

ERRATUM.

On page 88, line 25, for word "number" read "murder."

THE "Plebs" Magazine

Vol. I.

June, 1909.

No. 5.

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EDITORIAL

THE most formidable weapon that the ruling class can wield for the perpetuation of their dominion and power is that of identification with the ruled. This process may express itself

Signs! through a particular social institution,—philanthropic, religious, or social—whatever may be best fitted under existing conditions. Whenever such a step is taken,

it is necessary that some reason should be put forward for the apparent change of front. An examination of history shows us that on some occasions this reason was expressed by a sign, usually of a miraculous character. When it became essential for the interests of the hierarchy to have laws in keeping with the new property relations that had developed among the Israelites, Moses suddenly witnessed a great light in the bush, and, later, on Mount Sinai. Saul, the enemy of the Christian Church, became Paul, the servant of that Church, as a result of his vision of a great light on the road to Damascus.



WHEN the Roman Empire in the beginning of the 4th century was on the verge of downfall, the Christian proletariat, in spite of fire and sword, assumed a more and more cohesive and revolu-

In hoc signo vinces tionary character which threatened to overturn the Roman patricians. The Emperor Constantine, after six years' reign, clearly saw that the rising movement could only be overcome by making it his own, by embracing this

Christian religion and securing control of the organization. He, too, suddenly witnessed a great light in the sky which took the form of a cross. The Pagan Constantine became the Christian Constantine, and henceforth Christianity became the religion of the ruling class. The Emperor's vision of the cross, by which sign he was to conquer, was a ruling class vision for the protection of their wealth and the perpetuation of their power. Constantine destroyed Christianity—by adopting it. He won over to his side members of the Christian organization by allowing them to acquire property, and thus by influencing their material interests, class distinctions and disruptions took place in the ranks of the Roman working class.

HISTORY furnishes us with many instances in which the ruling class have pursued this policy of adoption, by which means they have succeeded in dividing the rising movement of the ruled

Divide and Conquer and thereby conquering them. Open persecution becomes more and more useless as a weapon for the subduing of a movement against the existing authority.

The same is true for open counter-propaganda. The few are fully alive to the fact that they are few; and that they are strong only so long as the many are not alive to the fact that they are many, and that their interests are one. Weakness has its source in division. Anything therefore that can keep the workers divided will strengthen the masters.

As economic development proceeds the fields for the creation of division among the workers become more and more restricted. In the industrial and political fields the governing class are faced with a movement that grows in stature and in strength, and that becomes more antagonistic every day. "A fair day's wage, for a fair day's work" and "Peace, Retrenchment, and Reform" are industrial and political shibboleths that are fast losing their power to charm the "meek and lowly" labourer.



To these facts, and all that they mean, the masters are by no means blind. To overcome them "liberalism," "humaneness," "fairness" must be transferred to another quarter to do duty as watch words and catchwords. The working class must receive a

"Humane" Education. "liberal" and "humane" education "*in order that they may be good citizens and play a reasonable part in the affairs of the world*" which is simply a

revised and more up to date rendering of

The rich man in his castle,
The poor man at his gate—

Only in this case some of the poor men, who have a desire for education in keeping with "good citizenship" and "sweet reasonableness" are to be received into the castle for a season, to be later on let out *to guard the gate against people with "sinister motives."* It is Constantine's confidence trick over again. He divided the working class by securing the wealthiest of its members and giving them opportunities that lifted them into a higher social position. To-day, it is sought to divide the working class by securing the best of its members, and after casting them under the spell of capitalist thought, turn them out to instruct their class in the theory and practice of reaction. Of course the purveyors of "Working-Class Education" have had their vision. They have looked out and beheld in the air *working men demanding education.*

JUST as the great light which Constantine saw in the sky took the form of something that was essentially the emblem of the movement he sought to control—a cross, so the educational visionaries of to-day

see for their sign something that is distinctly working class for its character. "This demand that the universities shall serve all classes derives much additional significance from changes which are taking place in the constitution of English society and in the distribution of political power. The most conspicuous symptoms of such changes to which we refer have been the growth of Labour Representation in the House of Commons and on Municipal bodies, the great increase in the membership of political associations, . . . the increasing interest taken by trade unions, . . . the growing demand for a widening in the sphere of social organization. As to the advantages and disadvantages of these developments, we, of course, express no opinion. But their effect has certainly been both to foster a ferment of ideas in classes where formerly it did not exist and to make it imperative that they should obtain the knowledge necessary to enable them to show foresight in their choice of political means." This necessity comes apparently with "the growth of Labour Representation in the House of Commons," &c., &c. To continue the quotation: "We are of opinion that as a result of these changes all educational authorities, and university above all others, are confronted with problems to which they are bound to give continuous and serious attention." We feel justified in quoting this paragraph at length as we consider it to be the *raison d'être* of the Oxford and Working-Class Education Movement. Here there simultaneously arises the cloven hoof and the donkey's ears. We do not think it is intended for the working class to read that paragraph too closely. It is rather a warning to those who have not clearly seen the danger of the advancing Labour Movement. It is to say: "Behold I show unto you a more excellent way than the ballot box and the lock-out and the injunction, a way of dividing the working class and of strengthening the status of your class: *by the W. E. A. shalt thou conquer.*"



So that the efficacy of such a policy may be clearly shown, Lord Curzon of Kedleston comes forward with his new book, *Principles and Methods of University Reform*, in which he gives his benediction

to the scheme and pronounces it to be highly desirable. "But," he says, "we must strive to attract the best for they will be the leaders of the upward movement . . . and it is therefore of great importance that their early training should be conducted on liberal rather than utilitarian lines.

