for themselves,—or rather, left without a chance of looking out for themselves, for there is not the least likelihood of one-third of these dis- carded hands finding employment. Trade is bad enough in Leeds, but worse in the surrounding country from the loss of its great male hands, left, outcasts in their own land, to intensify the distress and swell the army of unemployed.

Similar examples have worked all their lives, and are now unable to begin work afresh at a new task. The provision made for those who have grown grey in the service of the firm is in- structive as an example of capitalist generosity. One man who has toiled for thirty years for the firm was pensioned with 3s. 6d. per week. He would have got this much at least from the parish, but being now a "pensioner," is disqualified for receiving poor-law relief. Yet the wages of a fortunate few; for some older girls who had been with the firm for from thirty to forty years were told on applying for similar favours that they must wait until some of the older pensioners have dropped off. The total sum paid in pensions is twenty-nine shillings per week.

The conditions under which most of the hands work are of the "hell- hole" kind usual in most large factories. About seventy men are employed in one atmosphere of their workroom is per- meated with a fine dust, which comes from the flax and settles on their lungs. The men are all short-lived: an old man is exceedingly rare. This kind of work is just what forces men to drink. Sobriety becomes an impossible virtue (if it be a virtue at all). Many of the girls work under conditions little better—and of course with the usual results.

The wages of these employés are regulated by the usual method of competition. Of late they have been steadily decreasing. Ten years ago the girls were told to have themselves to three and four shil-lings per week—an enormous income for a young factory lass in the best of times. But declining trade and intensified competition even took away a shilling a week, and from a girl's point of view the profits the girls' wages were gradually reduced, until now the average will be from 3s. 6d. to 5s. 6d. weekly. This is but an illustration of what is going on in other departments.

The Shrewsbury Mill is owned by the Leeds Mill, which at one time employed two thousand hands. All that has been said of the Leeds mill is equally true of the Shrewsbury one. It would be useless to speculate what will become of the people thereby deprived of their livelihood. We cannot allow ourselves to think the future will be hard enough and that Society, which has so heavily aimed against them, will hear more of them some day. It is a curious proof of the brutality of the commercial system, and shows off this "free workman" of modern times in a strange light. A few thousand people turned adrift in the richest country in the world: many of them idle, and the rest toiling as if their lives depended on it.

In conclusion, a few words to you, Mr. Stephen Marshall. Pray don't think the above is a personal attack upon you, or even upon the distinguished firm of which you are the head. This case was selected not because it is peculiar, but to illustrate the system. You may, no doubt, as good as most of your class, and perhaps better than a great many. If you did not get your fortune by work—the only honest way of getting anything—neither did your fellow capitalists. Indeed, if you did work to anything like the extent you now do, you might well compare yourself with that of these poor old men and unfortunate girls somebody else would. After all, are you not as much your own door, or even at that of your class. If the workers were more alive to their own interests, the cunning and dishonesty of the capitalist would avail nothing. No doubt you will find a multitude of excuses to calm your conscience. You can say: the system of capitalism, the way it is carried on, the interest, the expenses, the wages you pay your workmen, have left your employees in poverty, you have also left them a church, erected at the expense and by the generosity of your firm. Therein they may, and must, be a comfort and a comfort, and learn to despise earthly treasures—they which might as well, from the little you leave them, hardly worth respecting. But you are not merely a gross money-grabber, absorbed in the pursuit of self. You are an ardent patriot and ruler of others, to illustrate the system. When the integrity of the empire was threatened, you, like a true Whig-imperialist, rallied to its support. You are a member of the Loyal and Patriotic party, and I doubt you would subscribe more to its funds than you will give to relieve the workers, without whose labours the country could have been as what are described as men of average ability usually possess. It is not very loyal and patriotic of you to scurry out of the country with your capital because prices are low. Surely a member of the patriotic party would prefer a small profit in his own country to a larger one in a foreign land. But let that pass; it is only what the most patriotic of your fellow loyalists would do in similar circumstances. It is no use raking up these things now when you are leaving us to get yourself off to America, and your capital with you. None of us will lament the loss of you,—though we would have liked to nationalise the machinery. However, it will be for you to see to that soon enough. Farewell, and may the Revolution come in the nick of time and squeeze another million out of the people of America.

J. L. M. and T. M.

How many men are there who have lived as idle parasites, and who, if they had not the privilege of subsisting on the earnings of others, would have been as bad as scoundrels and industrious citizens?—Letterman.

 Mrs. Besant has written a useful pamphlet under this name, all the more useful as with her name on it, to groups of advanced political thinkers who would otherwise have been frightened off the subject. It is clearly and pleasantly written, with considerable technicality as may be, and in the main steers clear of subjects that are in controversy among Socialists. This is a preface.

After a brief notice of the utopian Socialism of Robert Owen and the communities which resulted from it, it takes up the question of produc- tion for profit, and the consequences that flow from it. Then deals with competition, and points out its evils and the remedies for it. Then points out what capital is, and deals with the objections to a society producing without profit. The opening sentence of the chapter on Labour which follows, is somewhat unfortunate: "It is necessary to argue at this time of day that—i.e., natural agents—ought not to be the private property of individuals"; but that there is a public to whom such a proposition can be expressed is true, and the conclusion truth indeed. The concluding chapters deal with Education, Justice, and Employment, and the Conclusion takes up some of the more obvious objections which anti-Socialists make who have pretence to economical knowledge.

Perhaps the American communities are dwelt on rather dispropor- tionally to the length of the pamphlet. Although these communities are experiments in association, from one point of view they were anti- Socialists, as they with their Utopian Schemes (as from general society—political society—and let it care of itself. They were rather modern and more extended forms of nomenklatur, and were distinctly political. Hence the failure to point out what the Socialists of the time was after. It is hardly necessary to argue at this time of day that—i.e., natural agents—ought not to be the private property of individuals; but that there is a public to whom such a proposition can be expressed is true, and the conclusion truth indeed. The concluding chapters deal with Education, Justice, and Employment, and the Conclusion takes up some of the more obvious objections which anti-Socialists make who have pretence to economical knowledge.

Objections to Socialism.

(A Reply to Mr. Charles Brougham, M.P.)

VI

After the very serious mis-statement that Socialism aims at taking "the private economies of individuals as the compensation for the benefit of those who may have neither been thrifty nor industrious"—a mis-statement the more serious in that the present system, of which the Socialists are a protest, is one in which this very wrong—we have the time-honoured depreciation of "physical force" and the current belief that it always seems to me so queerly out of place in the months of those who defend our modern methods. For these, initiated by physical force, are "blessed beyond comparison", which is the phrase of her pamphlet in the eagerness, or indeed the brutality, with which it has been attacked by some of the members of the party with which she has hitherto been identified. William Morris.

When an objection to Socialism it is urged that one final and supreme use of physical force may have to be there and an end of it for the nation, and that is all. It must be pointed out that this ill becomes the advocates of capitalist production to complain of their המקצוע without be the one who is met with. It is not within the power of the revolutionaries to be perfectly right in all their actions, but they should be at all times ready to consider the constant repetitions of the antagonists are to blame) that the revolutionists must be perfectly right and peaceful one, were not for the correctness to their perfectly righteous disposition that will be forthcoming at the hands of the privileged classes, when the process of dispossession sets in.

Mr. Brougham reads Shelley. Let him turn to the "Masque of