The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

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NOTES ON PASSING EVENTS.

Mr. Justice Grantham, in charging the Grand Jury at Norwich, apropos of the events which so unhappily delivered two of our comrades to the tender mercies of that strange specimen of humanity, the Special Police in a high place, sung a song of triumph over that glorious institution, the workhouse. Oddly enough, in the issue of the day before the same paper that gave us the solemn wisdom of this genius, there is printed a paragraph which is a good commentary on that blessing of modern times—that refuge for the unlucky which, according to his lordship, affords such a firm and satisfactory stand-point from which to aim at the conquest of health and wealth—the workhouse. We give the passage in full:

"WANDSWORTH.—CACTUS AND THEIR FOOD.—James Harding and George Wright were placed in the dock charged with refusing to work while casual pavers in Wandsworth workhouse.—George Cheesle, the superintendent, said the prisoners were admitted on Saturday night, and that he permitted me to set them to work. Both refused to work.—The prisoner Wright said he could not work on the food given to him. He had dry bread, and was put in a cell, a place of punishment with cold bread all night. He would not go to the workhouse for the Queen of England.—The superintendent said the wards were heated. The food consisted of eight ounces of bread for breakfast, half-a-pound with 1½ ounces of cheese as dinner, and eight ounces of bread with hot water to drink for supper.—Mr. Bennett: Not any cocoa, nor anything of the kind?—No, my lord.—The prisoner said he had a pot of hot water and dirty bread, and that all the pail of hot water was brought in as if to a horse.—The witness stated that the diet was given by direction of the Local Government Board.—Mr. Bennett said the prisoner must go to the Local Government Board.—The prisoner said he might as well go to Buckingham Palace, and knock at the door and ask for the Queen.—Mr. Bennett then committed the prisoners for seven days."

The only comment on this paragraph that is possible is to ask if there is not some mistake in the report that the prisoners were sent to prison for seven days?

Mr. Justice Nupkins (we ask pardon, Grantham), being in a jovial and joking humour apparently, was so pleasant as to say that certain persons who misled the people and told them they were badly treated—to be sure: badly treated when going to the workhouse they can get their water hot; hot water, the drink at present of the more refined among the "cultivated classes"—that they, the south-west classes, told the working classes that they ought to have money whether they worked for it or not. Setting aside Mr. Justice Nupkins' confusion of ideas about the working-classes who don't work, which is of itself pretty to behold, his lordship has only to attend a few Socialist meetings (he might draw up his carriage at the edge of the crowd) to hear those who want to have money without working for it very sharply denounced by those south-west classes who tell the working classes that they ought to have money whether they worked for it or not. He would there learn that the living on other people without working is the very thing we demand to be abolished, though it must be admitted that at present it is the very foundation of that society of which his lordship is sostartling an ornament.

It was announced last week that the Government were going to make a new departure in coercion, and would bring forward a regular gagging Bill, which would serve for arranging Irish affairs at present, and would also be available for dealing with English, Scotch, or Welsh discontent, as it was to be made applicable to the whole of the United Kingdom. Socialist organisations, we were told, might expect to be particularly honoured by the notice of this new Act.

This news seemed from the first almost too good to be true; but it seems it was true for the time, and that the Tory Government, on the look out for something to damage their really strong position, had hit on this idea, and the Government, from the Socialistic one. But unlikly it is almost impossible for them to go on with the gagging enterprises, as it would stir up the vigorous opposition of the Radicals, and even the Liberals would be ashamed into voting against such a measure. Accordingly they are now backing down, and are without the bill on their hands to make their case for Ireland, though even on these terms they have very little chance of getting it through Parliament.

Mr. Goschen is carrying on his candidature for Liverpool merily, and in spite of the result of the last election, in which the Liberal candidate was successful, he will probably get in, owing to the servility of all parties towards a distinguished official: “a man of so much importance,” and so forth. Meantime this light of intellectual finance has introduced himself by making a long speech down there which was really remarkable for emptiness, dulness, and twaddle, even among election speeches.

Apropos of Members of Parliament, the following story told by Mr. Labouchere at Spalding on Thursday week is too good to be lost. He said:

"The atmosphere of the House of Commons does not seem to agree with Radicals. They seem to want to become fine gentlemen. One, however, remembered a division with regard to the adjournment of Mr. Braslaugh. About ten minutes before the division a highly respectable gentleman on the Liberal side of the House came to me and said, ‘I am thinking this over, and my conscience won’t allow me to vote for Braslaugh.’ I replied, ‘I have not got time enough to talk about your conscience—what do you want?’ The Member said, ‘What do you mean I am not that sort of person;’ whereas on I said, ‘Do you want to be made a knight?’ and the gentleman replied, ‘No, you are entirely mistaken.’ I next asked him, ‘Have you got a wife?’ and he answered, ‘Yes.’ Well, do you get asked to those crowds, those receptions, at the Foreign Office? ’ The hon. Member admitted that he and his wife were ‘touched’ that they had not, and then I said, ‘You go in and vote, and I’ll see that you are asked to them in the future,’ and in about ten minutes afterwards I polled that the House of Commons wanted to see the hon. Member.

Walpole, in the good old briling days, would have been happy if he could have bought his votes as cheap as that.

The Commission on the Depression of Trade has issued its report. It will be criticised hereafter in these columns in some detail, so that it may go over for the present with a few words. It is a matter of course that the Commissioners try to put the best face possible on the state of things commercial, though they do not succeed very well in the attempt. They say, ‘There can be no question that the workman is in this country, when fully employed, in almost every respect in a better position than his competitors in foreign countries.’ The falsity is our own. Will the Commissioners pretend that they do not know that even in good years the great mass of working-men in and about London are unemployed for four months out of the twelve? that the wages of the great industries have to be averaged, and that their wages, having to insure, so to say, against the months that they are ‘at play,’ from strikes and lock-outs and the like? Will they say where in Europe or Asia they can find a workman more miserably pinched and resourceless than the London workman, a travelling labourer with his income of 10s. a week when things are going well?