It is not strange that the spokesmen of this latest Labour-capturing device are continually manifesting their anxiety about the "best," the "leaders of the future," "the upward movement." It is not to

be wondered at, that Lord Curzon should regard it as a danger "that a Working-men's College, outside the University, and subject neither to its influence or its discipline, may develop into a club dominated by the narrow views of particular political or economic schools, recruiting itself solely from one party, and out of touch with many of the best elements of academic life." My Lord the Chancellor of the University had this thought uppermost in his mind when he visited Ruskin College in the Autumn of 1907, and we are quite certain that he has not forgotten the reply made to him on that occasion by the late Principal, Mr. Dennis Hird. In this connexion there is a subtle suggestiveness in Lord Curzon's proposal that "the Principal (of the Working-men's College) would be appointed by the University." The recent happenings at Ruskin College have convinced us that Oxford University can do something more even than appoint a Principal; *they can depose one*, especially when that one is under no delusion as to what "its influences or its discipline" connote. A working-men's college outside the University is above all things anathema. It is like a sea bird that warns them of the gathering storm, a dread messenger that summons them to the Day of Judgement. We are not deceived by Lord Curzon's assurance that the University will continue to respect the independence of Ruskin College *and will place no obstacle in its path*. That latter institution has no independence. *It is the absence of that quality that merits the absence of the obstacle.*



BUT the curtain is not rung down with the number of Cæsars in the Capitol. Phillipi 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 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 only this:—"We neither want your crumbs nor your condescension, your guidance or your glamour, your tuition or tradition. We have our own historical way to follow, our own salvation to achieve, **and by this sign shall we conquer.**"

Where there is one man obstinate because he is wise, there are 4,695,853 obstinate because they are ignorant.—*Josh Billings.*

Easy Outlines of Economic Science

No. 3—The Theory of Marginal Utility *v.* the Marxian Theory of Value

THIS time my article takes the form of a dialogue. It is by no means the best way to present a Scientific truth, but it has great advantages when the object is to present a popular discussion from both sides. In this dialogue, Marxian Scientist upholds the Marxian Theory of Value, while Marginal Bill defends Marginal Utility. Marginal Bill is a familiar figure in Utility text books. The reader will naturally allow for the bias inseparable from a dialogue form of presentation. Marginal Bill is of course only put up on purpose to get knocked down. The defeated side, however, has a better "show" than in other forms of discussion.

Marginal Bill (who has just entered and sat down in the study of Marxian Scientist).—I should like to have a further talk with you on Economics. Since I saw you last I have been assiduously studying *Marshall's Economics of Industry*. It is a splendid book, quite up to date, and since reading it I think I can quite easily manage to refute your Marxian theories, especially the labour theory of value.

Marxian Scientist.—Being a searcher after truth I am glad to know you can refute Marx's theory of value, as I have been under the impression that it was the only scientific theory on that subject in Economic Science. But have you studied the Marxian theory?

M. B.—Well no, not exactly, but I have read a splendid criticism of it by Bohm-Bawerk.

M. S.—H'm, I have also read that criticism, but I don't think it will help you much. However tell me what does Marshall say on the theory of value to excite your enthusiasm so much as to pay me a visit.

M. B.—Well, it is difficult to give his conclusions. He points out (on page 24) that economics is not an exact science; for it deals with the ever changing and subtle forces of human nature. It is a study of the motives of individuals in business. Marshall has studied those laws so well as to have arrived at the following law of the determination of price:—"The larger the amount of a thing a person has, the less will, other things being equal, be the price he will pay for a little more of it (p. 63).

M. S.—Oh! I see. That means, does it not, that the utility of a commodity to the consumer determines its value?

M. B.—Yes, only you must remember it is the marginal utility. I will make it quite plain by giving you an example used by my Oxford lecturer yesterday. If a hungry man goes into a restaurant and eats a plate of beef, that has great utility to him, but his hunger

not yet satisfied he calls for a second plate. That also possesses utility, but not so much as the first one. Say he goes on and eats four plates of beef. Now the fourth plate he was only just willing to buy. It represented the margin of the utility of the beef to him. Hence the fourth plate is called the marginal utility of the beef to the customer. Now do you see it? Don't you think that's clever? And you must admit it's the truth. Well, that disposes of the labour theory, and substitutes in its place the theory of Marginal Utility.

M. S.—Hold on. Not quite so fast. What was the price of those plates of beef? Was the fourth plate any cheaper than the first plate?

M. B.—Of course not. Do you think proprietors of restaurants are fools?

M. S.—No, I don't think they are fools; what I think is that in this case they show their belief in the Marxian theory of value. Let us suppose your hungry consumer, finding on the bill the four plates of beef were of equal price, called for the proprietor and pointed out to him that as the utility of the beef varied so ought the price to vary, hence the fourth plate ought to be almost given away. Say he had backed up his arguments by reading Marshall's law to him. Do you think that would convince the proprietor? By no means. If he were a Marxian he would reply as follows: "It is nothing to me that the commodity I supply varies in its utility to you. What concerns this firm is that we receive the full market price for our commodity. That price is not determined by the vagaries of your stomach but by the difficulty (or necessary labour required) of producing beef steaks. If you introduce some improvement in the breeding of cattle or in the methods of their slaughter which will lessen the labour necessary for their production, we shall no doubt be able to reduce the price. Meanwhile, unless you are prepared to pay the market price, you must remain hungry. Good day!" Now then, Mr. Marginal Bill, where is your Marshall now?

M. B. (scratching his head).—I must confess that is a hard knock but (with a sudden return to confidence) I am not yet daunted. Look here, turning to page 65, you see these diagrams. Well, they mathematically prove Marshall's point. This diagram (Fig. 1) is based on this table on page 64. Here it states that if a man were buying tea, and the price of tea is $4/2$ per lb, he would buy 6 lb; but if the price were reduced he would buy more. These figures show how his purchases increase as the price is lowered. When the price falls to $1/5$ the purchase increases to 13 lb. This idea is shown in the diagram by the curve; the top d showing the 6 lb., the bottom d the 13 lb. Now then, this time I think you must admit that Marshall has proved his point.

M. S.—(picking up the book and pointing to the sentence:—"If the price were reduced he would buy more.")—Eh?

M. B.—Yes, and there he has the well-known law of supply and demand on his side.—If price be lowered demand increases.

M. S. (severely).—You have put the cart before the horse. It is quite true, other things equal (to use your expression), that a man would buy more tea if the price were lowered, but it is *not* true that the price is reduced because the men would buy more, as men have always, since tea was introduced into the country, been of that opinion; yet the price of tea has only been lowered when the labour necessary to produce it has been lessened. Is not that correct?

