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THE
INDUSTRIAL PROBLEM
SOLVED.

BY
W. B. ROBERTSON.

“England is full of wealth, of multifarious produce, supply for human want in every kind—yet England is dying of inanition. With unabated bounty the land of England blooms and grows; waving with yellow harvests; thick-studded with workshops, industrial implements, with fifteen millions of workers, understood to be the strongest, the cunningest, and the willingest our earth ever had; these men are here, the work they have done, the fruit they have realised is here, abundant, exuberant on every hand of us; and behold some baleful fiat as of Enchantment has gone forth, saying, ‘Touch it not, ye master-workers, ye master-idlers; none of you can touch it, no man of you shall be the better for it; this is enchanted fruit.’”—
THOMAS CARLYLE (*Past and Present*).



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THE INDUSTRIAL PROBLEM SOLVED.

OVERPRODUCTION.—I.

BY over-production is meant that there are more commodities produced than can be sold. The problem, therefore, in connexion with over-production is, why can this surplus of commodities not be sold?

Many writers, among them John Stuart Mill, deny the possibility of a general over-supply. They maintain that, while there may be over-production as regards one or more kinds of commodities, there cannot be over-production in all kinds, so long as there is a human want unsatisfied. It is impossible, for instance, to have an over-supply of food so long as millions of our fellow-men are in need of the barest necessities of life. If there be any strength in an argument like this at all, it would follow, or rather it is implied in such argument, that the mere need, the mere human desire, for any given commodity is sufficient to set the machinery in motion to produce it. Here is a man with an empty stomach and in need of a meal, this of itself, is, on such grounds, sufficient to procure such meal; or here is another man with a bare back, and in need of a coat, this is enough to procure him the coat.

Now it must be plain to every one, that those that have nothing but empty stomachs and bare backs cannot influence in the slightest degree the quantity of food that may be produced, or the quantity of coats that may be made. Is any farmer going to plough and sow a field for men that come to him with nothing except empty stomachs; or is any tailor going to make coats for men that have nothing to show but bare backs?

Here, however, from one of the Cobden Club publications, are facts that show clearly enough that the quantity of food produced has nothing to do with the number of people that are in need of food, that in fact the more food there is, the greater will be the number of people in want.

In this pamphlet* we have the paradoxical statement that the present depression, which set in in 1884, "was the natural and necessary result of the improved and fairly good harvest with which this country was favoured in that year." This statement the author (Augustus Mongredien) proves by figures taken from the Board of Trade returns. Thus, in 1884, our imports and exports together were twenty-five million odd pounds sterling less than the average of the four previous years. This

* TRADE DEPRESSION: RECENT AND PRESENT.

diminution is accounted for by the fact that in the same year "our foreign supplies of cereals fell short of the previous years to the extent of 15½ millions of pounds sterling; and to that extent, therefore, we may infer that the home harvests of 1884 had exceeded in yield the harvests of the previous few years."

The effect of this extra harvest was, according to our authority, to lessen directly our importations of cereals; we had the cereals at home, and consequently did not require to buy them from foreign countries. Indirectly our exports were also lessened. Our whole foreign trade, exports and imports together, by this good harvest, Mr. Mongredien computes, was reduced by 43 millions of pounds sterling; for he considers the effects of this good harvest as extending into 1885. After making allowances he concludes, that this 43 millions worth of goods, represents from 2,500 to 3,000 cargoes; by so many cargoes, therefore, would our shipowners' trade be lessened; they would have that number of cargoes the less to carry. This sudden diminution in their business threw idle ships upon their hands; it then affected the shipbuilders, for the shipowners having more ships than they could find employment for, were of course not likely to order more. "As a natural consequence," Mr. Mongredien proceeds, "the diminished construction of ships (in which the consumption of iron enters so largely) occasioned a proportionate falling off in the demand for that metal, so that (other causes assisting) the wave of depression extended to the iron trade, and then spread to the closely connected coal-producing industries and others, which they influence more or less directly. Moreover, it would necessarily follow from there being between 2,500 and 3,000 fewer cargoes to load and unload at our chief ports, London, Liverpool, Glasgow, &c., that there would be less demand for persons living by that kind of labour, so that a number of dock labourers of all sorts would be thrown out of work. . . . On examination we find that the industries which really did most suffer from the recent and present depression are precisely those which we have enumerated above."

