



"HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON!"

Communications are invited from all concerned with social questions. They should be written on one side of the paper only and should be addressed to the Editors of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. They must be accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

As all articles are signed, no special significance should be attached to them because of the position they may occupy in these pages. None, therefore, are to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors.

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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NOTICE TO ALL SOCIALISTIC NEWSPAPERS.—The *Commonweal* will be regularly sent to all Socialistic Contemporaries throughout the world, and it is hoped that they on their side will regularly provide the Socialist League with their papers as they may appear.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday August 11.

ENGLAND		Toledo (O.)—Industrial News	ITALY
Norwich—Daylight		San Francisco (Cal.)—Truth	Brescia—Lo Sperimentale
Bristol Mercury		Springfield (Ill.)—Voice of Labor	SPAIN
Republican		Cincinnati (O.) Unionist	Barcelona—Acracia
Justice		New Haven (Conn.)—Workmen's Advocate	Cadiz—El Socialismo
Leicester Co-operative Record		Washington (D. C.)—National View	AUSTRIA
Club and Institute Journal		Newfoundland (Pa.)—La Torpille	Brunn—Volksfreund
Herald of Health		Portland (Oregon)—Alarm	HOLLAND
Southport Visiter		Patterson (N.J.) Labor Standard	Recht voor Allen
Anti-Sweater		Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote	HUNGARY
		Kuights of Labor	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
UNITED STATES			NORWAY
New York—Volkszeitung		FRANCE	Social-Democraten
Der Sozialist		Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	INDIA
Freiheit		Le Revolte	Madras—People's Friend
Spread the Light		La Revue Litteraire	Allahabad—People's Budget
Truthseeker		Guisse—Le Devoir	Bombay—Times of India
Labor Lyceum		BELGIUM	
Boston—Woman's Journal		Brussels—Le Chante-Clair	
Denver (Col.) Labor Inquirer			

RECEIVED.—"Moderation"—"The Amsterdam Riots"—"Revolution"—"Piece Work."

NOTES ON PASSING EVENTS.

The impudence of the propertied class finds utterance after every Bank Holiday. A batch of letters appears in the newspapers complaining of the inconvenience that snobs are put to, because of the first-class railway carriages being filled with lads and lassies of the working class. The working-class folks are fools enough to allow the snobs to have the monopoly of the best carriages for 359 days of the year, and yet a plaintive wail is sent up because they have sometimes to share them the remaining six. These impudent letters will not fail to make the people understand the greed and selfishness of their masters. Another complaint of the letters is that the work-people are ill-mannered. Perhaps they are: so are their employers; but manners is but one of the many things the people are robbed of.

The North Metropolitan Tramway Company have made a net profit of £38,574 during the past half-year. This is, in a very true sense of the word, blood-money. A shareholder, Mr. Guesdon, stated the working hours of the men to be sixteen a-day. The chairman said it was only thirteen and a half. The men, it appears, are hanging about the cars for the two and a half hours referred to by the chairman, so that for all practical purposes the statement stands good that the working hours are sixteen. Such overwork means that the men have no time of any kind for recreation, and that ultimately they are sent to their graves before their normal time. The way the company conducts its business shows that nothing but profit is its object. The public convenience is not considered. On the line from Euston to "Nag's Head" they increase their fares on Sundays: no extra pay is given to the men or extra food to the horses. On the line from Archway, Highgate, to King's Cross, no transfer tickets are issued, which means that the public has to pay two fares on Sundays. These are but small samples of how they take mean advantages. Does any one seriously believe that a corporation that slowly murders its employes and that perpetrates such petty meannesses on the public should be

allowed to continue in such a course? It is time that the tramways were run in the interest of all.

Our oponents tell us that Socialism is impossible. I would ask them to meditate on the revolts that are taking place in every part of the world, and ask them if things can remain much longer as they are. From France, Belgium, Holland, United States, and Italy comes the same news of the people's rebellion against the tyranny of their oppressors. The monopolists have been having a quiet time of it for a good many years past, but now they are beginning to shake in their shoes. We urge on the workers to join the Socialist party; not to produce riots, but a revolution. We want to put an end to the monopolists; the rioters merely change them. Riots probably do more harm than good to the cause of the people. Only the revolution that will abolish capitalists and landlords, and put an organised people in their place, will make a change good for all.