M. B. (stammering)—Y-y-Yes! but have you read Marshall on Rent and Diminishing Returns?

M. S.—Yes, and his arguments are a good illustration of Diminishing Returns, as they diminish in accuracy each time. Don't quote any more Marshall to me. He is a superficial writer, and is hopelessly wrong in the first statement in his book. He says there: "Economics is on the one side a study of wealth and on the other and more important side, a part of the study of man." The last sentence contains the following gem: "Public opinion based on sound economics and just morality, will, it may be hoped, become ever more and more the arbiter of the conditions of industry." These things, I will show you another time, betrays his ignorance of the Science of Economics. Meanwhile permit me to remark that you don't look quite as cheerful as when you arrived.

M. B.—Ah yes! it is easy to criticize, but I could easily pick more holes in the absurd labour theory of value than you have picked in Marshall's Marginal Utility.

M. S.—Very well, we will change places. You shall become the critic. First of all, I accuse the whole Utility School of being at sea in thinking that Economics is the study of the motives of individuals. As a matter of history and fact, that opinion is wrong. Society is the result, not of the changed motives of individuals from pre-social times, but of changing economic conditions. Serfdom did not replace slavery because the slave owners decided to become serf-owners, nor did feudal lords gave way to, and in many cases become, capitalists because their motives had changed. No, in fact they struggled, and seas of blood flowed before these changes arrived. And the changes arrived because the changing economic conditions were too strong, and individual motives were forced to change with them. That in itself is enough to upset the Utility School. But I see you are impatient, you want to discuss the labour theory of value. Very well. Do you know what a commodity is?

M. B.—Yes, I have read in Marxian books that a commodity is an article of utility, produced for the purpose of exchange, and that it is the chief or typical product of capitalism.

M. S.—Quite correct. Now Marx, different from Marshall, begins with the commodity, and from there builds up, step by step, all the relations of industry according to the scientific method.

M. B.—I have heard all that. Get on!

M. S.—All right, I'll get on quicker than you like presently. A commodity is a complex of two things: use-value (utility), and exchange value (exchangeability). These two things are distinct from each other. Now listen. A box of matches is more useful (or possesses more utility) than a bearskin rug. Do you grant that?

M. B.—Of course. Get on!

M. S.—Well, a box of matches has less exchange value than a bearskin rug. You see, then that the utility of these commodities do not determine their exchange value.

M. B. (draws a deep breath of surprise).—Oh!

M. S. (unmoved).—Now the utility of an article, say a loaf of bread, is the same in the year one as it is in 1909, i.e. bread of the same quality. Not so exchangeability. That changes with every change in the labour necessary to produce it.

M. B.—You needn't pile it on. I admit my theory is wrong; get on with yours.

M. S.—The secret of value is: What principle determines that so much of a given commodity will exchange for so much of another commodity.

M. B.—Yes, yes; get on!

M. S.—To this Marx says "What we have to do then is to find the common denominator to which they are both reducible." What have they in common? First, Utility. Can it be utility? Let us see.

M. B.—(Groans audibly).

M. S. (unmoved)—One example. A glittering stone on the breast of a woman of fashion will exchange for the food, clothing, and shelter of a workman's family for 10 or 20 years. Is that determined by the equality of their utility? Surely not. Rejecting utility, what else is there? Commodities have physical and chemical properties in common, but then these only affect their usefulness, and must therefore go with utility in the waste-paper basket. There is only one other thing left, viz. they are the products of labour. Hence labour must be the measure of the value of commodities.

M. B.—(in triumph) Ha! Ha! I thought you were coming there. Now this secret of yours was discovered by Sir William Petty in 1699, and was further known to a whole school of economists ending with Ricardo. But where are they to-day? Ricardo's theories accept the Theory of Rent; (the shining light of that school) are now decayed with old age. So much for your labour theory of value.

M. S.—What you now say is ancient history. It was Marx, and he alone, who was the cause of that. It is not your Utility School that has killed Ricardo. He yet stands as high above you as does the mountain above the plain. He was at least a scientist. But to proceed. The other economists never *proved* the labour

theory of value. What is labour? That sounds simple. Yet Marshall doesn't know. Petty thought it was labour devoted to the production of gold that measured value. Ricardo, that it was the labour devoted to the production of use values. It remained for Marx to point out the two-fold character of labour and it is this that makes his theory different from all others.

M. B.—I don't understand. Two-fold character of labour! What bosh! Why, that's metaphysics!

M. S.—Listen, and hold your thinking cap on tight. I am going to put a strain on your marginal intellectual capacity. The labour necessary to the production of a watch is of a special kind. It demands different skill, different materials to handle, and a different workshop to work in than does the labour necessary to produce a coat. Therefore we call that concrete useful labour because it is devoted to the production of a definite use-value. This watch and this coat are exchanged on the market. What does this mean? It means that the labours, though different, are equalized. They are reduced to one and the same kind of labour, abstract social labour. Do you see, dunderhead?

M. B.—Wait a bit, I am grasping it.

M. S.—Let me help you. The watch and the coat, we assume, were exchanged by means of a sovereign. The sovereign equalizes both. Look up your logic. Two things which are equal to a third thing are equal to each other. Now labour in this sense is quite indifferent as to whether it is embodied in silver or lead, in bibles or brandy, in books on Utility, or Marxian economics. Its specialized character is lost sight of; and it now appears as so many units of social labour. Stay, here is an old shoemaker who produces shoes in almost the same way as they did in the Middle Ages. Comparatively, it involves tremendous labour. Yet when the shoes are placed on the market they fetch only the low price of the boots produced in the most highly-equipped factories of Leicester. That means that while his individual concrete labour in the production of a definite use value is determined by his own individual way of working, yet his labour which gave his shoes exchange value is determined not by him but by the organization of society, by the labour socially necessary to produce boots.

M. B.—Now hold on, I've had enough for one sitting. What you say sounds well in theory. But you've yet to show how it works in practice. I'll go now, but before next time I'll read and think over it and so be better prepared to meet you.

M. S.—That's right. I'm pleased to hear you are going to turn over a new leaf and begin thinking. When you've done some I'll be glad to hear from you, for I've not done with you yet. Good night!

Next Month :—*Marginal Bill's objections.*

"Who Stand and Wait"

THE psychological make-up of our governing class is both distinct and remarkable. This is to be expected, for superior organisms are ever distinguished from those inferior by their distinct and peculiar qualities. The governing class are the superior folk of English civilization; they are first in culture and attainments, they are a blend of high blood and genius. Is it not so? Indeed, they can say with Sir Christopher Wren, "for our monument look around." England is their monument, and are we not the first among the nations? They compose but a fraction of the population, it is true; they are men of wealth also. But are not wealth and ability the counterpart of each other? Do not possessions give the right of governance? Let the House of Lords bear witness!