Such then is the account of trade depression given by the Cobden Club. There can be no questioning its accuracy so far as it goes; it leaves us helpless, however—in fact, it paralyzes us. The farmer always endeavours to make his labour as productive as possible—the better his crops the more he rejoices, and the more does the nation rejoice with him. How tempered must this joy be though, if its cause is also to be the means of throwing thousands of hard working men out of work, and depriving them of the necessaries of life! The bounties of Nature would thus seem to benefit no one, for the more bountiful she is, the less work is there for people to do, and in consequence the less able are they to get at these bounties.

Besides the foregoing facts, we have others showing that people may and do suffer want in the midst of plenty. The stocks of wheat held in Liverpool at the end of 1885 were 3,578,938 centals, while at the end of 1884 there were only 1,869,146 centals. Now, the winter 1885-6 was marked by great distress throughout the country; and yet we were more abundantly supplied in food-stuffs than we had ever been, for the figures taken at other ports besides Liverpool showed the same increase. The argument, therefore, that a general overproduction is impossible while there is human want can no longer be maintained.

It now remains for us to explain why overproduction comes about, and

why it is, as already remarked, that the more abundant commodities are, the greater will be the number of people in want. For this purpose it will be necessary for us to say a word upon the system of renumeration of labour.

The remuneration of every kind of labour is fixed in the same way, viz., by competition. This competition may be amongst the employers, or amongst the employed. When there is a great deal of work to be done, when everybody is in employment, and there is still a demand for more men, these additional men must be drawn from other masters; and to be so drawn inducements in the shape of higher wages must be held out to them. Under circumstances like these wages tend to rise.

In a state of society, for example, such as that presented by a newly settled country where human labour is little aided by machinery, the labouring classes are, it is well known, highly paid. The reason of this is because labourers are few compared with the amount of work that is offered. For these few labourers employers compete amongst themselves—each one holding out better inducements than the other. Take America some years ago; wages were high then because there were more labourers wanted than could be got. Not only were wages high, but masters were very civil to their servants, as is evidenced by the fact that servants were euphemistically called “helps,” allowed to sit at the same table with their employers, and treated in every way as equals. This courtesy, on the part of employers, is rapidly disappearing with the cause that gave rise to it; for labourers are no longer scarce in America, and if a servant dislikes to be called a servant, he can go about his business—there are plenty others willing to take his place. It was the scarcity of labour that gave rise to the appearance of a system of equality in America, which many attributed to the Republican form of Government. The form of Government had nothing whatever to do with it. So much then for the fixing of wages when labour is scarce.

When labour is plentiful, when there are a great many seeking work, the labourers compete with one another for such employment as there is to be had. This of course brings wages down. It is useless for a man to offer his services for five shillings a day, when there are plenty others willing to do the same thing for two shillings and sixpence. Thus one man underbids another, and the one whose necessities are the greatest is the one that will accept the lowest terms. It is this competition amongst the working-classes that has brought wages down to starvation point in the simpler kinds of work. Starving men and women compete with starving men and women, and are glad to get the opportunity of working long hours every day for a few coppers; because this is better than nothing at all.

The foregoing then is the method upon which wages are fixed, and it operates in every department of human activity. The reason that a navy is worse paid than a mechanic is simply because there are more men able to do navy's work than mechanic's work, and the competition is consequently keener amongst the navvies than amongst the mechanics. We might go through all the different kinds of labour, and we would find that wages in each kind are high or low according to the relation between the number of men seeking employment, and the quantity of employment to be got. The law of wages, then, may be stated in these words: Wages vary according to the relation between the quantity of labour offered and the quantity of labour required.

