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HEALTHIEST, AND CLEANEST PAPER IN THE KINGDOM.

Edited by

Robert Blatchford

(NUNQUAM),

Author of "Merrie England," "Britain for the British," "God and My Neighbour,"
"Not Guilty," "Tommy Atkins," "Tales
for the Marines," "A Bohemian Girl," etc.

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help it.

The CLARION is like a wife. must take it for ever, and for better or worse.

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Why the Old Parties Will Not Do.

THE old parties are no use to Labour

1. Because their interests are mostly opposed to the interests of Labour.

2. Because such reform as they promise is mostly political, and the kind of reform needed by Labour is industrial and social reform.

Putting the broadest construction upon them, it may be said that the practical politics of both parties are within the lines of the following pro-

Manhood Suffrage.
 Payment of Members of Parlia-

ment.
3. Payment of Election Expenses.

The Second Ballot.
Abolition of Dual Voting.
Disestablishment of the Church.
Abolition of the House of Lords.

And it is alleged by large numbers of people, all of them, for some inexplicable reason, proud of their hard common sense, that the passing of this programme into law would, in some manner yet to be expounded, make miserable England into merry Eng-land, and silence the visionaries and

and, and shence the visionaries and agitators for ever.

Now, with all deference and in all humility, I say to these practical politicians that the above programme, if it became law to-morrow, would not, for any practical purpose, be worth the paper it was printed on.

Some of the real evils of the time, the real causes of England's distress, are:

The unjust monopoly of the land.
 The unjust extortion of interest.
 The universal system of suicidal

competition.

4. The baseness of popular ideals.

5. The disorganisation of the forces for the production of wealth. he unjust distribution of wealth.

7. The confusions and contradictions of the moral ethics of the nation, with resultant unjust laws and unfair conditions of

There I will stop. Against the seven remedies I will put seven evils, and I say that not one of the remedies can cure any one of the evils.

Allow me to offer the example of

In the first place, I assume that in America the electoral power of the people is much greater than it is here.

I will give one or two areas. I will give one or two examples. In America, I understand, they have:

No Established Church.

No House of Lords.
 Members of the Legislature are paid.
 The people have Universal Suffrage.

There are four out of the seven branches of the practical politicians' programme in actual existence.

For the other three:

The Abolition of Dual Voting; The Payment of Election Expenses; and The Second Ballot-

cannot answer; but these do not seem to have done quite as much for France as our practical men expect them to do for England.

Very well, America has nearly all that our practical politicians promise us. Is America, therefore, so much better off as to justify us in accepting the seven-branched programme as salvation?

About thirty years ago there was a committee appointed in New York to investigate the "great increase in crime." The Secretary of the New York Prison Association, giving evidence, said:

Eighty per cent. at least of the crimes against property and against the person are perpetrated by in-dividuals who have either lost connection with home life or never had any, or whose homes have ceased to be sufficiently separate, decent, and desirable to afford what are regarded as ordinary wholesome influences of home and family.

The younger criminals seem to come almost exclusively from the

worst tenement-house districts.

These tenements, it seems, are slums. Of the evil of these places, of the miseries of them, we shall hear more presently. Mr. Jacob A. Riis, in "How the Other Half Lives," asserts again and again that the slums make the disease, the crime, and the wretchedness of New York:

In the tenements all the influences make for evil, because they are the hot-beds that carry death to rich and poor alike; the nurseries of pauperism and crime, that fill our pauperism and crime, that fill our gaols and police courts; that throw off a scum of forty thousand human wrecks to the island asylums and workhouses year by year; that turned out, in the last eight years, a round half-million of beggars to prey upon our charities; that maintain a standing army of ten thousand tramps, with all that that implies; because, above all, they touch the family life with moral contagion.

Well, that is what the American vriter thinks of the tenement system
of the New York slums.

Now comes the important question What is the extent of these slums? And on this point Mr. Riis declares more than once that the extent is enormous:

To-day (1891) three-fourths of best P New York's people live in the tene-

ments, and the nineteenth century drift of the population to the cities is sending ever-increasing multi-tudes to crowd them.