THE SUPERIOR MEN

It is then but natural that the mental states of those superior should differ widely from those of inferior station. Superiority is only attained by having some others beneath us. To feel the feet firm on the life of others is to know the glory and potency of power. It is the exercise of such power that transforms otherwise ordinary men into heroes and statesmen, it is the struggle for such power which makes history. To keep the power they have so heroically won for themselves and *their* country is the chief aim of our governing class, Oxford, Cambridge, and Dublin are their three great collegiate citadels, the educational arsenals of supreme superiority. I fancy I hear some one interposing a query as to the welfare of the other class, the class which is the nation; they who, in Milton's words, "serve, and who stand and wait." They, of course, have been the instruments of God in the hands of God's Englishmen. Is it not a Divine Law that inferiority should always bow to Superiority? The slave cannot, surely, be greater than his master! So with the working class. Through all the centuries since the dawn of civilization they have been sacrificed on the altar of power, the miserable dupes of the vicious plotting and counter plotting of their owners. Whipped into obedience, and starved into submission. "they went forth to battle, but they always fell." For them no minstrel sang; to their memory were no statues set up. We know them not; they are numbered with the forgotten dead. But, of course, they formed only the rank and file; they merely fought the battles their masters won. To their masters, then, the kingdom, the power, and the glory, for ever and ever.

"BLESSED ARE YE POOR"

The poor, on the whole, are not materially concerned with national movements or interests. Their circumstances are of too humble a character for them to feel much the advantages or disadvantages of

any form of government. The struggle for existence absorbs all their energies, and leaves them, for the most part, the amenable slaves of their "superiors." Yet are they the fountain of their masters' power, the bulwark of their privileges. Without them, civilization would be impossible. They won the laurels for the victors' brows, and perished beneath the power they created. They have *made* all history; their masters have *written* it. Thus we hear much of kings and conquerors, priests and statesmen, but seldom of that great subject class which, in all times, is the nation. Did the horse but know his strength would he be so docile? Did the working class but know of their power would they so bend before arrogant "superiority"? Their great, heroic patience is their own undoing; they are the victims of their virtues; by their stripes are their oppressors healed.

THE SUPERIOR ATTITUDE

The most noticeable characteristic of the superior minds is their keen hypersensitiveness to the shortcomings of those beneath them. They are painfully aware that the working-class have a more than usual amount of original sin in their composition. The art of governing is to tactfully repress any manifestation of this that may at any time assert itself. In pursuance of their good work they are not content to pluck out the tares of rebellious self-reliance; they endeavour to sow the all-sufficing grain of contented submission to authority. Against organized action of the workers they put armed authority, for their swords are keener against their own people than against the foreign invader. Against weak men they oppose the Almighty God, He who, on earth, made His home with the outcast, and gave his life for the weak and distressed. Is it not written: "Servants, be obedient unto them that are your masters, as unto Christ"? Their authority has ever been hallowed by His name, for God is always on the side of the big battalions.

THE SUPERIOR VIRTUES

Let us not overlook the many virtues of our masters. The altruistic self-forgetfulness of constituted superiority is evident in all their works. One cannot read through any of their treatises without being impressed with the beauty and nobility of these—*for other people*. Our great teachers are always solemnly aware of their audience. The application of their wisdom is always intended for others than themselves. Whether it be religion, history, or economic science, their anxiety to govern impels them to offer their conclusions generously to the "other fellow,"—the governed. Their good work in this respect will never surely be forgotten by a grateful country. They have been ever the guardians of the virtues of the poor. To take one instance of this out of many, consider how jealously they have safeguarded the "independent spirit" of the workers. Against the demoralizing influence of old age pensions, who so fierce as Dr. Pangloss, of Oxford? The insidious sapping of self reliance by such measures

was again and again pointed out solemnly by many learned and superior men. In doing this they showed that altruistic self-forgetfulness which may be described as the pale ascetic blossom of University culture. Their acoustic instinct was apparent here in a remarkable degree, for great teachers can never forget their audience when dwelling upon the application of their wisdom. These men had tasted deeply of the deadly fascination of huge pensions. The poison was in their blood, and they were enthralled. They knew they could never hope to enter the Kingdom of whose glories they sang piously every Sabbath. To this sad fate, it would seem, they had long resigned themselves, and the prospect of a warmer climate in the sweet bye and bye did not appear to cause them much perturbation of spirit. Yet, though doomed to everlasting torment themselves, they did not hesitate to do all in their power to rescue those beneath them from the snare of riches. They pictured the aged poor, with their five shillings a week, revelling in luxury and riotous living, and their hearts were troubled. They had entangled themselves in the meshes of the world, the flesh, and the Devil, but at least they did all in their power to preserve the virtues of the poor. Lordly archbishop and bishop, amid all the panoply of ecclesiastical splendour, never omitted to remind the workers, on every possible occasion, that "blessed are ye poor." With what wistfulness bishop and squire, proconsul and capitalist, looked upon the state of poverty! They dreamed of the Arcadian delights of slum life, of the noble, uplifting toil of the factories, of the grand simplicity of the evening of life in the workhouse. So magnetic, however, is the attraction of wealth and power, that it never occurred to them to leave their high estate and partake of the soul-reviving exercises so extolled by the blessed St. Francis. From the contemplation of the sweet delights of poverty they went away sorrowful; for they were of great possessions. The endowment of very aged poverty, however, presented the opportunity to Lord Avebury of airing his well-known platitudes for other people. It is, indeed, a wonderful thing that state pensions for the poor should be fraught with so much danger to the nation, while pensions on an infinitely larger scale for the rich are deemed a national benefit. That five thousand a year should be a gain, while five shillings a week should be, to use Lord Cromer's words, "lost wealth"; is a paradox quite beyond the comprehension of mere working-class intelligence. It is one of those inner mysteries which can only be appreciated by superior minds.

A. W. DAVIDSON.

(to be continued.)

It is no use trying to teach enthusiasts prudence.—*Lichtenberg.*

Three thousand years of advance, and still before glutted warehouses human beings hunger and shiver; under shadow of churches festers vice born of want.—*Henry George.*

ATTENTION!