It is stated that every three years there is created in this country limited liability stock to the amount of the national debt. Usury is of course paid upon this immense sum, so one hardly need wonder how it is that in spite of the enormous annual increase of wealth in this country the workers remain poor. The increase goes into the coffers of the usurers. A. D.

On Wednesday appeared an abstract of the report of the Commission on the Depression in Trade, which, however, was repudiated the next day. In fact the report according to the account given was so grotesque, that it did look as if it might have been drawn up by a Socialist joker; yet it is by no means so sure that it did not contain the gist of the genuine report somewhat denuded of its raiment of verbiage. After all there would be nothing wonderful in the Commissioners being at the bottom of the joke, as such people take great care never to study economy except from the point of view of the most worn-out bourgeois theories; ignorance is an essential of their position as Commissioners. Also as they obviously can do nothing they may think it matters little what they say. Yet for one item I wonder what this solemn farce costs the country?

It has been suggested that the Liberal members shall revenge themselves on Lord Randolph Churchill for his truculent address to the electors of Paddington, by rising and leaving the house in a body as soon as he begins to speak for the first time. This is not a bad idea, but such protests might be organised in a more complete manner, each one, for instance, of these protesting members might be brought back in turn, and a similar protest made against him for his special delinquency, ratting, fighting shy, lying, or what not; which would make a lively time of it in the house. Perhaps the very best organisation would result in each member so protesting against himself, walking out of the house and not coming back again. There would be many dry eyes at these departures.—W. M.

SOCIALISM FROM THE ROOT UP.

CHAPTER IX.—THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND.

In our last two chapters we had to deal with a revolution which was as rich in dramatic interest, and as obviously so, as any period in the history of the world. We have now to note a series of events the well-spring of which was Great Britain. This series is not usually connected by modern historians so as to be dignified by the name of a Revolution; but it is one nevertheless, and is at least as important in its bearing on the life of the modern world as that more startling and, on the surface, more terrible one in France.

In the last chapter wherein the condition of England was dealt with, we left it a prosperous country, in the ordinary sense of the word, under the rule of an orderly constitutionalism. There was no need here for the violent destruction of aristocratic privilege; it was of itself melting into money-privilege, and all was getting ready for the completest and securest system of the plunder of labour which the world had yet seen.

England was free in the bourgeois sense; that is, there were but a few checks, the survivals of earlier periods, to interfere with the exaction of the tribute which labour has to pay to property to be allowed to live. In a word, on the one hand exploitation was veiled; and on the other, the owners of property had no longer any duties to perform in return for the above-said tribute. Nevertheless, all this had to go on on a small scale for a while. Population had not increased largely since the beginning of the seventeenth century; agriculture was flourishing; one-thirtieth of the grain raised was exported from England; the working-classes were not hard pressed, and could not yet be bought and sold in masses. There were no large manufacturing towns, and no need for them; the presence of the material to be worked up, rather than the means for working it mechanically—fuel, to wit—gave a manufacturing character to this or that country-side. It was, for example, the sheep-pastures of the Yorkshire hill-sides, and not the existence of coal beneath them, which made the neighbourhood of the northern Bradford a weaving country. Its namesake on the Wiltshire Avon was in those days at least as important a centre of the clothing industry. The broadcloth of the Gloucestershire valleys, Devonshire and Hampshire kersies, Whitney blankets and Chipping Norton tweeds, meant sweet grass and long wool, with a little water-power to turn the fulling-mills, and not coal, to which material to be worked up was to be brought from the four quarters of the globe. The apparent con-