Where are the tenements of to-day? Say, rather, where are they not? In fifty years they have crept up from the Fourth Ward Slums and the Fifth Points, the whole length of the island, and have pol-luted the annexed district to the luted the annexed district to the Westchester line. Crowding all the Westchester line. Crowding all the lower wards, where business leaves a foot of ground unclaimed; strung along both rivers, like ball and chain tied to the foot of every street, and filling up Harlem with their restless, pent-up multitudes, they hold within their clutch the wealth and business of New York—bold them at their mercy in the hold them at their mercy, in the day of mob-rule and wrath.

It seems to me, as an unpractical man, that a practical programme which results in 522 persons to the acre, 18 hours a day for bread and butter, and nearly 4,000 pauper funerals a year in one city, is a programme which only very practical gramme which folks anough to fall. men would be fools enough to fight

How many years is it since the How many years is it since the Newcastle programme was issued? What did it promise that the poor workers of America and France have not already obtained? What good would it doyou if you got it? And when do you think you are likely to get it? Is it any nearer now than it was seven years ago? Will it be any nearer ten years hence than it is now if you wait for the practical politicians of the old

years hence than it is now if you wait for the practical politicians of the old parties to give it to you?

One of the great stumbling-blocks in the way of all progress for Labour is the lingering belief of the working man in the Liberal Party.

In the past the Liberals were regarded as the party of progress. They won many fiscal and political reforms for the people. And now, when they will not, or cannot, go any farther, their leaders talk about "ingratitude" if the worker is advised to leave them and form a Labour Party.

But when John Bright refused te go any farther, when he refused to go

go any farther, when he refused to go as far as Home Rule, did the Libera as far as Home Rule, did the Liberal Party think of gratitude to ohe of their greatest men? No. They dropped John Bright, and they blamed him because he had halted.

Then why should they demand that you shall stay with them out of gratitude now they have halted?

The Liberal Party claim to be the worker's friends. What have they done for him during the last ten

worker's friends. What have they done for him during the last ten years? What are they willing to do

for him now? Here is a quotation from a speech Harcourt:

An attempt is being sedulously made to identify the Liberal Government and the Liberal Party with dreamers of dreams, with wild anarchial ideas, and anti-social projects. Gentlemen, I say, if I have a right to speak on behalf of the Liberal Party, that we have no sympathy with these mischief-makers at all. The Liberal Party has no share in them: their policy is a constant share in them; their policy is a constructive policy; they have no revolutionary schemes either in politics, in society, or in trade.

You may say that is old. Try this new one. It is from the lips of Mr. Harmsworth, the "official Liberal candidate" at the last by-election in North-East Lanark:

My own opinion is that a modus vivendi should be arrived at between the official Liberal Party and tween the official Liberal Party and such Labour organisations as desire Parliamentary representation, provided, of course, that they are not tainted with Socialist doctrines. It should not be difficult to come to something like an amicable settlement. I must say that it came upon me with something of a shock to find that amongst those who sent messages to the Socialist candidate wishing success to him in his propaganda were two Members of Parliament who profess allegiance to the Liberal Party.

Provided, "of course," that then

Provided, "of course," that they not tainted with socialist doctrines with Socialist doctrines and Mr. doctrines. Sir William Harcourt and I Harmsworth will have no dealings.

Now, if you read what I have written in "Britain for the British," you will see that there is no possible reform that can do the workers any real or lasting good unless that reform is tainted with Socialist doctrines.

Only legislation of a Socialistic nature can benefit the working class. And that kind of legislation the Liberals will not touch.

It is true there are some individual members amongst the Radicals who are prepared to go a good way with the Socialists. But what can they do? In the House they must obey the Party Whip, and the Party Whip never cracks for Socialistic measures.

Return a hundred Labour men to the House of Commons, and the Liberal Party will be stronger than if a hundred Liberals were sent in their a nundred Liberals were sent in their place, for there is not a sound plank in the Liberal programme which the Labour M.P. would wish removed.

But do you doubt for a moment that the presence in the House of a hundred Labour members would do no

more for Labour than the presence in their stead of a hundred Liberals? A

working man must be very dull if he believes that.

The Liberal Party may be a better Party than the Tory Party, but the best Party for Labour is a Labour

ECONOMIC BALLADS.

No. I.—Useful Employment.



THERE were two jovial farmers, Who farmed a piece of land; When the skylark rose, They donned their hose, And took their spades in hand.