If people had borne this in mind, we would not have had so many expressions of surprise at the fact that our working population has made so little, if, indeed, any progress. We often hear our great wealth spoken of, the wonderful strides we have made, and yet only a few seem, and we are told this with astonishment, to have participated in our increased power. All this is quite in accordance with what Political Economy has predicted, as is shown by the following passage from Ricardo;—"If the shoes and clothing of the labourer could, by improvements in machinery, be produced by one fourth of the labour now necessary to their production, they would probably fall 75 per cent.; but so far is it from being true, that the labourer would thereby be enabled permanently to consume four coats, or four pairs of shoes, instead of one, that his wages would in no long time be adjusted by the effects of competition, and the stimulus to population, to the new value of the necessaries on which they were expended. If these improvements extended to all the objects of the labourers' consumption, we should find him, probably at the end of a very few years, in possession of only a small, if any, addition to his enjoyments." This was written at the beginning of the present century. It amounts to saying, "It makes no difference how much you improve your methods of production, the position of the labourer will not be one whit the better; he will not enjoy any more of the necessaries and conveniences of life, his command over these necessaries and conveniences will always be just enough to enable him to subsist and to raise up more labourers." This is perfectly true. It was at the beginning of the century, as we have just remarked, that Ricardo wrote the passage. Since then, we have introduced improvements into every kind of work, and the result is as predicted. The labourers are poor and ignorant; they still toil unceasingly; and they think themselves lucky if they can get the opportunity of undergoing this toil.

We shall now endeavour to give more pointedly, the reason of this anomalous position, the reason why in the midst of plenty people starve, why, in fact, the more plentiful things are the less able are we to get at them. As Carlyle says:—"We have more riches than any nation ever had before; we have less good of them than any nation ever had before. Our successful industry is hitherto unsuccessful; a strange success if we stop here! In the midst of plethoric plenty, the people perish; with gold walls and full barns, no man feels himself safe or satisfied. Workers, master-workers, unworkers, all men come to a pause; stand fixed, and cannot farther. Have we actually got enchanted then; accursed by some God!"

Now let us offer a simple illustration of some of the economic effects of such a system of remunerating labour. Suppose that the only thing we did in this country was to make cotton—a single industry is supposed because it simplifies matters; suppose, moreover, that we could make enough cotton to supply our own requirements for that article, and had enough to send to other countries for our food and whatever else we needed. At the beginning of the century we will further suppose that everybody is employed, that there is nobody out of work, and the wages are good enough to keep them comfortably and respectably. By and by improved methods of production and transit are introduced, and to such an extent that one man can do as much as five formerly did. As these improvements are applied four men out of every five would be thrown

out of work ; wages, moreover, would be reduced, for rather than be thrown out of work the men would offer their services at a lower rate, and competition amongst the workers would become keener. Here, then, with an increasing power of production, we would have a reduced number of consumers—these too getting a smaller share of the produce of their labour. What under such circumstances can be more natural than a glut, than over-production ?

With such a fair start then at the beginning of the century, we should be as bad to-day as we now actually are. The men that had been thrown out of work with every successive improvement, and their families, would have to live somehow ; many of them would become thieves and vagrants, many of them paupers. All this too would come about independently of the extraordinary tendency of population to increase. When we take this into account we can only wonder, not that evils are so rampant in society, but that society has continued so long upon such a basis.

The hard lot of man then would appear not to be due to the niggardliness of nature as we have been taught ; to have no connection with the curse that doomed him to eat his bread " by the sweat of his brow." It is due to a mere convention, the shadowy nature of which will appear clearly enough later on.

The real significance of over-production is to reduce our present industrial system to an absurdity. It is ridiculous for people to have to starve because they have grown too much food, to go unclad because they have made too many clothes, and unhoused because they have built too many houses. There would be work for all the unemployed to-morrow if the half of London were destroyed ; there is nothing like calamities for trade.