dition of labour in those days seems almost idyllic, compared with what it now is: but it must be remembered that then as now the worker was in the hands of the monopolist of land and raw material; nor was it likely that the latter should have held his special privilege for two hundred years without applying some system by which it could be made the most of. Between the period of the decay of the craft-gilds and this latter half of the eighteenth century there had grown up a system of labour which could not have been applied to the mediæval workmen; for they worked for themselves and not for a master or exploiter, and thus were masters of their material and their tools and their time. This system is that of the Division of Labour; under it the unit of labour is not an individual man, but a group, every member of which is helpless by himself, but trained by constant practice to the repetition of a small part of the work, acquires great precision and speed in its performance. In short, each man is not so much a machine as a part of a machine. As, for example, it takes five men to make a glass-bottle: it is the group of these five men that makes the bottle, not any one of them. It is clear that under this system the individual workman is entirely at the mercy of his master the capitalist in his capacity of superintendent of labour: in order not to be crushed by him, he must combine to oppose his own interests to those of his employer. It was by this system, then, that the demands of the growing world-market were supplied down to the end of the eighteenth century. The great political economist, Adam Smith, whose book was first published in 1771, marks the beginning of the transition between this system and that of the great machine industries; but his work implies throughout the Division of Labour system.

But that system was now to melt into the new one: the workman, from being a machine, was to become the auxiliary of a machine. The invention of the spinning-jenny by Hargreaves in 1760 is the first symptom of the beginning of this Industrial Revolution. From thence to the invention of steam as a motive-force, and thence again to our own days, the stream of invention has been continuous. The discovery that iron could be made with pit-coal removed the seat of the iron manufacture from the wooded countries of the south and west, where the old iron-works, called "bloomeries," used to be carried on, to the northern and midland coal districts, and all manufacture of any importance flowed to the seat of fuel; so that South Lancashire, for instance, was changed from a country of moorland and pasture, with a few market towns and the ancient manufacturing city of Manchester, into a district where the "villages," still so called, but with populations of fifteen or twenty thousand souls, are pretty much contiguous, and the country has all but disappeared. Of course a great part of this is the work of the years that have followed on the invention of railways; but even in the earlier period of this industrial revolution the change was tremendous and sudden and the sufferings of the working classes very great, as no attempt was made to alleviate the distress that was sure to be caused by the change from the use of human hands to machinery. Nor indeed could it have been made in a country governed by bourgeois constitutionalism until measures were actually forced on the government. In 1811 the prevailing distress was betokened by the first outbreak of the Luddites. These were organised bands of men who went about breaking up the machinery which was the immediate cause of their want of employment and consequent starvation. The locality where these riots were most frequent was the northern midland counties, where the newly-invented stocking-frames were specially obnoxious to them. The Luddites became the type of bodies of rioters who by a half-blind instinct throughout this period threw themselves against the advancing battalions of industrial revolution. In 1816, the year which followed the peace with France, the cessation of all the war industries threw more people still out of employment, and in addition the harvest was a specially bad one. As a consequence, this hunger insurrection was especially violent in that year. The riots were put down with corresponding violence, and the rioters punished with the utmost harshness. But as times mended somewhat this insurrection, which was, as we have said, a mere matter of hunger, and was founded on no principle, died out, although for a time riots having for their object destruction of property, especially of the plant and stock of manufacturers, went on through the whole of the first half of the century. The "Plug Riots,"¹ in the middle of the Chartist agitation, may be taken for an example of these.

It was a necessary consequence of the introduction of elaborate machinery that women and children should be largely employed in factories to diminish the number of adult males. This resource for the development of the profits of the new system was used by the manufacturers with the utmost recklessness, till at last it became clear to the bourgeois government that the scandal created by its abuse would put an end to its use altogether, unless something were done to palliate its immediate evils; and accordingly a series of Factory Acts were passed, in the teeth of the most strenuous and unscrupulous resistance on the part of the capitalists, who grudged the immediate loss which resulted in the hampering of the "roaring trade" they were driving, even though it were for the ultimate benefit of their class. The first of these Acts which was really intended to work was passed in 1830, and they were consolidated finally in 1867. It should be understood that these Acts were not intended to benefit the great mass of adult workers, but were rather concessions to the outcry of the philanthropists at the condition of the women and especially the children so employed.