There was a wealthy landlord,

A man of noble birth; And fifty per cent. He took in rent From the produce of the earth. Those farmers twain, between them

Grew wheat enow for four; And "two sacks he, And one each we,' Was how they shared their store. One sack sufficed each farmer,

Well used to frugal fare; But the lord waxed fat, And, in spite of that, Might not consume his share.

Then spake that noble landlord, "My capital is large, And I'll spend a hunk On a menial flunk, To flunkey at my charge."

Straightway he took one farmer From the soil both tilled so well And bade him sprawl In his master's hall And answer to the bell.

Thus was the other farmer Left on the land alone. Who much perplexed, And somewhat vexed, Began to maken moan.

'We two, to find four portions, Were wont eight hours to delve But now poor me To fork out three, Must labour hours twelve."



He hied him to the landlord, To whom he made complaint: 'This here ain't right, By a bloomin' sight. No, bust me! sir, it ain't."

'Tut," quoth the lord, "how foolish. Come, don't your labour shirk; Nor grudge my rent, For though 'tis spent, It finds your comrade work!"

The farmer stood astonied To hear this answer pat; He scratched his head, Then slowly said, 'I'd never thought o' that.

If so be this 'ere feller, In uniform so bright, Be kept by ye, And not by me, I s'pose it be all right."

And ever since that morning, Poor Hodge has been content To work and slave And scrape and save, To raise his lordship's rent.

Meanwhile the lusty landlord By Hodge's work exists; And loves to sing, God save the King And the great economists."

The Clarion Vans.

What They are and What They Have Done.

THE Clarion Van made its first | taken the matter up. A meeting was appearance in Liverpool in 1895. The held from the van to discuss the queswinter was a hard one, the number of unemployed large, and on top of all devoted much study to the housing come the great frost.

The local authorities denied the existence of exceptional distress; the Press backed them up. In a public speech the Lord Mayor of Liverpool courteously said :

"The Unemployed Might Go to the Devil."

Mr. Ranstead, the owner of the van, recognised at once the psychological moment, and decided to prove the position of the unemployed. He sent round a notice that hot soup would be sold from the van, in front of St. George's Hall, at a farthing a mug. In three days the wide space in front of the hall was besieged by thousands of clamorous, starving people. The effect was electrical. People who passed and saw the crowd stopped their carriages or got down from trams and 'buses and bought tickets and distributed them among the poor. The policemen, who, headed by their inspector, were sent to prevent obstruction and disorder, contributed to the funds. Money poured in. It roused Liverpool. Every charitable organisation in the city was shamed into action. The starving were fed by the thousand.

But for the van campaign there would have been no extraordinary relief, and the unemployed would have had no refuge but that recommended by the Lord Mayor.

How We First Came to Have a Clarion Van.

"The suggestion of a Clarion van came from my husband, and like a dutiful wife I obeyed!" writes Julia Dawson. "This was in 1896; but I couldn't have obeyed if the 'Candid Friend' (Mr. W. Ranstead) hadn't kindly given us a van free of all costand if the readers of the CLARION had not generously opened their purses for travelling expenses, and if the ablest workers in the Socialist movement had not kindly lectured from the vans —in many cases gratuitously—besides helping in other ways. As the Clarion Women's van, the pioneer van did such noble work in the summer of 1896, that none would let me rest till I got another, and yet another-and so I did."

This spring there will be three or four vans on the road, each touring a different district of Scotland or England.

The Plan of Campaign.

This has been to send out a van with one or more lecturers living in it, who hold meetings from the van platform. The winter van, recently started, has two objects in view. Its first concern is to carry on the work when the weather makes outdoor meetings impossible. Secondly, it seeks to strengthen and confirm the impression left by the earlier van. The winter lecturer generally follows the route taken by the van during the previous summer months.

There is no doubt as to the advan-

tages of the vans.

By using them we reach many people whom the ordinary speaker can never reach. Our van renders us independent of a hall to speak in, a place for lecturers to stay in, or even an organised body of sympathisers to make advance arrangements. The van, moreover, is to a large extent self-sufficient.

Then again, the van itself acts as an attraction to many people who would not attend ordinary meetings. The one great enemy is indifference, and the vans provoke curiosity straight away.