By bringing about over-production, then, the working population has proved our present industrial system to be false ; and how very unequal that system is we see every day. Here in a few words is one of its most glaring inequalities. The governing class has said to the working class, you go to work under this system—your share of the result of your labour will be fixed in this wise, our share of the result of *your* labour will be fixed in this other wise. So the working population said all right, took up their hammers and went to work. They weret old to work hard and ever harder, and overseers were put to see that they did work hard. But what is this that has come upon us now ? The governing class exclaim, " Stop ! you have produced too much ; you must lay down your hammers until we require you again ; we have quite enough here of everything to suit us—indeed more than enough. So you can go and shake your heels outside there while *we* enjoy ourselves and consume the things that *you* have made."

OVER-POPULATION.—II.

The view that attributes our social disorders to the fact that we are overpopulated, is perhaps more widely accepted than any other. The reason for this is because it is an easily understood view. What can be more clear than that, if there be a greater number of people in a community than can get employment, and if *the livelihood of these people depend upon their getting employment*, the privation of those that cannot get employment

is due to the fact that there is no room for them in such community? At one time it was universally believed that the sun moved round the earth; for what could be more clear than that, *if Rome continued to remain in the same spot* and the sun every day passed over it, the sun must so move? Rome, however, did not continue to remain in the same spot; hence what was so very clear was all wrong. Similarly the livelihood of man does not depend upon his getting employment, it depends upon his getting the means of livelihood; hence what is so very clear as to our being over-populated, may also be all wrong. This is a point, however, that remains for us to consider.

The reader has of course heard of Malthus and his celebrated essay on "Population." In that essay it was shown that in every community the number of members is limited by the means of subsistence at their command; increase the subsistence and an increased population will result; diminish the subsistence, and there follows a diminished population. "This is incontrovertibly true," he says. "Through the animal and vegetable kingdoms, Nature has scattered the seeds of life abroad with the most profuse and liberal hand; but has been comparatively sparing in the room and the nourishment necessary to rear them. The germs of existence contained in this earth, if they could freely develop themselves, would fill millions of worlds in a few thousand years. Necessity, that imperious, all pervading law of nature, restrains them within the prescribed bounds. The race of plants, and the race of animals shrink under this great restrictive law; and man cannot by any efforts of reason escape from it." Such was the truth that Malthus laboured to enforce—a truth that one would have thought so self-evident as not to need enforcing. His essay, however, is really nothing more than a demonstration of the extraordinary strength of the principle of self-conservation.

Malthusians consider themselves followers of Malthus on the ground that they accept and seek to promulgate his views on population. Let us consider for a moment their position.

This country, they say, is over-populated. Why? Because there are more people in it wanting work than can get work; many are consequently compelled to idleness, these not having any other way of procuring the necessaries of life except by labour, are consequently either thrown upon the generosity of their friends or become recipients of public relief, or criminals. In this simple way does the Malthusian explain all our social calamities, and, as the only remedy, he suggests that people must be more prudent, must regulate the number of children they bring into the world—in a word, the population of a country must correspond to the work to be done in that country, the more work the greater the population may be, the less work the less the population.

The reader will now see that there is a difference between the view of Malthus and the view of the Malthusian; the former set up subsistence as the limit to population, the latter sets up employment or work to be done—the more work there is to be done as already remarked, the more room is there for an increased population.

Let us now follow the Malthusian position to its logical issue. Why do we call one method of production or transit an improvement upon another? Simply because it involves less labour, simply because it abridges labour, and that is the reason that we adopt the improved method. Now, with every abridgment in the labour of making and

transferring things there becomes relatively, less and less labour to do, and consequently, the ideal population of the Malthusian becomes less and less. In this way, if the Malthusian position had free play, the most ingenious race, the race that is most apt to discover quicker and quicker methods of doing things, would thereby be always narrowing the limits of its population. It would consequently be the first to disappear from the face of the earth, the fittest to survive would be the most stupid, the unkindest countries would be the most densely populated; in a word, nature and man would be at daggers drawn.