Meanwhile, in spite of all the suffering caused by the Industrial Re-

volution, it was impossible for the capitalists to engross the whole of the profits gained by it, or at least to go on piling them up in an ever-increasing ratio. The class struggle took another form, besides that of mere hunger riots and forcible repression, that of the Trade Unions. Although the primary intention of these was the foundation of benefit societies, as with the first guilds of the early Middle Ages, like them also they had soon to take in hand matters dealing with the regulation of labour. The first struggles of the trades' unions with capital took place while they were still illegal; but the repeal of the law against the combination of workmen in 1824 set them free in that respect, and they soon began to be a power in the country. Aided by the rising tide of commercial prosperity, which made the capitalists more willing to yield up some part of their enormous profits rather than carry on the struggle *à l'outrance*, they prevailed in many trade contests, and succeeding in raising the standard of livelihood for skilled workmen, though of course by no means in proportion to the huge increase in the sum of the national income. Further than this it was and is impossible for them to go so long as they recognise the capitalists as a necessary part of the organisation of labour. It was not at first understood by the capitalist class that they did so recognise them, and consequently in the period of their early successes the trades' unions were considered mere revolutionists, and were treated to that kind of virulent and cowardly abuse and insult, which the shopkeeper in terror for his shop always has at his tongues end.

The abolition of the corn-laws in 1847 and the consequent cheapening of necessary food for the workers, the discovery of gold in California and Australia, the prodigious increase in the luxury and expenditure of the upper and middle classes, all the action and reaction of the commercial impulse created by the great machine industries, gave an appearance of general prosperity to the country, in which, as we have said, the skilled workmen did partake to a certain extent; and the views of middle-class optimists as to the continuance of bourgeois progress, and the gradual absorption of all the worthy part of the working-classes into its ranks seemed confirmed till within the last few years; all the more as the practical triumph of the Liberal party had ceased to make "politics" a burning question. Nevertheless, as a sign that the underground lava had not ceased flowing, it was noticed that ever since the ripening of the great industries, in periods of about ten years came recurring depressions of trade; these were accounted for in various ingenious ways, but otherwise did not trouble the capitalist mind, which got to consider this also, because of its regular recurrence, as a sign of the stability of the present system, and merely looked upon it as a thing to be taken into the general average and insured against in the usual manner. But within the last few years this latest eternal bourgeois providence has failed us. The nations whom we assumed would never do anything but provide us with raw materials, have become our rivals in manufacture and our competitors in the world-market, while owing to the fact that America has enormous stretches of easily tilled virgin soil, which does not need manure, and that the climate of India makes it easy to support life there, those two countries supply us with such large amounts of grain, and at so cheap a rate, that raising it in England has become unprofitable; so that the farmers are poor, and the landlords cannot get the same rents for agricultural land as formerly. The exports have fallen off; towns where six years ago trade was flourishing and wages high, are now encumbered with a population which they cannot find employment for; and though from time to time there are rumours of improvement in trade, nothing comes of them, and people are obliged to await some stroke of magic which shall bring us back our old prosperity "of leaps and bounds."

The fact is that the commerce of the great industries has entered insensibly into its second stage, and mere cut-throat competition between the different nations has taken the place of the benevolent commercial despotism of the only nation which was thoroughly prepared to take advantage of the Industrial Revolution—Great Britain, to wit.

This second stage is doubtless preparing the final one which will end with the death of the whole bourgeois commercial system. Meanwhile, what is the real social product of the Industrial Revolution? We answer the final triumph of the middle-classes, materially, intellectually, and morally. As the result of the great political revolution in France was the abolition of aristocratic privilege, and the domination in the world of politics of the bourgeoisie, which hitherto had had little to do with it, so the English Industrial Revolution may be said to have created a new commercial middle-class hitherto unknown to the world. This class on the one hand consolidated all the groups of the middle class of the preceding epoch, such as country squires large and small, big farmers, merchants, manufacturers, shopkeepers, and professional men; and made them so conscious of their solidarity, that the ordinary refined and thinking man of to-day cannot really see any other class at all, but only outside his own class certain heterogeneous groups to be used as instruments for the further advancement of that class. On the other hand, it has attained such complete domination that the upper classes are merely adjuncts to it and servants of it. In fact, these also are now of the bourgeois class, as they are all engaged in commerce in one way or other: *e.g.*, the higher nobility are all either house-agents or coal-factors, and would be of no importance without their "businesses." Moreover, striving ever to extend itself downwards as well as upwards, the middle-class has absorbed so much in that direction, especially within the last thirty years, that it has now nothing left below it except the mere propertyless proletariat. These last are wholly dependent upon it, utterly powerless before it until the break up of the system which has created it, the signs of whose beginning