Or need one keep one’s patience any longer with those miserable fools and liars, paid to lie and paid to be dull by a blind society amidst its last corruption? It is true that they are not paid to be imaginative; but a little imagination is necessary to most men, if only to keep their bodies from sticking so ill of thing for Socialism. On their imagination to bear upon facts, and try to picture their noble and cultivated selves reduced to the condition of those workmen whose lot they are so contented with. Let them think of themselves as living and keeping a home together on 10s. a week in a Gloucestershire cottage, or worse still, on 10s. in a London slum; and if they have really tried to do so and have any honesty left in them, if they can do nothing else, at least let them hold their tongues and live on the proceeds of the perpetual robbery which habit has made them look upon as a holy right and the cement of society.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

MEN VERSUS CLASSES.

The well-intentioned, kind-hearted gentleman who perspires philanthropy all over at the bare thought of the working-classes, is often shocked at the fact that modern socialism springs from the idea of an irreconcilable class-struggle. "Look at me," he says, "and others like me; we are middle-class men, and yet we have a profound sympathy with the people. It is surely unreasonable to attack a whole class in the way you do when it contains such excellent and noble-hearted representatives." Now, irrespective of the genuineness of the particular person in question or his friends, there is undoubtedly a point touched on here which to the neophyte in Socialism requires elucidating.

Socialists attack the middle-class as the root of all evil. The neophyte knows that he daily comes in contact with middle-class men whom he regards, say, who may think of doing ill of thing for Socialism. On the other hand, he finds that there are plenty of men belonging to the working-class whom he cannot respect. Now, here is a problem for the Socialist! What is the solution?
In the character of every human being, man or woman, in the present day, we shall be able to detect, without much difficulty, ways or signs distinct or more or less blended. On the one hand, there are the starting-point, the social root, of goody, gosher, and the name of the social qualities generally; on the other, that of socialities (greed), meanness, hypocrisy, coarseness, brutality—in fact, the anti-social qualities. Now, we maintain that in every civilization, to the extent that we are to deal with more or less exposed, that is to say, to the extent that it is only a question of degree. The anti-social qualities belong at bottom to the anti-human, or pre-human nature, which human nature has inherited, the human nature or qualities which preceded over the institution of tribal Society. But, in their present form, we contend they have taken on the forms and become crystallized into expressions of the anti-social, ostentatious, vulgar, in the forms, and, hypocrisy), are entirely the offspring of the class-society of modern times. The social qualities, on the other hand, are inherited from the human nature which, as we have just said, is common to all human beings.

But these, again, have maintained themselves only in spite of the class system, and have disputed the ground with it inch by inch. It is evident, then, that every man in the present day, inasmuch as he belongs to one or other of the two great modern classes, the fleecers or the fleeced, the oppressors or the oppressed, the middle-class or the working-class, possesses, in addition to his manhood, a classhood. The classhood necessarily inheres in his system, although it may not be always obvious. His social qualities may gain the upper hand, and permanently repress the anti-social qualities and prejudices which he inherits from his class-character, and from his character. Like the cells and fibres of cancer in the human body, his class-character may be latent, and only become active from some external cause. It may then develop in the most unexpected way. A man’s class-character varies in an inverse proportion to the class or anti-social character of the man. This is an important fact. A mathematician might make a reputation by wrapping up this in equations.

And it will be observed that I make no distinction here in favour of the working-class as such. All class character qua class character is bad. Were the working-man any more than the middle-class a seraphim from heaven, the Socialists who recognize individual character to be the child of social condition, could not expect a class degraded materially to the condition of Proletarianism not to bear the marks of its degradation on its character. We may observe, however, in passing, that it is immaterial to the point, that while the class-character alike in the character of Proletarianism and in the class-character of its men, it has had in itself, and probably in the present case been less generally successful in corrupting the human nature into which it has entered than in the latter. The particular character-qualities in the character of the modern capitalist may be roughly indicated by the definitions, morality in a solution of hypocrisy; the particular class-qualities in the character of the modern proletarian as brutality in a solution of servility.

How plainly both are the outcome of economic condition will be evident as you read my coming paper, and you will see both illustrated in its columns. They are the obverse and the reverse of the same medal—modern civilization. But, we repeat, these class qualities found to the minimum of human or social qualities in individuals in either case; or they may on the other hand be so highly developed as to exclude the latter altogether. The last case may be illustrated by types drawn from the middle-class—let us take as types a Harcourt or a Goschen—exhibit the class-element in its purest embodied form. Such men are lump-feelings. A hypocritical vulgarity has in them absorbed humanity. The corresponding illustration of the mere proletarian class-element may be looked for in that section of the Anarchist party which pursues the tactics technically known as diebelschiitzk, and of which a Stellmachener is a type. Here also the class-element, a servile subjection to the mere bloodthirstiness and lust of gain of the slave, has eaten out humanity. Of course, these are extreme instances on both sides. Human being as such are not capable of direct expression, they are the very essence of the middle-class transformed into Harcours or Goschens, no less than if the whole proletariat were transformed into Stellmacheners. Between them lie the great masses of both classes, where human feeling struggles with the selfishly artificial.

In the centre, a new class is beginning to form. It is the International Socialist Party. And just here the chief superiority of the working-class as a class over the middle-class comes into view. According to the International, working-class parties is a large section, especially on the Continent of Europe, among whom the mere class-qualities have to a large extent succumbed to human qualities, although they necessarily and properly (as we shall show) any sign of them in the nature of the society, and the case with the middle-classes. They, as classes, have material power and wealth bound up with their class-being; so that while with them the nature of things takes a share in the elevation of the class-feeling within him to a human feeling, with the middle-classes it too often only cement it with a thicker varnish of hypocrisy. The educated workman knows that human progress is bound up with the decay and overthrow of his class; so that we have among the working-class men, the section are Socialistic, we have among the middle-classes only isolated individuals.