THE AUGUST MEET.

The first Meet of the League, on August Bank Holiday, will mark an epoch in the history of the working-class movement in this country. For the first time representatives of the working-class of England will meet to settle the details of an educational structure which will be a fitting complement to their industrial and political structure. Born of the desire of the rank and file of the workers it will indeed be a departure of which those associated with its birth may well feel proud. It is not unlikely that the delegates will have an opportunity of seeing the new college in working order. If so, it will be a proof of what can be done in a short space of time by the working class themselves when thoroughly roused to a sense of necessity; also a rebuke to the insufferable arrogance and presumption of the Curzons, and others, who are always presuming to tell the working class what they want, and how it will be provided "for them."

We need scarcely emphasize the importance of this Conference for the working-class movement, and the necessity of our readers to take action to secure the representation of their various societies at this historic function. The Conference will commence at 11 a.m., on Monday, August 2nd, and the following preliminary Agenda has been framed.

1. The Principle of Independence in Working-class Education.
2. The Recent Dispute and Present Situation at Ruskin College.
3. The New Central Labour College.
4. The "Plebs" League and Magazine.
5. Appointment of Editor, Organizer, and Executive Committee.

Invitations will be sent to Branches of Trade Unions, and other Labour organizations, in the course of the next fortnight. See that YOUR organization receives one.

THE ALPHA.

Reviews

Marxian Economics.—In the Socialist scheme of things "there is but one Marx, and Ernest Untermann is his prophet." Marx is rather hard reading for the average individual who has not already some ground work in economics and social science. As a preparatory course to an appreciation of Karl Marx's epoch-making and monumental work, "Capital" in three volumes, no better book can be recommended than "Marxian Economics" by Ernest Untermann, who, in a comparatively brief volume, makes more clear of comprehension the masterful work of Marx. This book is, however, not merely an introduction to Marx's *Capital* but is extremely valuable in itself for the clear, concise and easily comprehensible statement of modern scientific economics, including the statement of "What is Capital," "Labor and Capital," "Animal and Human Societies," "Biological and Economic Division of Labor," "The Rise of Commerce" and "Commodities and Money." All these and many other of the important but little understood aspects of modern industrialism and capitalist production and distribution are discussed by a man who is thoroughly versed in the Socialist philosophy. Mr. Untermann is a scholar and one of the editors of the *International Socialist Review*. Of this book he says in a foreward: "The form of presentation is my own. The economic theories belong to Marx. The method applied is that of historical materialism, supplemented in essential points by the dialectic monism of Joseph Dietzgen. In short, this little volume presents only the results of Marxian analyses. It does not epitomize these analyses themselves. Whoever wishes to find detailed proofs for the different positions taken here, must turn to the original work of Marx."

The Physical Basis of Mind and Morals.—By M. H. FITCH. (Charles H. Kerr & Co., 264, Kinzie Street, Chicago). This work is written from the standpoint of evolution. To the human organism there seems to be just two phenomena—self, and not-self. But in reality these are one. This is Monism. It is not possible for the human mind to comprehend reality. It has no conception of the beginning. But in elucidating the theory of evolution it is necessary to assume a nebular state of matter as a starting point. From a nebular the solar system has been evolved. The elements of all structure and function as now perceived by the human senses are derived from the same potential elements once existing in the nebular state. Condensation is the principle that has worked out the multiplicity of effects, both physical and psychical.

The organic unit is only a combination of the nebular monistic atoms; and the molecule of the brain tissue a modification of the organic unit, by which the phenomenon called mind is produced. Without nerve matter there is no thought, no reasoning, no mental action. And every biologist and psychologist knows that the ampler and more perfect the organic nervous system becomes the more mentality is manifested.

Morality is a natural evolution, and therefore can not be prescribed. Like life itself, it is a correspondence of the individual with his environment. He who is, in a large sense, in conscious touch with the objective truths or facts of the realm of Nature is in a corresponding degree more moral. The most important facts to man in his moral phase are the subtle relations man holds to his fellowman, and these are a large part of every individual's environment, or not-self. That code of ethics which evolves naturally from this correspondence may include some parts of every prescribed code, but can not extend beyond the sensual without becoming fantastic.

We perceive only phenomena, and therefore have no correspondence with cause. Hence our morality must be based on our knowledge of phenomena. The different chapters are treatments of various aspects of this principle, which is called phenomenism. The ultimate scientific religion that will evolve from this conception of morality will build high and broad character in society, when right will always be done for right's sake, not because it meets the approbation of others.

Copies of complete catalogue of Messrs. Kerr & Co., can be obtained free by applying to the Editor.

Life's Compensations

I envy not the minstrelsy
 That men to monarchs bring.
 There is a thrush that tells to me
 The mysteries of Spring.
 And palaces and stately halls,
 Or power the world to roam,
 Are nothing to one cot where falls
 The sacred light of home.
 Though diamond-flash and ruby-gleam
 Be kept 'neath bolt and bar,
 Yet who can rob me of the beam
 That dances from a star?
 Sweet Love and perfect Happiness,
 A life of glowing health,
 The magic of a child's caress,
 These are not bought with wealth.
 The starry eyes of babyhood
 May lose their wonderment,
 But soulful radiance pure and good
 By Time alone is lent.
 The rose-blush of a maiden's face
 Which dreams of love can stir,
 The years may dim, but in its place
 Write lines of character.
 So ecstasies of youth may pale
 And calmer joys be rife,
 But fruit shall be when blossoms fail
 Upon the boughs of Life.

ROSE E. SHARLAND.

Reports

WIGAN BRANCH.

At a Meeting held by the above branch Mrs. Taylor said before she read the first six hundred lines of her poem it was essential that the students should be made acquainted with all that related to the finding of the manuscript. Any information she would gladly supply, and asked for their co-operation in an endeavour to obtain a clearer understanding of the poem. Continuing her narrative, the lady said: As the master of the house stood disconsolately by the side of the hounds' drinking vessel, a servant approached carrying in his hand a small bag. The man removed the cover from the trough, emptied the contents of the bag into it, and then stirred the mass vigorously. It was a very cold day, and the food was passing from a liquid to a congealed state. While it was undergoing this metamorphosis the spectators beheld a strange phenomenon. Myriads of undefinable forms were glittering like stars in an April sky, pacing to and fro, and striving ineffectually to fix themselves in harmony with each other. At length they settled down upon the surface of the gelatinous substance, but it was a long time before any one could interpret the meaning of the characters formed. Mrs. Taylor then read the opening lines of her poem. It has been carefully and with great difficulty transcribed from the original manuscript, which contains many inaccuracies, and sometimes words and even whole lines are missing. The manuscript is somewhat clumsily written, but as it is evidently the work of a youthful hand this is excusable. The subject matter of the first book is, "Boys' Occupations," and is headed by the following fragment:—

"A mournful cry is often made in every day,"
 "The rent! the rent! that dreaded—how can I help to pay?"

