There was no Socialism in England except perhaps of the Working-Class Movement and of the so-called Communism blended with a reflection from continental Socialism. The Middle Classes triumphed. The commercial successes were ignored by any do-gooders amongst them the workers: Liberalism in Whiggery was made victorious and seemed to many the farthest thing from the goal to be arrived at.

This is Changing; Socialism is becoming a hope to the workers and a fear to the Middle classes. Although indeed, here will talk about it as much as you please, and a few of them are prepared to declare themselves Socialists; they are not compelled to recognize the great fact of the class-war. A sort of conscience is waking up amongst these persons, stimulated by the extreme hideousness and obviousness of poverty in England. All kinds of schemes for the amelioration of the lot of the workers are set on foot by them: State-aided emigration to get rid of the misfits; many more attempts at turning back the hands of the clock by establishing peasant proprietorship, or village industries; insurance of workers à la Bismarck; the slight form of joint-stockery called Cooperation, brought down to mere philanthropy, and the preaching of Malthusian and thrift are tried in them by those bourgeois beginning to be conscious of the volcano on which their society rests.

It is true that in England up till quite lately the Government has been opposed to most of our intellectual men, though it has not been confined to those whom we call-
The main difficulty that meets us is the apathy of the men of the more consolidated trades; by land having been the first country that fell completely under the influence of the great industries; the men in the great manufacturing towns have been drilled for generations into dependence into looking upon themselves as a part of the factory, and their employer as a paymaster, with whom they might struggle at times, but who was necessary to their livelihood.

On the other hand, we have some of the opposition in feeling between the peasant and the town. This exists in France and other Continental countries.
The recent success of the farmers in the East of England has shown the need for a new form of compulsory purchase. The present system of the farmers is by no means popular, and may be forced to vote a new form of compulsory purchase.

The National Farmers' Union has favoured our case strongly, and the Irish affair (in which, by the way, all parties at home have not heartily) has quite broken up the old parties; so that the working-class has found more confidence in it, and that the more as the new political groups of the Socialist Radicals (who may be said to be represented in the press by the 'London Star') are the power in Parliament, and will be when the Irish question is solved or shelved.

Then we think good, because in our opinion (I speak here to the Socialists League), the working-class will only waste time and energy by trying to get their means of action. Parliament, so that I repeat we are free from making the extreme futility of the attempt to which have been made in this direction.

On the other hand the County Councils (newly established) have in the great towns and especially in London a strong sense of life and a tendency towards Socialism which were certainly never looked for by those who brought in the bill which created them; and it may be well hoped that they will form a rallying point for the people against the Centralizing bureaucratic Parliament which in England is free to be reactionary up to its last days. For indeed what is that parliament but a Committee defending on behalf of the Capitalists the right of property, which it is the business of Socialists to attack. This Committee is not sorry to have amongst its members of the exploiters classes, partly because their presence acts as a safety-valve for discontent, and partly.
The condition of the party in England will depend upon the growth of public opinion. I believe the organization of the party is bad; and when it has reached a certain point, organization will spring from out of it in such a way as to be irresistible. Moreover, I should mention, that in Australia, Socialism is now spreading, and that there it is not as it is expected in a fad, but of the English type, the very fact that Socialism in England began on the intellectual side gives us special hope that its spread will be steady, and that the idealism which will be large a part of the movement there is a necessary factor in the general movement. Surely it is dangerous for us to rest our hope on economic faddism, on the continued and steady growing deprecation of the bourgeoia power; the usual development of production to society, no doubt leads us to look for this; but then the historical development may interrupt it and give a new lease of life to the middle-class supremacy. England may yet go through another period of brilliant commercial prosperity; although it may well be, that owing to the new machinery and improvement, the workers will not profit by it in the same proportion as they did by the last one. But in any case, shall we cease to be Socialists because we are better fed slaves, more prosperous parasites than of old? No. The intellectual movement will save us from that, and will not allow us to be content with anything short of the realization of our ideal. We have learned that what we have to claim is complete equality of condition for all men; and that this claim can be made good, and we cannot unlearn the lesson once learned. We know also that however the lot of the some of the
The claim of which the English workers are learning to make will not stop short of a step towards complete independence and the responsibility which goes with it, in place of a slave's rationing and direct responsibility with it. But there is a danger of our going through a period of blunders and disappointment, by dressing into a more political party to be played on by political adventurers and dealers in votes for their own purposes. Which part, many think it necessary to feed the workers' hopes by agitating for a few palliative measures which the Bourgeois Parliament will only grant them if they achieve that they will be effective in effecting, and when even if effective, would leave the great mass of the workers free to vote — and to stand.

Two things I wish to claim on behalf of the English socialists: first, that however they may differ in opinion they are with a very few exceptions thoroughly international. They condemn jingoism and chauvinism to the utmost extent; for them the word 'nation' expresses a mere geographical idea; and they have so completely flung off the old prejudices of the Englishman that to them the British Empire is not a thing to be proud of, but a disgrace and a nuisance, a stain of past injustice and violence to be atoned for by all honest men wherever possible.

Again in virtue probably of their idealism English socialists have undertaken the guardianship of the aesthetic side of socialism, and have become the inhere
The accomplishment of our aims will be an enormous blessing for the world. But we must be content when we have reached the point of sowing. The next step of men and ideas will be to remove all that is harmful, to make them more powerful. We are no longer to fear the fear of starvation. We are to abolish the pain of oppression, so that we may as happy as we should be.

Therefore, let the movement on the whole be thorough and short. It has done good service to the society of men by putting the workers in a position of beautiful and complete life, which will be realized along with socialism, but which cannot be realized in full until the workers are in a definite position.

As is the case with all great movements, I think that a great deal of literature has come out of the socialist movement in England. Besides several labour papers, there have been two weekly papers, Justice representing the Social Democratic Federation, and The Commmunist representing the Socialist League. We also publish many pamphlets and leaflets (specimens of which are laid on the table) and larger works on socialism are not wanting. Besides which it may be mentioned as a sign of the times that it has become a sort of fashion amongst our modern novel writers to give their books, so to say, with a certain amount of socialism.

Socialism then is a plant healthy and sturdy growth, though it is young, and its blossom and fruit are long delayed.

William Morris