- How then, it may be said, if we admit class-feeling to be that element in the modern character in which its worst and anti-social features are embodied, can we make the abstraction and exorcism of class-feeling, if it is well and truly done, abolish the class-character? Is not the idea of the benevolent old gentleman who says, let us ignore classes, let us regard each other as human beings, more consonant with what we have been saying? We answer no; on the contrary. The difference between the Socialist and the bourgeois Radical in their respective crusades against classes is, that while the one would affirm the form of class-distinction, knowing that thereby the reality of class-distinction will be negated. The other, by the form of class-distinction, would affirm the content or reality of class-distinction, inasmuch as he would leave it untouched. He thinks to get rid of class-instants while retaining class-institutions, the presentation of classes, the presentation of a form of class-feeling itself must be free from hypocrisy; in other words—of that control of the instruments of production by which its class-character is maintained, when it will disappear together with the latter, the present and enframing class. It is not true, as might at first sight be supposed, that the political class-feeling of the Socialist workman is the mere anti-social class-feeling of the ordinary proletarian (lumpen proletarii), or of the ulterior bloody-thirsty Anarchist. It is much more than this.

The Socialist workman’s conscious end and aspiration is the annihilation of classes, with the class-character in it. He knows well enough that his class may be purified by his ability to use the offspring of the best of it, and that the fact of his belonging to an oppressed class is an insuperable obstacle to the development of the best within him; just as the middle-class Socialist knows that the fact of his belonging to an oppressed class is an equally an obstacle to the development of the best within him. Mere class-instant, which per se is necessarily anti-social, can never give us Socialism. That is why the most degraded section of the proletariat are, to a large extent, useless for Socialism. Their lower class-instants are incapable of being purified of their grosser elements, and transformed into that higher instinct which, on the face of it has the impress of a class, is in its essence above and beyond class; which sees in the immediate triumph of above merely a means to the ultimate realisation of a purely human Society, in which class has disappeared. With those who have attained to this end, the class-character has become transcended for the sake of a human interest. In the Socialist workman the class-character has become transformed into the conviction that, in the words of Lassalle, it is the class-interest, that is the principle of the age. He knows that in the moment of victory—the realisation of the dominion of his class—the ugly dead of class itself must fall, and Society emerge. Militant, his cause is identified with class; triumphant, with Humanity.

Meanwhile, we who live to-day, who are the offspring of a class Society, and who breathe the atmosphere of a class Society, bear ineradicably the mark of the class-deformity upon us. The reason is, that, although its grosser features are toned down or obliterated, it shows itself ever and anon. It is only a question of more or less. In no human being born in a class Society the pure element has become entirely absent from him. The best working-class Socialist there is a strain of possible nobleness. In the best middle-class Socialist there is a strain of possible nobleness. In the best middle-class Socialist there is a strain of possible nobleness. In the best middle-class Socialist there is a strain of possible nobleness.

Meanwhile, we know that these things exist, we acknowledge the day. We, therefore, almost any act, whether a more decisive affirmation of class-interest, and then the end of Classes (with their hypocratical vulgarity on the one side and their servile brutality on the other) and the beginning of Men.

E. Buxtorf Bas.

WEALTH.

(Having arrived at the conclusion that wealth is power, and we hope to carry home this point to the entire of the reader, we shall now endeavour to specialise our definition—that is, to indicate the kind of power that is meant. The way to do this will be to name the admission, the honest, that cannot escape from itself. Even among nations dons down or obliterated, it shows itself ever and anon. It is only a question of more or less. In no human being born in a class Society the pure element has become entirely absent from him. The best working-class Socialist there is a strain of possible nobleness. In the best middle-class Socialist there is a strain of possible nobleness. In the best middle-class Socialist there is a strain of possible nobleness. In the best middle-class Socialist there is a strain of possible nobleness.

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clases are pretty much the same as the productive and unproductive classes of the economists. This, however, is not the case with regard to the human struggle for existence of a twofold character—the struggle of man with man, and the struggle of man with Nature. The struggle of man with man is per se a barren struggle; during its continuance nothing of importance is produced. The struggle of man with Nature is the only struggle that is productive, and that results in progress.

In seeking to define wealth we do not require to take into consideration the temporary forms that enables us to overcome. For every nation those forces are different; consequently the science of wealth would be different in every nation. The forces that we have called temporary forms of wealth are considered by the economists—and from such consideration is framed the public policy. These forces being temporary and fluctuating, the policy of a nation varies; being, moreover, as already pointed out, different in different nations, there is no one piece, in the opinion of another.

It is from the permanent forces that man has to contend with that the meaning of wealth is to be got at. These forces we have also called natural forces; by them we mean the opposition that Nature offers to man's continued well-being. For instance, to live and to thrive man must have food and water, and must keep himself up to a certain temperature. Now these things are not attained without effort; the want of food, of water, and of shelter is not satisfied without some opposition being overcome, and the power to overcome this opposition and to satisfy this want is wealth. Wealth, then, is power to perform certain actions, and let man be, is the wealth of a man, is his power to satisfy desire, to attain his ends; while the poorer he is the less is this power.

That the definition of wealth just given is correct, may appear more clearly from the consideration of some of the definitions given by political economists. Take Adam Smith's: "The annual produce of the land and labour of the Society. Here, in addition to the error, already pointed out, there are no defined limits, nor is there anything contained within the term wealth as an abstract noun, we have a misconception introduced by the word "annual." The wealth of England, for instance, at the end of a year, is not surely to be measured by what England has, produces, or gains during that year; the railways, canals, ships, warehouses, machinery that have been made in previous years in England, go as much towards contributing to the wealth of England the produce of their under consideration.

Besides, the class of country where everything is free, where man only to pluck and eat, where there is no necessity for toil; then, the produce of labour of that country would amount to nothing and consequently to its wealth, if it be regarded as the wealth of the labour of a country, would amount to nothing. Such a country would, instead of being the richest, as we should ordinarily be inclined to suppose a country in which everything is free.