As the lady concluded her first book she invited suggestions to explain these lines:—

"The ideals of some preachers,
 "How we ought to train our boys,
 "Is only red-tape theory,
 "Which makes one feel quite weary,
 "When he listens to their phrases,
 "And such like simple toys."

A student said he had an incident to relate that might throw some light on the young writers' composition. First he would quote some phrases recently spoken by the Rev. R. J. Campbell: "They (the Socialists) intended to proceed by methods of constitutional agitation and development for the realization of a spiritual ideal, and the physical efficiency of a nobler humanity." "If they secured the recognition of the physical, intellectual, and moral efficiency of child life as a State charge . . . then they would have taken a long, long step towards the realization of the Socialist state of the future." "The State! the State!" exclaimed the student, "what a sacred thing is made of the State." What a fetish to worship! Formally it was lucre, but our new heraldry hath "State." Can the State attend to the needs of the child more efficiently than the mother? No. Else why did the State within a State, that coterie of

theorisers and visionaries, allow two boys on that wet night of the rev. gentleman's lecture, to parade the Old Market Place, each boy carrying three boards advertising "The Ideals of Socialism". The student said as he was walking away, he overheard the man in the street murmur that grand old phrase, "Actions speak louder than words."

Reports from other branches unavoidably left over.

By the Way

The result of the voting on the new object is that it is agreed upon with only three dissentients. Needless to state this has occasioned great satisfaction to all concerned. With this number we enter on our new career; pioneers of the new movement for a definite educational structure controlled by the workers themselves.

In another column will be found a preliminary notice of the August Meet, which will take a form that few of us anticipated when the League started out on its fateful career last November. We trust our members will see that no effort is spared to get together as representative a conference as befits the occasion. Should any society who are interested not receive an invitation to attend we trust they will notify the office at the earliest possible moment.

We understand that the Authorities at Ruskin College are sending a representative round the country to place, what they are pleased to call "the official facts," before the various Trade Union and Labour bodies. We rely upon all the "Plebs," present at any such meetings, being prepared to demonstrate the fictitious nature of "official facts." All information, including copies of many important documents relevant to the Ruskin College dispute can be procured on application to this office. We would also remind Trade Union Branches &c., that our representative Mr. George Sims is free to visit them in this connexion, on payment of out-of-pocket expenses, which, of course, is the most satisfactory way of presenting the case.

Owing to the pressure on our space the list of subscriptions received for the New College Fund is held over for one month. Will our readers see that any list sent in reaches us not later than the 25th of each month, if acknowledgement is desired in next issue of the magazine.

Several new branches of the League have been formed recently, and most of them have shown that they mean business by starting educational classes straightaway. We should like to remind the Secretaries that the names and addresses of all members should be forwarded to this office along with the annual membership subscription of 1s. per member.

Porth Branch is taking 150 copies of the Magazine each month. Other branches please note.

The Watch Tower

MR. HOBSON in a recent sociological (!) lecture at Ruskin College has stated that "history repeats itself, but in a different way." The truth is borne home upon us by the new crisis brought about by the retirement of this great man from the lecture list of Ruskin College. In the space of a month his health has broken down under the tremendous strain involved in attending the College for 5 hours a week. He believes in the strenuous life apparently. Take one of his lectures as a sample: in one short hour he had summarized the philosophy of Spencer; torn to shreds the superficial (!) reasoning of Professor Lester Ward; laid bare the depths of his own mighty intellect; and reviewed (!!!) 40 or more essays. The late Principal was, of course, unable to accomplish such a tremendous amount of work as this. He, poor fellow, used to think it necessary to have about 90 or so lectures to outline the teaching of Spencer and Ward; have a personal interview of at least twenty minutes with each student over every essay written; and also idle away a tremendous amount of time helping the students over their individual difficulties. Poor, simple soul! It is of sterner stuff than this that Ruskin lecturers must be made; *they* must lead the simple strenuous Indian life, with, at least, two scientists' scalps added to their girdle at every lecture; only very simple souls need dwell more than twenty minutes over the researches of thirty years or so, in these latter days when sociologists are made over the 'phone. When Mr. Hird went the students struck; now Mr. Hobson has gone they are struck—dumb with admiration at his perspicacity in leaving, and the ingeniousness of his excuse.

The "wider scope" given to Sociology upon the curriculum by the authorities of Ruskin College, since the dispute, has resulted in its entire disappearance from the lecture list. "With Mr. Hird goes Mr. Hird's subjects" we said when his enforced resignation was announced. Mr. Hird has gone and his subjects have followed him. For those students who came to the College for the second year to specialize in Sociology there are now no lectures. It is rumoured that some prominent University lecturer has been asked to fill the vacancy. "The dog hath returned to its vomit and the sow to her wallowing in the mire."

The *Cornhill Magazine* for August, 1908, contained an article called *Ruskin College: An Educational Experiment* from the pen of the Vice-Principal: Mr. C. S. Buxton. This document forms interesting reading in view of recent events at Ruskin College. It is interesting to note this person's views on the party responsible for discipline inside the College, e. g.

The supreme control is vested in the "House Committee," which consists of the Principal, Vice-Principal, and the Secretary. This Committee has the administration of the

details of the curriculum, the broad outline of which has been drawn up by the Executive Committee; *it* also has general control over *all* questions of internal administration (the Italics are ours).

The late Principal was dismissed for failing to maintain discipline !!

Again, "First and foremost the student is taught a *sound* political economy."