We do not say that such is not the case to-day—in fact *it is the case*. Nature and man are at war, and all through one little fallacy in our economic system. Meanwhile as to our statement that it is the case that nature and man are at daggers drawn, that the stupidest, or least adaptive, are fittest to survive, we have practical proof of this in recent legislative action in America and Australia. Chinese labour was forbidden the markets of these countries, because the Chinaman can underbid the Anglo-Saxon. Laws are made to protect the weak against the strong; the strong man in the case just noticed, is the Chinaman, the weak, the Anglo-Saxon, who requires special protection. The fittest will always survive—that statement points to a law that we cannot alter. What we can alter, however, and what we must alter if we would continue our race—if, indeed, we wish to make any further progress at all—are the conditions that make the Chinaman and those that approach him in character the superior.

Suppose again, that the Malthusian doctrines were practically adopted and most rigidly carried out. Suppose that to-day our population was so regulated, that there was not an idle man in the kingdom, not a pauper, not even a criminal. Every one is fed, and clad, and legitimately employed. There remains, however, in this happy state of affairs just one thing that we have got to-day, and that is our present industrial system.

Let us now take a step forward from this ideal point to a time when improved methods of production and transit have been introduced. Commodities can be manufactured with less labour, goods can be conveyed to their destinations with less labour—in a word, we shall suppose, as is really what happens, that in nearly every department of human effort, improvements have been introduced. They are called improvements, because they lessen labour. What then would be the economic effect of a year's progress upon the ideal state of affairs that we have just been imagining? The first effect would be that to make the same quantity of manufactures, less workmen would be required; masters would consequently have to discharge some of their men. Now, what becomes of these men? Well, they do not want to be discharged, so they offer their services at a lower wage, competition amongst the workmen for such employment as there is to be had becomes keener, wages consequently become lower, for masters are obliged to follow the market rate of wages. No matter, however, whether wages be high or low, the masters cannot employ as many men as they did before the introduction of the supposed improvements. What, then, becomes of the surplus? Why, enforced idleness, and with it loss of independence: then as we go on improving, we recruit the ranks of the enforced idlers—they are enforced idlers at first—and out of them springs the necessity for those vigorous institutions police courts, prisons, and workhouses.

The Malthusian would thus have to resort periodically to some drastic measures to restore the balance between employment and population.

One word more in connexion with improvements. We have seen their effect to be the lessening the number of those employed and the lowering of wages. Now here comes *the economic effect par excellence*. Fewer men in employment at reduced wages means a diminution in the power of the community to consume. Improved methods of production, &c., are ever increasing our power over nature, our power to produce; they are at the same time, by rendering competition amongst labourers keener and keener, diminishing our power to consume. This is going on all over the world, is operating upon the industrial classes in every civilised community, is the noose with which we are strangling ourselves, is in the words of Carlyle, "the accursed invisible night-mare that is crushing out the life of us and ours."

Can anyone wonder that the markets of the world are glutted? The supply pipes are ever widening, the waste pipes ever contracting: of course, there is a running over; of course, as Carlyle says, our wealth "is an enchanted wealth."

THE REMEDY.—III.

The main evils that result from our present economic system have appeared from our observations on over-production and over-population. Over-production and over-population are themselves under existing arrangements sources of great suffering. Both, curiously enough, too, exist together. This in itself shews that there must be some contradictory forces in operation in the industrial world; for is it not ridiculous that we should have too large a population while we are complaining of having too great an abundance of useful things? How are we to tell when a population is great or small? By a reference to the limit of population. Now the limit to population is professed to be the means of subsistence. But our population is so far from pressing upon this limit that we are complaining of a too abundant supply of the means of subsistence. Here then is an absurdity; and we are landed in this absurdity because the limit to population is not as supposed, the means of subsistence, but the employment offered in a community. By referring to this limit, the employment offered in a community, we find that our population is too great; for there are many more than can get employment, and by so many is our population excessive. Now, it remains for us to ask ourselves whether we are to maintain this limiting principle, or whether it would not be better for us to adopt another.