It may strike the reader that we have dealt with only part of Adam Smith's definition in the preceding paragraph, and that our stricatures are not applicable to the whole of it,—viz., that the wealth of a country is the produce of its land and labour, not of the produce of its labour only. We took this latter part by itself merely for convenience, and not with any evasive intention. Let us now consider the definition as given by Adam Smith has been also considered by no one of those two conditions of the earth are to be had merely for the plucking. In the respect of the produce of the land these two countries are equal in wealth; it is, however, necessary for one country to have the means of fortifications and to keep itself provided with the habitual means of war; for the other country no such necessity exists, it being made improvable to foes by Nature, and it accordingly is not provided with any such things. Now if the wealth of a country is the produce of its land and labour, of which of these countries is the wealthiest? The one whose land and labour produce is greatest. Now that would be the one that had to be prepared against attack, because its land and labour produce would be greater than the produce of the other by the results of the labour imposed on it by its position. Here, then, would be a disadvantage leading to an increase of wealth, which is of course absent.

With such a view of wealth as that laid down by Adam Smith, there is no inconvenience, no matter how great, that cannot be shown to be a source of wealth. For instance, if we suppose, as John Stuart Mill suggests, in his "Eugenics," that the atmosphere of the atmosphere, and the disposition of some community to be too scanty for the consumption had to be artificially supplied, then here would be additional labour imposed upon the community, and consequently additional wealth. Such are the erroneous conclusions that we are led to from regarding wealth as the produce of the land and labour of a country.

LITERARY NOTICES.

Our Commonwealth, Adelaide, South Australia, is an advanced, alert, and readable exponent of landed nationalism and tax reform. It is also an honest labour paper, a great desideratum in that part of the world.

The Pioneer is a new Radical paper published at 12 Argyl Street, Glasow. It is rather more advanced than the name "Radical" generally conveys, and if it keeps up to the lines laid down in its first issue, will do much to destroy the Jollasme Whig that masquerades under the more advanced name.


George F. Rohrbach, one of the Labour representatives elected to the Illinois Legislature, received an annual pass from the Alton road and returned home, saying, "I must respectfully beg that you may write to the legislature, but I will, unless you wish to put myself under any, and know nothing to reason why this railroad pass should be granted, except it was granted to the advantage of railways and to the constituents I represent—namely, the people.

Guer, Jan. 25.—Disturbances occurred at the theatre here last night during the performance of 'The Trial of Guernica,' which the completion of the Belgo by this French Republicans is represented in an unfavourable light. At a given moment a large number of workers and Socialists among the audience interrupted the performance by hooting and hissing, and a scuffle thereupon ensued between the working men and the tradesmen and middle-class people among the audience. The police eventually intervened and effected a number of arrests. During the disturbance inside, a large number of Socialists collected at the entrance of the theatre singing the Marselaise.
TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NOTES.

In its comments upon affairs in general the Spectator indulges in the following: "The taxes have not pressed perceptibly; bread has been abnormally cheap; wages have declined less than the fall in provisions, and the suffering has not fallen on the body of the people. The Haves have borne the brunt instead of the Have-nots."

As for the taxes, no taxpayer will answer that taxes have increased much beyond any asserted greater efficiency in the public service.

Bread has been cheap, but not so cheap as the tone of the Spectator would seem to imply; even if it were, what particular benefit would it work to the proletariat, seeing that the present system at once transfers all saved thereby to the pockets of their exploiters?

Wages can only be said to have declined less than the price of provisions, because other things, such as rent, have risen, and because the lessening of the cost of subsistence must necessarily go before the wage-lowering that it causes.

The man is to be envied for his consummate impudence, or despised for his falsity, who can look round upon the people to-day and assert that "the suffering has not fallen upon the body of the people."

The Haves have borne the brunt. Of what! Of misery, anxiety, degradation! Have they been driven again and again to despair and suicide? If they, not we, are miserable, why do they not throw aside their haempering wealth and come out of "the House of Bondage"?

Accidents happen pretty impartially to rich and poor—that is to say, accidents arise directly from the conditions of the lives of the poor. The notice taken of them varies, however, to an enormous degree. Seventeen people are crushed and trampled to death on Tuesday at Spitalfields, and it is not until Wednesday afternoon that any desire reaches the public, and not until Thursday that the full story is published. Had the seventeen been "swells," and the place a West End hall, what a noise would have been made!

One of the so-called comic journals in a late issue propounded a brilliant plan for relieving the present distress. "How would it do to engage one half of the unemployed as extra policemen, with the special mission of locking up the other?" Most probably, to the man who wrote and to the men why read this it would require tremendous amount of explanation to show that this was much like what is continually being done to keep the system going—one half the working-class being uniformed and set aside to keep the other half "in its place."

A friend writes giving us the particulars of a case which came under his own observation. A young lady made application by letter to a draper for employment. She was quite inexperienced in such matters, and wrote a simple, plain statement of her qualifications and requirements, incidentally mentioning her youth and sleeping accommodation. She had no reply from the firm, but one of the assistants employed there saw her letter and wrote very kindly to give her advice to guide her in seeking employment after another birth. The chief point in the latter was: "Never ask about sleeping accommodation or food: you will always find it resented." The friend who writes is quite astonished at all this, she says, "Service in shops and abject slavery are very much the same thing. The particularly distressing thing is that not only those who have appeared in many other places, go to show that among wage-slaves the shop-assistants are the most ill-treated; but all people dependent on an employer are liable to this kind of treatment, nor can it be wondered at that employers are touchy as to their dignity while their position confers such power.

