGY : <i>Plebs Outline</i> ... ..	2/6	2/8
--	-----	-----

### SOCIAL HISTORY :

<i>A Worker Looks at History</i> ... ..	1/6	1/8
---	-----	-----

### HISTORY OF BRITISH WORKING-CLASS :

<i>A Short History of the British Workers</i> ...	1/6	1/8
---	-----	-----

<i>Trade Unionism—Past and Future</i> ...	6d	7d
---	----	----

<i>History of the Great Strike</i> ... ..	6d	7d
---	----	----

<i>The Builders' History</i> ... ..	1/6	1/9
-------------------------------------	-----	-----

### ECONOMICS :

<i>A Worker Looks at Economics</i> ... ..	1/-	1/2
---	-----	-----

<i>A Short Course of Economic Science</i> ...	3/-	3/3
---	-----	-----

<i>Value, Price and Profit</i> ... ..	1/-	1/2
---------------------------------------	-----	-----

<i>Shop Talks on Economics</i> ... ..	5d	6d
---------------------------------------	----	----

<i>Wage-Labour and Capital</i> ... ..	4d	5d
---------------------------------------	----	----

SCIENCE OF REASONING : <i>Thinking</i> ...	3/-	3/3
--	-----	-----

### LOCAL GOVERNMENT :

<i>Local Government of the United Kingdom and Irish Free State</i> ... ..	4/-	4/6
---	-----	-----

### ESPERANTO :

<i>Esperanto Teacher</i> ... ..	1/-	1/2
---------------------------------	-----	-----

<i>Esperanto Dictionary</i> ... ..	1/6	1/7
------------------------------------	-----	-----

<i>Esperanto and Labour</i> ... ..	2d	2d
------------------------------------	----	----

### RUSSIA :

<i>Reminiscences of the Russian Revolution</i> ...	6/-	6/6
--	-----	-----

<i>Education in Soviet Russia</i> ... ..	2/-	2/2
--	-----	-----

CO-OPERATION : <i>The Co-operative Movement</i>	3d	4d
---	----	----

FASCISM : <i>Fascism</i> ... ..	3d	4d
---------------------------------	----	----

EDUCATION : <i>Working-Class Education</i> ...	1/-	1/1
--	-----	-----

MARXISM : <i>Marxism and History</i> ... ..	1/-	1/2
---	-----	-----

N.C.L.C. PUBLISHING SOCIETY, 324 Gray's Inn Road, W.C.1

# ONCE UPON A TIME—

This sort of machine was the up-to-date thing on the road. But that time is past.

And once upon a time elementary education in the "Three R's"—reading, 'riting and 'rithmetic—was good enough for the workers.

But that time is past, too!

Nowadays the workers need a special kind of education—their own working-class kind; the kind which teaches them to understand their own Movement—its history, its principles, its aims.

That education is provided by the  
**NATIONAL COUNCIL OF LABOUR COLLEGES**,  
which runs classes throughout the country and teaches by post by means of correspondence courses.

Last year about 30,000 students attended its classes and some 2,500 students took correspondence courses.

## WHAT ABOUT YOU?

Members of the following Unions can, under their Education Schemes, have Correspondence Courses FREE, just as they may attend N.C.L.C. classes without charge.

Others pay a small fee.

Amalgamated Engineering Union  
Amalgamated Society of Dyers  
Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers  
Amalgamated Union of Upholsterers  
Bury and District Textile Warehousemen  
Electrical Trades' Union  
Managers' and Overlookers' Society  
Military Musical Instrument Makers' Union  
National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers  
National Union of Public Employees  
National Union of Sheet Metal Workers

National Amalgamated Furnishing Trades' Association  
National Association of Plasterers  
National Union of Shop Assistants  
National Union of Textile Workers  
Nelson District Clothlookers  
Nelson Weavers' Union  
Padiham Weavers' Association  
Scottish Union of Bakers and Confectioners  
Scottish Painters' Society  
Tailors' and Garment Workers' Trade Union

Applications for free courses must be accompanied by Union Card.

Send 3d. in stamps for *Education for Emancipation* (New Edition) which gives full particulars.

Write: **J. P. M. MILLAR, Gen. Sec., National Council of Labour Colleges,**  
324 Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.1