We have already shewn that it is impossible to have population regulated by the employment to be had in a community because such employment is always varying, is by the introduction of improved methods of production always becoming less and less. Now, here is a fertile source of evil; for with every contraction of the field of employment some are thrust out of that field, these keep on recruiting the everlasting army of paupers and criminals, and form the dregs of society. They are forced into these positions, and no subsequent action on the part of society is of any avail in recalling them. There is the field of labour, it is full;

place another man in it, it is more than full ; the consequence is that either that man or some one else must go out.

Besides paupers and criminals, and what are called the dregs of society, such a limiting principle to population leads in its working out to deterioration in workmanship, and indeed in human character. As already shown, improvements by lessening the demand for labour lead to a keener competition amongst labourers, and thereby lead to a contraction of the labourers' pockets ; to meet this diminished consuming power commodities have to be made as cheaply as possible ; there is no effective demand for good materials, consequently jerrymaundering is in the ascendant. As to the deterioration in human character that is continually going on, we have already shown what class is best fitted to survive. It is the class that can live on least, whose manner of living approaches more and more closely to the beasts. Thus is our civilisation being undermined, and thus are all our attempts at social progress frustrated. It is apparent, then, that some other limit to population must be substituted for the one that prevails to-day, and it is such other limit that we now proceed to unfold.

This other limit is the means of subsistence—the very limit that is supposed to be in operation, but which we have shown to be not the case. Now, in the first place, with such a limit as the means of subsistence over-population would be impossible ; for no community could ever consist of more members than it could support. This, of course, is evident, and requires no further elucidation.

In speaking of the limiting principle that is in operation now, viz., employment, we objected to it that it was always varying. Might not the means of subsistence vary too ? If, moreover, at any time, with the means of subsistence as the limit to population there should become less subsistence than will suffice to maintain the whole population, who is to have such subsistence and who is to go without ? Of course the means of subsistence might vary ; the difficulties that might arise from such a possibility will, however, disappear after we have shown how this limit is to be practically adopted, and this brings us to enquire into the nature of property.

What is property ? Why does society have such a thing as property at all ? Why should it put itself about to ensure any man in the possession of whatever goods he may have got hold of ? The only reason that can be given for this, and a very good one it is, is to encourage industry. For instance, I make chairs ; suppose that as soon as I have done so a stronger man than myself comes along and takes them from me ; I should most certainly come to the conclusion to make no more chairs, because I would derive no benefit from pursuing such a course, and would at once betake myself to procuring whatever I wanted by stealing also. Of course, there would very soon be nothing to steal, and society would at once collapse. To prevent this collapse, however, and to preserve its own life, society steps forward and says that these chairs are mine, that they are mine because I made them ; the reason that such a course of conduct on the part of society preserves its life is because I am thereby encouraged to go on making more chairs, and every other maker of everything else is encouraged in the same way. Thus are the members of the community kept supplied with such commodities as are required.

The institution of private property, then, is maintained by society

for the sake of encouraging industry, and for the sake of nothing else, except what is implied in the encouragement of industry—viz., the continuance of society. Such, then, is the reason why we have such a thing as property. How far does society practically adhere to this, the recognised theory of property? It has departed from it as far as it can. To see that this is so, the merest glance round is sufficient; for those that have made everything have got nothing. As soon as an article has been made it is by some magical operation—an operation so subtle that it is scarce perceptible—snatched from the maker, and becomes the property of some one else. Speaking in this connection John Stuart Mill says that he would prefer Communism itself to such an unholy state of affairs. “If,” he says, “the institution of private property necessarily carried with it as a consequence that the produce of labour should be apportioned as we now see it, almost in an inverse ratio to the labour—the largest portions to those who have never worked at all, the next largest to those whose work is almost nominal, and so, in a descending scale, the remuneration dwindling as the work grows harder and more disagreeable, until the most fatiguing and exhausting bodily labour cannot count with certainty on being able to earn even the necessaries of life: if this, or communism were the alternative, all the difficulties, great or small, of communism would be but as dust in the balance.” Surely it cannot be impossible for society to carry out so simple a theory—a theory that it recognises and accepts as true—as to see that people have the produce of their own labour, that industry is rewarded and encouraged.