This month a Warrington leather cutter died from having his arm crushed by machinery. The widow said he had several times complained of the danger and that he should be crippled. The manager said that others had been injured in such a way. After the coroner (E. Hubbard) said "there was no doubt risk attending the working of the machinery, but this must have been known to the deceased, who was at liberty to leave," the jury returned a verdict of accidental death, expressing the opinion that precautions should be taken. The safety value are our protective laws while men still work at dangerous and complicated machinery!

"Archdeacon Farrar denounced the luxurious habits of the present day, which gave 'the picture of wealth, a monster gorged, side by side with suffering and starving poverty.' He said, 'We have not given as much as we could have done, however, unwilling to abandon the flesh-pots.'" (Quoted in Vegetarian Messenger.) The Archdeacon, speaking also of the "dribbles given away in charity," says we are at this moment stupendously and overwhelmingly wealthy, and we have in ten years laid up the wealth which we have spent in the enrichment of our families 120 millions of pounds. "There is money enough in the country to beautify every city and gladden every household. We are glad to find one in such a position (the late Rev. W. Mannion-worship, the love of selfish luxury, family aggrandisement, and personal display. May we not hope that the Archdeacon will go on to discover that our archbishops and bishops need converting to remove the filthy hue which they are now left to lose, and that finally he will join the Socialists to sweep away the iniquitous system which in so many cases brings ugliness to our cities and sadness to our homes?"

We understand that the Earl of Derby was lately the namesless admitted that £25, 14s. 5d. to the Vegetarian Society. He says there is in store for those who now provide for his lordship, when he learns that he has acquired the vegetarian's art of living on a shilling a week! His tenants may then laugh at foreign competition, and the patient plodding labourer change from beef to pork, from roast beef to deer, from leather to a rice and light-hearted peasant; for the feast (and houses, horses, dogs, and all) Hodge now provides will be no longer reserved for his masters and masters' children. We hope he will be brought before his benevolent society 'How to Live in the Street called Straight.'

W.

John Smith, labourer, was indicted for having on the 31st ult. broken the window of Miss A. Austin's establishment, Westminster Street, and stolen two silver bracelets value 32s. The evidence showed that the prisoner had in broad daylight smashed the large pane of plate glass with his hand and snatched up two bracelets. He was caught re-appeared and brought off to the station. The Recorder directed a verdict of "Guilty." He asked the prisoner what he had to say for himself. Prisoner: It is a very hard case that some people should be able to live in their shop windows lined with jewels while others are going about without a shilling in their pockets. The Recorder said he could not treat this kind of ruffianism like an ordinary case: he must sentence the prisoner to twelve months' imprisonment with hard labour. (Dublin Daily Express, Jan. 15.) Which is the "ruffianism" that cannot be treated as an ordinary case—stealing the jewellery, or protesting against the system under which one displays his wealth whilst others starve? Would the courts take a philanthropist who repudiates Law and Order in Green Street kindly say?

O.

At Frankfurt on Saturday the great Socialist trial was finished. Thirty-one of the accused were sentenced to death. The German Socialists in New York have held a mass meeting at which the dissolution of the Reichstag was denounced, and a resolution was passed to the effect that the working men of Germany with funds for the electoral campaign. The S. D. F. and the Norwich Socialists. The following resolution was unanimously passed at the meeting of the General Council of the Social-Democratic Federation, held on Monday January 24, 1887. The General Council of the Social-Democratic Federation expresses its deepest sympathy with its comrades of the Norwich Branch of the Socialist League, who have been so harshly dealt with by Mr. Justice Grantham in connection with the disturbances in that city, and strongly condemns the ferocious partisanship and indecent distortion of facts shown by a judge who gained his seat on the bench by doing the dirty work of the Tory Party.
January 29, 1887.

THE COMMONWEAL

37

THE NORWICH SOCIALISTS.

A TOWN IN TURMOIL—SHAMEFUL SENTENCES ON COMRADES HENDERSON AND MOWBRAY.

The news of rioting and amateur rebellion in Norwich on the 14th, took us by surprise. We thought that the "violent question" had been settled by the alleged revival of trade. The reports published by the London papers were very meagre, just large enough to get a string of lies in. They made the impression that a riot had occurred, that violence was rife among the Socialists and was quickly suppressed by the valiant police. But this turns out to be a totally wrong impression of what took place.

At 11 p.m., on the 28th, I arrived in Norwich from London, and found a score of members of the branch at the station. I soon set about getting at the real facts of the disturbance of the previous Friday. The Bench of the Socialist League has not been carrying on a special unlicensed agitation, as has been generally supposed. The crowded meeting was simply a meeting, the recriminations of the meeting at which the riot occurred. The unemployed took the move in the agitation themselves, and carried out the arrangements from first to last. At the meeting, they asked for a Socialist speaker to address it, and this request, of course, could not be refused. Mowbray agreed to speak at the meeting, and Henderson went with him. The meeting took place, and there were very few attendants, and in every case there were present a strong majority of the Socialists, who declared, "that Mowbray take the chair," and this was carried by acclamation. A deputation was then appointed, which Henderson was included, and it was irrefutable to say what the official did a good deal to exacerbate the people by the indifference with which he treated their complaints. The meeting sent up a series of yells, which had the effect of reducing the dignitary to a civil mood. While the deputation was talking, Mowbray kept up a strong and moving speech, which was certainly not of a very inflammatory character. After waiting one hour and a quarter, a message was brought to the meeting by the deputation that the mayor would put a notice in the paper stating what he would do, and that their decision would be conveyed through the press. This kind of reply was hardly likely to put hungry men into a good temper. They called aloud for Mowbray to lead them, and they would sack the shops. Mowbray answered that in laying their case before the mayor he had done all he could, and must now leave the matter in their hands. The meeting sang "The Starving Poor of Old England," Henderson reading the first stave, and Mowbray singing the short song. Subscriptions are now being taken, but very few are paid in, and Mowbray is in trouble. Our comrade Mahon reports that at meetings held by him, subscriptions have been taken up to assist Mowbray's wife and family, at Oxford, 11s. 2d.; at Bedford, 7s. 6d.