The Clarion vanner does not seek the beautiful in nature, nor does he pitch his house in the quiet places of the earth. He has no bed of wild flowers upon which to repose when tired, nor breezy upland, nor gentle groves for his pleasure. There is no tangible reward for him at the close

tangible reward for him at the close of his day's labour—such as a work of art, or a thing of beauty.

He must go to the haunts of men, to the noisy, reeking dens and alleys where dwells oppressed humanity. He must seek the antithesis of beauty, in order, where possible, to root it out. His path is strewn with thorns. He is despised, ridiculed, insulted by those whom he would release from bondage, and his great message of love, liberty, justice, and the true charity, which is exercised as a duty, by the strong on behalf of the weak, is rejected with scorn.

Yet no one can tell how far-reaching the good is, and may be, that is wrought by the Clarion van propaganda.

For Instance.

When the van visited Neath, the housing question had not been heard of; the slums were such as to call for strong measures, but no one had the strong measures, but no one had the strong measures are success; good strong measures, but no one had the strong measures are success; good strong measures, but no one had the strong measures are success; good strong measures are success; good strong measures are success.

tion. Robert Williams, who has question, and whose work in the housing matter is well known, was specially invited from London by the vanners for the meeting. The meeting was a large one, and included several town councillors, ministers, and the sanitary inspector. Williams made scathing comments on the Neath slums, illustrated by diagrams drawn

to scale. An appeal was made to the

meeting for twelve men to sign the

necessary requisition. The application

was made the next day, and the hous-

ing question in Neath began to be

solved by the aid of the New Act.

We give below a few expressions of opinion on the work of the vans from well-known clergymen, scientists, and

The Rev. John Clifford.

Pastor, Westbourne Park Chapel, London, W.

"It is good news that the Clarion van lecturing work is about to be resumed. This work will rouse Britons from their apathy, and direct their thinking to the roots and sources of our social evils."

The Rev. Percy Dearmer.

"The task of getting people to think, and to revise their present unsatisfactory moral code, in the light of a higher and more Christian one, is difficult enough in the great centres; doubly difficult is it in the country districts. Therefore, good luck to the two vans, and they make many converts."

Canon Scott Holland.

"You Clarion folk have forced us to fall back on the ultimate principle of social welfare, and to look to it that we can meet your challenge with a clear conscience. That is why we thank you."

The Hon. and Rev. J. Adderley, "I am always glad to hear of any fresh effort towards social reform,

and the Clarion van has my best The Rev. Stopford A. Brooke. "Of course, I sympathise with the CLARION'S main action aims, and with

its van. Success in its mission and in the education it is giving to those who are ignorant of the principles of a wise, unviolent, self-sacrificing, and yet determined Socialism.'

The Rev. Cartmel Robinson. "Cartmel," of the "Clarion."

"I am confident that wherever the Clarion vans go they will hold up the same standard of conduct and character; that they will preach their evangel without faltering, yet with infinite patience, and that sort of noble restraint which seems always to go with deep unswerving purpose. . . . And so good luck to you.'

Dr. A. R. Wallace. LL.D., D.C.L., F.R.S.

"I congratulate you heartily upon your two vans. They will perhaps do as much for Socialism as the CLARION itself. However good the written word may be, the spoken word is better, when you get the right people to speak it, with knowledge and from the heart, and that I know will be the case with your vanners. The experience of the vans of the Land Nationalisation Society, and of the Land Restoration League, shows that a van is itself an attraction, in all out of the way places, and almost always secures an audience."

Right Hon. John Burns, M.P.

"I wish your Clarion vans all the success they deserve. If your Clarion vans will call the people back to their better senses and rekindle their enthusiasm for good old time ideals, then a great and good work will be done. In that work none wishes you more success than yours sincerely."

Richard Bell, M.P.

General Secretary, Amalgamated Society Railway Servants.

I trust that the occupants of the "I trust that the occupants of the vans will be able to enlighten the workers generally as to the necessity there is for them to exercise the powers they already possess."

The Countess of Warwick.

"I am very glad to hear that you have been successful in starting two Clarion vans in England and Scotland. I am sure the lectures on these tours will be most helpful, and I do hope the vans will not neglect the rural districts."

G. N. Barnes, M.P.

Secretary Amalgamated Society Engineers.