¹ This meant destruction of boilers in factories, the rioters pulling out the plugs to ensure their bursting.

we have just noted, shall *force* them into a revolt against it. In the course of that revolt this great middle-class will in its turn be absorbed into the proletariat, which will form a new Society in which classes will have ceased to exist. This is the next Revolution, as inevitable, as inexorable, as the rising of to-morrow's sun.

E. BELFORT BAX AND WILLIAM MORRIS.

(To be continued).

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE EMIGRATION OF CAPITALISTS.

SIR,—Reading your article upon the exodus of Marshall and Co., of Leeds, to America, has caused me to indite this letter to you. Of course, as a capitalist, I hold your journal and the party it represents in utter detestation, but as I am now in a splenetic mood, in consequence of being cut out in business by an opposition firm, I will favour you with my views upon the absurd conduct and speech of those capitalists who, because of your paltry agitation, talk of taking themselves and capital out of the country.

Looking as an Imperial Federationist over the British Empire, to which Burma has by Divine interposition been added, I see a vast and as yet undeveloped field for the enterprise and business capacity of the British capitalist. Already the mild Hindoo has succumbed to "superior methods of production," and instead of letting his children waste their time in play, as they were wont before the advent of British civilisation, they are now engaged in useful work in cotton mills, working nearly the same hours as in Lancashire before the detested Factory Acts, the repeal of which I as a member of the Liberty and Property Defence League, hope soon to see accomplished. Being heathens, moreover, they work on Sundays, and although, as a Christian, I must lament that they are foredoomed to eternal torments, yet the commercial advantages of the extra labour performed are simply enormous. Shaftesbury seriously menaced the stability of our commerce when he interfered in the matter. Happily he is removed to a better sphere, and prevented from introducing more harmful restrictions on free labour.

But to return to Marshall and Co. Now, next to the plastic, unresisting Hindoo, or the West Indian coolies and the patient rent-rendering Egyptian fellaheen, I place for docility the average British workman, and why a firm with all these to choose from as raw material should voluntarily emigrate to a country infested with strikers, Socialists, and boycotters, passes my comprehension. You, sir, could never have thoroughly studied the character of the English workman, or you would not now be engaged in your audacious but happily hopeless endeavour to stir up disunion between the workmen and their benevolent masters. When I contemplate the spectacle presented by the British workman, both past and present, I am lost in astonishment and admiration. Working 70, 80, and 100 hours per week, he has produced those colossal accumulations of wealth which have permitted us under heavenly guidance to extend the blessings of English commerce abroad. When the unregenerate foreigner has refused us repayment of our money lent in trusting faith, or the rude barbarian has refused alike the blessings of our teaching and our wares, then has the British son of toil serving as soldier, marine, or sailor, bled and died for the enforcement of just obligations and the glory of this great Empire. In return he asks for little, satisfied with his scars and stumps he returns to a grateful country, from which he only asks a pittance sufficient for his humble wants. Can you Socialists show so sublime a spectacle? We owe him much, for while denouncing the bloodthirsty projects of rebels, he has not hesitated to shed his blood and theirs in defence of his master's possessions. America might have carried out the fell promises of her Declaration of Independence but for his indomitable pluck, assisted by the skilful scalping knife of the simple Indian. France might also have never enjoyed the blessings of the Napoleonic régime, had he not thrown himself into the breach against the levelling Atheistic Republic, and if the faithful creature has in the exuberance of his loyalty violated military etiquette, and killed and spoiled on his own account, he has bared his back to the lash, and bowed obediently to his pastors and masters.