A NEW BOOK ON THE DRINK QUESTION.

One of the first objections launched at Socialism in England is that the poor have mostly deserved their fate, that they are drunkards, &c. Some of the most obstinate opponents of our propaganda are temperance lecturers. They still cling tenaciously to the old theory, of which the chief support is derived from a theory, that the poor are, by modern science, as to the cause of poverty. For them the great factor of misery has always been drink, whilst we all know quite well that, except in rare cases, the nervous alcoholic drink has nothing to do with misery, but misery has caused drink and its consequences. Gentlemen charge drink, besides, with all sorts of vices, and with such as unreason, criminality, and suicide, diminishing the rate of births, and so on. We do not wish to go so far as the Frenchserious Fournier de Flahy, who lately proved that the mere alcohol a country consumed the higher it stood with regard to civilisation, the strength of its people, rate of increase of its population, having a smaller number of crimes when compared with countries where alcoholism is rare, and as example opposing countries where alcoholism prevails, as England, Scotland, Holland, Sweden, with Italy, Spain, Greece, where drunkenness is rare, whilst crimes are numerous and ignorance is great.

I am far from agreeing with the conclusions of that author. I know that drink is often a moral plague, but though myself a teetotaller for seventeen years, I cannot deny that as far as the economical influence is concerned, the devil is not so blue as is painted. But how often in discussions do not we feel the want of thoroughly reliable and unbiased statistics on the subject of alcoholism, not of the sort drawn up by various Giffens, Leone, Levys, and their kindey, to refute at once the objections of the blue ribbon lecturers.

Our comrades who know Italian can now get all the information they may desire on this subject. Dr. Napoleon Colajanni (the author of a very interesting book, "La bevenda per la Salute," published by the Societa Italiana di Studi sulla Bevenda et la Salute, (Filippo Tropes, editor, 1887) a small book replete with useful data. The book is called "L’Alcolismo, sua conseguente malsana e sua causa," and is divided into two parts, the second especially being of importance to Socialists, as it treats of the effects and influence of the modern transformation of the present state of society. Colajanni gives as the principal causes of intoxication, as physical cause, the climate; as moral and social cause, poverty, and the sociability which is brought with it. He shows that misery—ignorance, want of pleasure, socialisns, the condition of the homes of the poor classes, moral depression, idleness, the social organisation of the present day—must be pointed out as the cause of alcoholism. We must add Dr. Colajanni has made use of all the best works published on his subject, and that the tables relate to all the countries of Europe. (Brocher.)
THE LABOUR STRUGGLE

This department is under the direction of the Strike Committee. Labour News and Contributions to the Fund should be sent to T. BRESLIN, at the Office.

DERBY.-The jute-spinners' wages have been increased five per cent. Meetings of seamen were held at North and South Shields on the 29th inst., and a resolution was carried that it was desirable to again confer with the owners to obtain a reduction of wages demanded by the men; or, if not, that they come out on strike on February 1.

Manlees and Elliott, Engineers and Machinists, Nottingham, have given notice of a strike, the following men, numbering about 50, will come out if the reduction is carried out.

At the Miners' Conference in Glasgow, a resolution was carried by 17 votes to 13, recommending the strike. A reduction of wages of 3d. per ton will be made in the miners' wages rate for the next three months. This reduction will affect several thousands of workmen.

The Northumbrian miners have decided that the men at the collieries who have not received notice of a reduction shall, if the ballot confirm the decision to strike, give in their notices, so that the stoppage shall be general.

A meeting of delegates from all the Northumberland collieries was held at Newcastle-on-Tyne on the 19th inst., to consider the ultimatum of the owners announcing a reduction of 15 per cent. in wages and refusing to accept 10 per cent. as a compromise. Mr. T. Burt, M.P., attended. It was decided by an overwhelming majority that the miners of the county should strike, with the result that the strike began on the 23rd inst., and has continued.

The Monk Bretton miners have held a meeting, and decided unanimously that unless the manager (Mr. Marshall) agrees to meet the deputation they have appointed to demand the gratuities which the men and boys will continue to receive, the men will send in their notices at once to leave their work. The resolution was proposed and carried by non-unionists, and a committee of non-union men was appointed to give effect to the arrangements for carrying out the resolution.

The demand of the South Staffordshire finished ironmasters for the abolition of the stoppage system of payment is creating considerable resistance among the men. A meeting has been held at West Bromwich to consider the masters' action. It was reported that at one works where the masters were already acting on the stoppage system, the men had come out on strike. It is reported that the demand as unjust in the face of a rising market, and it is feared that the stoppage will spread to other places.

CARLTON MINERS.-On Wednesday evening, Jan. 20, the miners of Carlton met in the Black Bull Hall. The meeting was large, consequent upon the initiative of the miners before Comrade Fairbairn, who is present, and gave a résumé of the proceedings of the Birmingham Conference. The policy to be adopted to force an advance of wages was fully discussed, and the following motion was unanimously carried: "That no legislation on the coal or other royalties be accepted by the miners unless based upon nationalisation without compensation."

HAMILTON MINERS.-The miners of Hamilton district held a meeting in Scott's Hall on Jan. 20, Mr. Cochlan presiding. The chairman submitted an alternative to the proposed general strike of the Miners' Union, a "Plan of Action."

The average rate of wages in the district is 4000l. above the national average, and the basis on which the rate is paid is the content of the resolution. The resolution was carried: "That no legislation on the coal or other royalties be accepted by the miners unless based upon nationalisation without compensation."

The K. of L. of Frankford, Pa., are building a co-operative textile factory, South Adams, Mass., K. of L. have started a co-operative meat market. The cigarmakers of Weaverville, Pa., who were recently defeated in a strike, have obtained a co-operative cigar factory.

The Chicago Trades Assembly have elected William Kilbee, the Socialist candidate, for president, and F. W. Long, also a Socialist, as vice-president. The members of the Trades Assembly, who are employed in the cigar factory, in New York, have struck work owing to a number of men having been discharged.