How comforting to miscellaneous shareholders in this "education experiment." How the bosom of my Lord Rosebery must have swelled with satisfaction; with what pride the Right Honourable A. J. Balfour would mark this on his half sheet of notepaper. How pleased the Trade Unionists must be to know of this *sound* science being taught to their young men, aided by their old friend Cree's famous anti-trade union fantasies. Especially fortunate will they feel in their choice of an institution to support when they learn :

That it helps to break down the barriers of class ignorance and class prejudice.

It is no extravagant hope, therefore, that Ruskin College may be doing something to dissipate the suspicions which threaten the solidarity of society in England to-day.

How pained the dear, good Mr. Buxton must have been when the Executive Committee informed the "superior persons" during the recent dispute "that the students showed a distaste for all education that was not dogmatic to a degree." How glad he must have been that he recollected to remind the aristocratic readers of the *Cornhill* that after all we are conscious that :

It is only a new patch on an old garment, an idealistic experiment *in fece Romuli* (on the dregs of the people).

After an absence of some eight weeks Mr. Bertram Wilson has again returned to the lecture stand. The comic season is therefore now in full swing. Local Government is his great theme, and his perorations upon *parochial* psychology and *the lack of uniformity* have led those who hear his voice to predict great popularity for him, if he is not cut off by a frost. His genius does not, however, exhaust itself in lecturing !!! As a lightning sketch artist he is of a very high order, and in response to a request of some of his many admirers he has promised to have his celebrated blackboard drawings of the Council Chamber and the Town Clerk put upon postcards. The students all treat him kindly, just as though they loved him, but they always stand in front of him as they do when they admire a mule.

"Those whom the gods love die young." The Executive Committee of Ruskin College having proclaimed to the world their desire to give fuller scope to Sociology and Logic, eliminate the latter, and reduce the first to the very shadow of its former self. Now even the latter solitary weekly lecture disappears with Mr. Hobson's retirement. Apparently they intend to construct a lecture

list on *very sound* lines. We suggest a course of lectures on the following subjects :

- India : By One Who Knows - Prof. L . . . s M . . . h.
 Small Holdings in Yorkshire - Mr. F . . . i . . s.
 Experiments : The Dregs - Mr. B . . . t . . n.

Wanted.—Principal for College, must be a good disciplinarian. Retired Army officer preferred, particularly Russian, although German officer would not be despised. Will be expected to teach Sociology and Logic in spare time. Apply R. C., Oxon.

Balance Sheet

RUSKIN COLLEGE DISPUTE, SPECIAL FUND.

				INCOME			£	s.	d.	
From Students in Residence	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	2	6
J. Watson	...	...	...	...	...	...		3	0
T. and J. Evans	...	...	...	...	...	...		5	0
F. W. Moore	...	...	...	...	...	...		1	0
N. Ablett	...	...	...	...	...	...		12	0
Dr. Coit	...	...	...	...	...	...		5	0
"Friend"	...	...	...	...	...	...		1	0
T. E. Groves	...	...	...	...	...	...		3	0
"Friend"	...	...	...	...	...	...		8	0
E. R. Wood	...	...	...	...	...	...		5	0
Bury Socialists per Wiga	...	...	...	...	...	...		10	0
T. J. Fox	...	...	...	...	...	...		5	0
Marxian Club, Blaenclydach	...	...	...	...	...	...		11	3
Porth I. L. P.	...	...	...	...	...	...		6	6
Porth "Plebs"	...	...	...	...	...	...		6	0
A. A. Nokes	...	...	...	...	...	...		1	0
R. C. C. Class, Cleckheaton	...	...	...	...	...	...		5	0
E. Gill	...	...	...	...	...	...		5	3
Newspaper Article	...	...	...	...	...	...		1	11
Sympathiser	...	...	...	...	...	...		10	0
H. J. Warcus	...	...	...	...	...	...		4	0
"Pleb"	...	...	...	...	...	...		5	0
Total							£	21	15	0
				EXPENDITURE.			£	s.	d.	
To Account Rendered—	Travelling Expenses	...	...	...	...	...	5	10	4
"	"	Postage and Telegrams	...	...	...	...	7	16	7
"	"	Printing and Stationery	...	...	...	...	6	15	3
Balance in hand (G. Sims)	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	12	10
Total							£	21	15	0

We, the undersigned, having examined the above Accounts, certify that they are correct.

TOM GILLINDER, A.S.E.
 WILLIAM DENT, N.M.A.

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THE GOLD SICKLE,

OR

Hena, the Virgin of the Isle of Sen

A TALE OF DRUID GAUL

BY EUGENE SUE,

Translated from the Original French by DANIEL DE LEON.

(Continued)

WITH these words, Julyan seized his sabre with both hands, stretched himself at full length, and dealt so furious a stroke to his adversary that, although the latter threw himself back and thereby softened the blow, his buckler flew into splinters and the weapon struck Armel in the temple. The wounded man staggered for an instant and then fell flat upon his back, amid the admiring cries of "*Her . . . her . . . Julyan!*" from the enraptured by-standers, among whom Stumpy was the loudest with the cry of "*Her . . . her!*"

After lowering her distaff as a sign that the combat was over Mamm' Margarid stepped toward the wounded combatant to give him her attention, while Joel said to his guest, reaching him the cup: "Friend guest, you shall drink this old wine to the triumph of Julyan."

"I drink to the triumph of Julyan and also to the valiant defeat of Armel!" responded the stranger. "The courage of the vanquished youth equals that of the vanquisher . . . I have seen many a combat, but never have I seen greater bravery and courage displayed! Glory to the family of Joel! . . . Glory to your tribe!"

"Formerly," said Joel, "these festive combats took place among us almost every day. Now they are rarer; they have been replaced by wrestling matches; but sabre combats better recall the habits of the old Gauls."

Mamm' Margarid shook her head after a second inspection of the wound, while Julyan steadying himself against the wall sought to hold up his friend. One of the young women hurried with a casket of lint and salves, in which was also a little vial of mistletoe water. Armel's wound bled copiously; it was staunched with difficulty; the wounded youth's face was pale and his eyes closed.

"Brother Armel," said Julyan to him in a cheerful voice, on his knees beside the prostrate Armel, "do not break down for so little . . . Each has his day and his hour . . . To-day you were wounded, to-morrow will be my turn . . . We fought bravely . . . The stranger will not forget the young men of Karnak and of the family of Joel, the brenn of the tribe."