To-day he adds Burma and Egypt to his laurels, and pays uncomplaining the hundreds of millions incurred in the prosecution of England's civilising mission. Eminent in war, assiduous in labour, yet contented with his humble lot, and satisfied if he can but partake of his lowly pot of beer, or still better, the mildly aperient temperance drinks now offered him at a slight, far too slight, profit, by religious and benevolent friends. He replies to the illusory theories of mad agitators with a simple blow of his sturdy manly hand, or crushes them with the weight of inborn common sense. If your pests point enviously to the emporium, as evidence of inequality in distribution, he shows you triumphantly his chandler's shop to prove that he shares in the wealth of the country. If, again, you endeavour to stir up disloyalty and class-hatred, by alluding to large estates and incomes, he probes your wicked design at once by saying in truth "Wouldn't you like to get a slice yerself?" He discerns quickly that it is only the lazy and drunken who fail to get on, and they are paying you, sir, and your set to upset royalty, aristocracy, and all decent hardworking people. Even adversity does not change or sour him, and when through adversity, due to an inscrutable Providence, he has to seek the shelter of the workhouse, he cheers his labour at the stone heap or oakum shed, or his frugal meal of skilly, with reflections of the glory and greatness of the British Empire and the share he has had in building it up, and only hopes that the Prince of Wales and the Colonial exhibitors will make haste and federate it, and keep those damned foreigners out!

I repeat, sir, that you have not considered your position when you recklessly throw down the gauntlet to all that is stable and respectable in English life. Is there poverty, does it not stimulate scientific investigation, and lead to the searching out by social reformers, not rabid Socialists, of the hidden nutritive qualities of nettles, horsebeans, and cabbage leaves, as "rational alimentation for the working-class?" And where vegetarianism is not insisted upon, are not cookery classes instructing the young how to make the most of offal, tails, entrails, and bones, thus cheapening the prime joints for the superior classes, an unmixed good to all? While you are wickedly seeking to sever the holy family tie, we are building *creches* or nurseries, so that mothers may be engaged in industry without their babies; and if I have seemed to slight English working-women in my unbounded

admiration for the sterling qualities of their sons, husbands, and brothers, let me now make amends. You form your Branches and get a few malcontent men in a district, but I subscribe to the soup-kitchen, mission-hall, and mothers' meetings, and beat you into fits. The men may talk a lot of puling stuff about surplus value and social justice, but the honest woman has not married Socialism, she has married the man and *his wages*, and she knows that these stupid committee meetings are held against God, and the Queen, and the master; and as the master finds the wages she sticks to the master, and in fighting for the fulfilment of her contract she helps the master to his, and is consequently a grand preservative force. With true womanly instinct, which, by the way, is always genteel, she cannot, and rightly so, be brought to believe that a parcel of Toms, Jacks, and Harrys know more about what ought to be than those who are legally and lawfully set in authority over them; and as to poverty, does she not know from the mission hall that it is God's ordained will. Like the boy at Rugby, "I laugh, I dew," when I think of your stupid attempts to overturn Society. While she steadfastly opposes that kind of opposition to lawful authority, which ends in violence and bloodshed, she gives up with alacrity husband, brother, and son to fight and die for the honour of their Queen and country, and bestows her smiles upon the uniforms of her country's brave defenders. Bah! if you are searching for a Théroigne de Mericourt here you had better give it up, you will find, however, plenty of Charlotte Corday's!