The employers of the breweries in Philadelphia, including brewers, drivers, cooperers, engineers, firemen, and other hands, numbering in all over 2000 men, are on strike against a 30 per cent. reduction.

The Iowa Liberal, published by the Iowa Federation of Labor, has expressed fears that the price of iron will reach the import point, and that foreign iron will flood the market. He says that to his own knowledge 6000 tons of steel rails have been imported into New Orleans at two dollars per ton less than the Pennsylvania mills could supply them.

The San Francisco car strike is still on. The cars have been running to some extent in daylight, but work at night, and they run empties mostly. One of the strikers was asked to come back to work, and was promised three dollars a day, two detectives to escort him from his home to the yard in the morning, and two policemen to escort him on the car. Why is this whole procession? And yet he is still walking in it, adhering to the movement, and even "grandfathers entire consent, thou not," whatever the strike is about the men or it is hurting the companies terribly. -Weekly Star.

FARMER'S CORN.-There is a wearing shed in this district which is becoming notorious on account of the great amount of time which is crippled. The engine only stops twenty minutes for break- fast, and less than that, and the weavers have to swallow their breakfast as best they can, and also take the waste and broken cobs to be worked, and bring the wet to last them till the following morning.

FARNWORTH.-Coronation at Spinning Mills.-Public attention is being drawn to the unjust rule enforced by some millowners at Farnworth, by which Catholic parents and others are deprived of their parental and legal right to choose the school at which their children shall be educated. For the last few years a large firm has made it compulsory on children employed as half-dimners that they should attend a particular school chosen by the firm. Other millowners do the same, and in many cases, owing to poverty, the parents are obliged to submit. -Cotton Factory Times. [Mr. Bradlaugh has delivered his "wage-slavery" lecture at Manchester.]

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THE COMING CHANGE.

Owing to the severity of the weather, the depression of trade has heightened to alarming proportions, alarming the minds and disquieting the hearts and minds of the people. The cold and our surroundings, haggard faces are discernible, the harrowing cry for food may be heard; cases of death from starvation are revealed almost daily; yet the guardians of the different parishes throughout England are powerless to act, and the people are left to the mercy of the weather. In all the regions of England, have mostly been appropriated by the middle-class to their own use, and even these not being sufficient to satisfy their cravings, they tax the people exorbitantly to meet the demands which they (the people) are led to believe are necessary. They are incessantly at work, to alleviate the distress of the needy, they have bled the workers to such an extent that there is little left for the nourishing of their bodies, and comforting of their souls. The general pressure, to equal nothing better than the poor negro slave. Everywhere the torture rack is being used with undue severity by capitalists masters against the workers, so that those who are in work are very little better off than the unemployed. Long hours, hard work, and short pay, are the methods that are adopted for the endurance of British workers, who in return for such kind considerations are quite willing to submit to eke out a miserable existence. Women, who are shortens, their children are, in many instances, stinted and deformed, and food, instead of being bright and happy, is made a drudgery even worse than the beasts of burden have to endure. How this struggle for bare existence will continue is more than what philosophers have predicted; but even as Rome fell to a victim of its own vices, so also must the crash come here, and England will no more be mighty powers whenever it comes, she will be a few years in the type of the people will be opened, the political tricksters will deceive themselves, and like Napoleon, at the Franco-German war, will sink insignificantly into chaos. Swiftly as the birds fly the day dawns that will bring into existence their delinquents. Each day brings additional warning; from abroad which is putting anxiety into the minds of Statesmen; the state of the whole British Empire is unsatisfactory to their interests; the borders of Wales, the land question in Ireland, and in Scotland, all is settled with the brutal evictions; the depression of trade in England, all tend to harass the members of ministers; while Socialism is taking rapid strides in our dominions and will probably be a death blow to landlordism, jellybean, and all those who are concerned in the oppression of the people, who shall predict what the next few years will bring forth. Time is the harbing of strange events. What would not be listened to to-day may become a living monument on the morrow. Society, which is nothing more now, may be raised up and exalted at no very distant date. Every living being who takes a part in life's drama, cannot always perversely the same character, and so it may be seen (I hope in my time), when Dives and Lazarus will change their positions and come on an equal footing with each other; and this can be accomplished by the federation of the workers, each one working mutually with another, casting aside all party prejudices; each one of us laying round the banner of freedom our emancipation will be achieved.

JOHN BULL.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGDON ROAD, E.C.

Branch (Capitation) Subscriptions.

The Treasurer would be glad if the Branches made every effort during the year to pay up their subscriptions at the end of each month, so that the advertisement of these subscriptions would show the united energy of the League.

Branch Subscriptions Paid.

Birmingham, Hackney, Hull, Leeds, North, London, to August 31, 1898; Crewe, to September 29, 1898; Manchester, to October 31, 1898; Derby, to November 30, 1898; Blackburn, Clitheroe, Scarborough, Lancaster, Oxford, to December 31, 1898 (Labour Emancipation League), to March 21, 1899.

STRIKE COMMITTEE.

H. C., 1s. j. 1s.; W. M., 1s.

T. B. W., Treasurer.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

H. Ch., 2s. 2d.; T. B. (2 weeks), 1s.; B. B. (weekly), 1s.; M. W. (weekly), 1s.; Blackburn Branch (weekly), 1s.; B. B.; Blundell's Hospital (weekly), 6d.

P. W., Treasurer, Jan. 25.

THE NORWICH PRISONERS' AID FUND.

Our colleague Mowbray, who has been sentenced to nine months' imprisonment, lost his wife and five children totally unspecified. For Henderson's sentence is imprisonment for four months. His case is not so hard, he being a single man. The cost of the trial amounts to £50, this has to be repaid, and the wife and children are expected to appeal, to give all the assistance he can. Collection cards have been issued, and can be had on application to the Committee: Lane, Charles, and Durrer, at 13, Farringdon Road, London, E.C. All monies received will be acknowledged in Commons. Money is sent addressed to Collections, and those who cannot take cards are asked to send liberally to this appeal.