His face down, his forehead bathed in cold perspiration, Armel seemed not to hear the voice of his friend. Mamm' Margarid again shook her head, ordered some burnt coal, that was brought her on a little flat stone and threw on it some of the pulverized mistletoe bark. A strong vapour rose from the little brazier, and Mamm' Margarid made Armel inhale it. A little after he opened his eyes, looked around as if he awoke from a dream, and said feebly :

"The angel of death calls me . . . I shall now live no longer here but yonder . . . My father and mother will be surprised and pleased to see me so soon . . . I also shall be happy to meet them."

A second later he added regretfully :

"How I would have liked to hear the pretty stories of the traveller!"

"What, brother Armel!" said Julyan, visibly astonished and grieved. "Are you to depart so soon from us? We were enjoying life so well together . . . We swore brotherhood and never to leave each other!"

"We did so swear, Julyan," Armel answered feebly, "but it is otherwise decreed."

Julyan dropped his head upon his two hands and made no answer.

Mamm' Margarid, skillful in the art of tending wounds, an art that she learned from a druid priestess, her relative, placed her hand on Armel's heart. A few seconds later she said to those near her and who, together with Joel and his guest, stood around :

"Teutates calls Armel away to take him to those who have preceded us. He will soon depart. If any of us has any message for the loved ones who have preceded us yonder, and wishes Armel to carry it—let him make haste."

Mamm' Margarid, thereupon kissed the forehead of the dying young man and said to him : "Give to all the members of our family the kiss of remembrance and hope."

"I shall give them, Mamm' Margarid, the kiss of remembrance and hope in your name," answered Armel in a fainting voice, and added again in a pet, "and yet I would so much have liked to hear the pretty stories of the traveller!"

These words seemed deeply to affect Julyan, who still holding his friend's head looked down upon him with sadness.

Little Sylvest, the son of Guilhern, a child of rosy cheeks and golden hair, who held with one hand the hand of his mother Henry. advanced a little and addressing the dying relative said :

"I loved little Alanik very much ; he went away last year Tell him that little Sylvest always remembers him, and embrace him for me, Armel,"

"I shall embrace little Alanik for you, little Sylvest," and Armel added again, "and yet I would have liked to hear the pretty stories of the traveller."

Another man of Joel's family said to his expiring kinsman :

"I was a friend of Houarne of the tribe of Morlech, our neighbour. He was killed defenceless, while asleep, a short time ago. Tell him, Armel, that Daoulas, his murderer, was discovered, was tried and condemned by the druids of Karnak and his sacrifice will soon take place. Hourane will be pleased to learn of Daoulas's punishment."

Armel signified that he would convey the message to Houarne.

Stumpy, who not through wickedness but intemperate language, was the cause of Armel's death, also drew near with a message to the one about to depart, and said :

"You know that at the eighth face of this month's moon old Mark, who lives near Glen'han was taken ill ; the angel of death told him also to prepare for a speedy departure. Old Mark was not ready. He wished to assist at the wedding of his daughter's daughter. Not being ready to go, old Mark bethought him of some one who might be ready to go in his place and that would satisfy the angel of death. He asked the druid, his physician, if he knew of some 'substitute.' The druid answered him that Gigel of Nouaren, a member of our tribe, would be available, that he might consent to depart in the place of old Mark, and that he might be induced to do so both out of kindness to Mark and to render himself agreeable to the gods, who are always pleased at the sight of such sacrifices. Gigel consented freely. Old Mark made him a present of ten pieces of silver with the stamp of a horse's head, which Gigel distributed among his friends before departing. He then cheerfully emptied his last cup and bared his breast to the sacred knife amid the chants of the bards. The angel of death accepted the substitute. Old Mark attended the wedding of his daughter's daughter, and to-day he is in good health--"

"Do you mean to say that you are willing to depart in my stead, Stumpy?" asked the dying warrior. "I fear it is now too late--"

"No, no ; I am not ready to depart in your stead," Stumpy hastened to answer. "I only wish to request you to return to Gigel three pieces of silver that I owed him ; I could not repay him sooner. I feared Gigel might come and demand his money by moonlight in the shape of some demon." Saying which Stumpy rummaged in his

lamb-skin bag, took out three pieces with a stamp of a horse's head, and placed them in the pocket of Armel's breeches.

"I shall hand your three pieces of silver to Gigel," said Armel in a voice now hardly audible; and for the last time he murmured at Julyan's ear: "And yet . . . I would . . . have liked . . . to hear . . . the pretty stories . . . of . . . the traveller."

"Be at ease, brother Armel," Julyan answered him; "I shall attentively listen to the pretty stories so that I may remember them well; and to-morrow . . . I shall depart and tell them to you . . . I would weary here without you . . . We swore brotherhood to each other, and never to be separated; I shall follow you and continue to live yonder in your company."

"Truly . . . you will come?" said the dying youth, whom the promise seemed to render happy; "will you come . . . to-morrow?"

"To-morrow, by Hesus . . . I swear to you, Armel, I shall come."

The eyes of the whole family turned to Julyan at hearing the promise, and looked lovingly upon him. The wounded youth seemed the most pleased of all, and with his last breath said:

"So long, then, brother Julyan . . . listen attentively . . . to the stories . . . And now . . . farewell . . . farewell . . . to all of you of our tribe," and Armel sought to suit the motion of his hands to his words.

As loving relatives and friends crowd around one of their own when he is about to depart on a long journey, during which he will meet people of whom they all preserve a cherished remembrance, each now pressed the hand of Armel and gave him some tender commission for those of their tribe whom he was about to meet again.

After Armel was dead, Joel closed the youth's eyes and had him taken to the altar of grey stones, above which stood the copper bowl with the seven twigs of mistletoe.

The body was then covered with oak branches taken from the altar, so that, instead of the corpse, only a heap of verdure met the eye, with Julyan seated close to it.

Finally, the head of the family filled the large cup up to the brim, moistened his lips in it and said to the stranger: "May Armel's journey be a happy one; he has ever been good and just; may he traverse under the guidance of Teutates the marvellous regions and countries that lie beyond the grave which none of us has yet travelled over, and which all of us will yet see. May Armel meet again those whom we have loved, and let him assure them that we love them still!"

The cup went around; the women and young girls expressed their good wishes to Armel on his journey; the remains of the supper were removed; and all gathered at the hearth, impatient to hear the promised stories told by the stranger.

(To be continued.)