The grossest inconsistency on the part of society as regards property is the maintenance of property in land. How can that encourage industry? It is only the produce of the land, the result of labour, that can be called property. By insuring to this individual or to that individual this or that tract of land, what industry does society encourage? It encourages the industry of the idle—a terrible industry, a scourge: it reduces thousands of its members to the position of flunkeys, ministers to idleness.

As we have already said, the view that property is maintained in a community for the purpose of encouraging industry and for no other purpose, is not new neither is it denied. All that it implies is that men are to be rewarded according to their industry—this, no one can for a moment deny, is far from being practically carried out; in fact, we practically carry out the very opposite doctrine.

Here then are two principles, viz.: that population is limited by subsistence and that property is instituted to encourage industry; that are universally accepted and argued upon, as if they were carried into practice; we have shown that the one not carried into practice, however, seeks to deny them. Why should they not be adopted by society? It is the adoption of these two principles, and of these two principles alone that is recommended here. Indeed by seeing that the theory of property alone is applied, the limiting principle to population will be implicitly applied too.

Such, and such alone, is the work that lies before reformers now.

THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION.

OBJECT.

The Establishment of a Free Condition of Society based on the principle of Political Equality, with Equal Social Rights for all and the complete Emancipation of Labour.

PROGRAMME.

1. All Officers or Administrators to be elected by Equal Direct Adult Suffrage, and to be paid by the Community.
2. Legislation by the People, in such wise that no project of Law shall become legally binding till accepted by the Majority of the People.
3. The Abolition of a Standing Army, and the Establishment of a National Citizen Force; the People to decide on Peace or War.
4. All Education, higher no less than elementary, to be Free, Compulsory, Secular, and Industrial for all alike.
5. The Administration of Justice to be Free and Gratuitous for all Members of Society.
6. The Land with all the Mines, Railways and other Means of Transit, to be declared and treated as Collective or Common Property.
7. Ireland and all other parts of the Empire to have Legislative Independence.
8. The Production of Wealth to be regulated by Society in the common interest of all its Members.
9. The Means of Production, Distribution and Exchange to be declared and treated as Collective or Common Property.

As measures called for to palliate the evils of our existing society the Social-Democratic Federation urges for immediate adoption:—

The Compulsory Construction of healthy artizan's and agricultural labourers' dwellings in proportion to the population, such dwellings to be let at rents to cover the cost of construction and maintenance alone.

Free Compulsory Education for all classes, together with the provision of at least one wholesome meal a day in each school.

Eight Hours or less to be the normal working day in all trades.

Cumulative Taxation upon all incomes above a fixed minimum not exceeding £300 a year.

State Appropriation of Railways, with or without compensation.

The establishment of National Banks, which shall absorb all private institutions that derive a profit from operations in money or credit.

Rapid Extinction of the National Debt.

Nationalisation of the Land, and organisation of agricultural and industrial armies under State control on Co-operative principles.

As means for the peaceable attainment of these objects the Social-Democratic Federation advocates:

ADULT SUFFRAGE. ANNUAL PARLIAMENTS. PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION. PAYMENT OF MEMBERS; AND OFFICIAL EXPENSES OF ELECTION OUT OF THE RATES. ABOLITION OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS AND ALL HEREDITARY AUTHORITIES. DISESTABLISHMENT AND DISENDOWMENT OF ALL STATE CHURCHES.

Secretary, Social-Democratic Federation, Bridge House, Blackfriars, E.C.

All who are interested in Socialism should read

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