Collected in Hyde Park by Mal weniger, for the wife and family of Mow bray, 2s. 6d.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.
BRANCH REPORTS.

BLOOMSBURY.—On Friday, Jan. 21st, A. Donald discussed the 5th chapter of the 'Socialist Cate-

CRICKETWELL.—On Wednesday, Jan. 19, Edward Ave-

ul —give full consideration of the subject on the

ating a most interesting and informative lecture on

CRUISE—On Tuesday, Jan. 18, a most interesting and informative lecture on "Socialism"—At

HULL.—On Sunday, January 14, we opened the meeting with "No Master" and "March of the Workers"—Devlin spoke on "Socialism and Work"—In the second part of his lecture, which he contended was little, if any, better than that of the more obvious classes, as his slavemakers were fed, but the modern employer cares not a straw for the slave. There were no original views, no earnest discussion followed, to which Devlin replied.

OXON.—Mahton lectured to a good audience on "The Path to Socialism"—The lecturer was very well received, the opposition being very weak: 16s. 3d. was collected for the "Christian Men's Union," etc., of our Norwich comrades—T. M.

SOUTH HACKNEY WORKING-MEN'S CLUB, Brookside Walk, Homerton.—On Sunday, Jan. 31, Lane lectured on "The Rights and Duties of Individuals and how to get at them." No opposition was offered. The audience was quite a majority with the views of the speaker.

2d. 6d. was paid the lecturer, who has been handed over to the Propaganda Fund.

LECTURE DIARY.

London Branches.

BLOOMSBURY.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street. Friday, Jan. 29, at 8:30, a Lecture will be delivered by Arch McLean on "Socialism and Industry"—At 8:45, woodland lecture on "Workingmen's Right to Propaganda."—W. B. E. and T. E. W. J., joint speakers.

BIRMINGHAM.—On the 18th inst. we, in conjunction with the Mitham and Merton Rooms, attended a Self-help Emigration meeting at the Town Hall, Mitham, organised by the Croydome Charitable Society, and presided over by the Mayor, who was assisted by Mr. W. H. P. Lines, a local member of some local magnates. The Mayor elected to vote all discussion, and refused to allow a resolution sent in by the Comrades Kite to be put to the meeting, as they that had not met to argue but to state facts. "Facts" being so fiercely challenged that the lecturer had not the opportunity of number of large and un-

BOLTON.—On the 18th inst. we held a most successful afternoon. We treated the place with the most magnificent adjournment! They regard us rightly as public bene-


BRASSINGTON.—On the 22nd inst. we held a very good meeting at the Newmarket subscription, there was a good discussion and resolutions passed, including: "The land belongs to the people," etc., all of which was read by Mr. J. Charlton. The lecturer recom-

BRIGHTON.—On Sunday, January 23, a lecture was given by J. A. S. on "The Socialists and Social Science," and a discussion on "Socialism and Individualism," which was well taken up by members present. At the close of the meeting the Secretary was unanimously elected: "That this meeting expresses its sympathy with the action of Mr. H. A. Hyndman and on record its disgust at the mean, cowardly, and blameworthy conduct of Mr. J. Charlton against them on their trial."—E. Pope, sec.

BRISTOL.—On Monday evening at the Coffee Palace, Townsend Street, before an audience of about 200, members and friends, a lecture was delivered by Arch McLean on "Socialism and the State," and a discussion was opened on "Socialism and Individualism," which was well taken up by members present. At the close of the meeting the Secretary was unanimously elected: "That this meeting expresses its sympathy with the action of Mr. H. A. Hyndman and on record its disgust at the mean, cowardly, and blameworthy conduct of Mr. J. Charlton against them on their trial."—E. Pope, sec.

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GLOUCESTER.—On Wednesday evening, comrade Geo. McLean delivered a lecture on Socialism in the Hall of the Unitarian Church, St. Vincent Street. The lecturer described the present industrial system in vigorous terms, and pleaded for a reorganisation of industry. A long discussion followed, in which several of our members joined. On Saturday evening, in the Southern Literary Institute, Arch McLean delivered a lecture on "Socialism and the State," in which he maintained that the State should provide all public services, such as education, roads, etc., and that all social overhead costs should be borne by the taxpayers. On the Socialist, the lecturer was invited to continue his discussion on the subject. He agreed, and continued his discussion on the subject. The audience was greatly interested, and the discussion continued for some time.

THE COMMONWEAL.

January 29, 1887.

PROVINCE—SUNDAY.

Lancashire.—Old Castle Market, 11; Ship Launch, 2 p.m. Street.—St. Mary's Palace, 11; Market Place, 6. Leeds.—Humber Moor, 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, 7 p.m.

COMRADE MAHON is pursuing his Provincial Propa-

ganda tour, and will take place at Oxford, 8 p.m., 26, and 27, at 8 p.m., between the visit of Judge W. F. Roots, on the question, "Is Socialism sound?"

SWANSON ENSCHEEN & Co.'s NEW LIST.

Capital. By K. M. Markham. Translated by T. Moore, and under the supervision of F. Engels. 2 vols. 8vo. 30s.

BIBLIOGRAPHY—SUNDAY.

The Religion of Socialism. By E. B. Delbouys. Author of "Handbook to the History of Philosophy." Crown 4to, 4s. 6d.


IMPERIAL INSTITUTE AND IMPERIAL FEDERATION. Just printed, and published in all Libraries and Booksellers. 2nd edition, in one Vol. 8vo, cloth, 15s.


The Principles of Social Economy. By V. G. Dixon. Hon. Member Cobden Club. With numerous diagrams. 8vo, cloth gilt, 9s. 6d. In a series of twenty-four parts, "an excellent storehouse of facts and ideas."—T. W.


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