And now, sir, in conclusion, whilst you and your set are prating about your glorious ideal, my class are gradually but surely arriving at theirs. I see in the future an army of apostles issuing from the rooms of the Young Men's Christian Association, and kindred Christian institutions, men replete with scriptural texts and the principles of correct book-keeping; demure, disciplined, and self-contained, they will carry the word of the Lord into unknown lands, and also the advertisements of their employers. They will reconcile the truth of Christianity with a well-balanced ledger, thus uniting commerce and religion. They will clothe the naked *when they pay for it*. The unused labour-power of the idle savage, now running like the force of Niagara to waste, will be used; he will be taught not only to labour but to pray. Of course, he will also be taught to pay, and thus add to the glory of his master's name. The solitudes of Nature will resound to the clang of the factory and the mission-room bell, for many of which I have secured a contract from a brother in the Lord. London will extend despite the noisy nonsense about open spaces, until she reaches the provincial towns, thus instead of stupid wild flowers and unprofitable fields growing what we can import cheaper, there will be one vast assemblage of rent-producing workshops and houses, interspersed here and there with places of worship wherein the honest worker can return thanks for the Divine dispensation which has permitted the enterprising capitalist to shape the world, or at all events England, after his own image.—I am, yours disrespectfully,

A CAREWORN ANXIOUS CAPITALIST.

ANOTHER SOCIALIST PROSECUTION.

On August 6 Thomas E. Wardle and J. Allman appeared at Marylebone Police Court at two o'clock to answer to summonses taken out against them for causing an obstruction on 24th ult. by addressing 200 Socialists and others at the corner of Waltherton and Fernhead roads. They found the magistrate had gone to lunch and had to lounge about the court-house lobby until "his wushup" had been fed. At last the defendants' names were called. The magistrate, Mr. Cooke, wished to put both defendants up together, but consented, on a protest from Wardle, to hear the cases separately. There were four witnesses for the prosecution—two policemen, X 382 and XR 16, a draper (Agate), and a queer-looking little chemist (Linney). Their tale was that a great obstruction had been caused by the crowd which assembled to hear the defendant Wardle, although both foot-passengers and vehicles were able to pass by. The little chemist said the noise of the speaker's voice was unbearable. In cross-examination XR 16 was asked to define an "open space." The constable looked in blank amazement at the defendant, and after a few seconds a sergeant of police in the court, by a nod, prompted XR 16 to say that he could not do so. I was under the impression that prompting witnesses was not permitted, but from what I observed at Marylebone I see the police are at liberty to do so. The queer little chemist Linney swore he heard Wardle speak on 31st ult. Wardle, however, proved that he did not speak at the place on that date. The complaint of Agate the draper that the meetings were a public nuisance, was grounded on his statement that they interfered with his trade. I am unable to see how, even if his trade were interfered with, that that could be a public nuisance. It might be a public benefit, because what he did not sell some other draper would; and it is as likely as not that the other drapers would give the public better bargains than he does. Wardle wished to put a question to the chemist as to the area of the space. This is clearly the most important part of the case, because if the space is 16,000 square feet, as stated by the defendant, 200 persons could not block it up. The magistrate would not allow the question to be put. It seems to me the lunch must have somewhat affected that magistrate's mind, else such a pertinent question would not have been alleged to have nothing to do with the case. Several witnesses appeared for the defence, and showed that there was no obstruction whatever, and that owing to the great area of the space from 7,000 to 8,000 persons would be required to fill up the roadway alone. Mr. Cooke then adjourned the case, for "the public convenience"—which meant one of two things: either the lunch had been insufficient, and the magistrate was anxious to dine, or he thought he would wait and see the judgment on Mainwaring at the Middlesex Sessions; but how the public could be inconvenienced on either of these grounds I for one am at a loss to know. A. K. DONALD.

Now as a matter of fact, the existing distinction between a commonplace Conservative and a commonplace Liberal, is one of name and name only. I defy you to name any important measure of home or foreign policy on which there is any substantial difference of opinion between the parties represented by Lord Salisbury and Lord Hartington. I defy you to name any grave reform likely to be proposed by the Radicals which the Whigs are not as much opposed to in principle as the Conservatives. All important reforms consistent with the preservation of our existing Constitution have practically been accomplished. All future reform must be of a revolutionary character, and involve an attack on some one of our fundamental institutions. Any such attack would be deprecated alike by Whigs and Conservatives. The time is fast coming, if it has not come already, when the two parties in the State will consist of the defenders and the assailants of our Constitution.—E. Dicey, C.B., *Nineteenth Century*, 1886, p. 303.