



HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON

Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors. Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them. Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.

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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

J. H.—Your postcard came to hand too late for insertion of notice.
H. S. (Manchester).—Report came too late for insertion last week.

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Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday April 3.

<p>ENGLAND Church Reformer Justice Labour Elector Labour Tribune London—Freie Presse Norwich—Daylight Postal Service Gazette Railway Review Social Demokrat</p> <p>INDIA Bankipore—Behar Herald</p> <p>UNITED STATES New York—Der Sozialist Freiheit Truthseeker Volkzeitung Jewish Volkszeitung Workmen's Advocate United Irishman Boston—Woman's Journal Liberty</p>	<p>Chicago—Knights of Labor Vorbote Baeker Zeitung Detroit—Der Arnie Teufel Milwaukee—National Reformer Newark—Arbeiter-Zeitung San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung S. F. Coast Seamen's Journal San Francisco—Pacific Union Valley Falls (Kan.)—Fair Play</p> <p>FRANCE Paris—L'Egalite (daily) Le Parti Ouvrier (daily) Le Proletariat La Revolte</p> <p>HOLLAND Hague—Recht voor Allen</p> <p>BELGIUM Ghent—Vooruit</p> <p>ANTWERP—De Werker</p>	<p>SWITZERLAND Arbeiterstimme</p> <p>ITALY Turin—Nuova Gazzetta Operaia Rome—L'Emanipazione Milan—Il Fascio Operaio</p> <p>SPAIN Madrid—El Socialista Barcelona—El Productor</p> <p>PORTUGAL Lisbon—O Protesto Operario</p> <p>GERMANY Berlin—Volks Tribune</p> <p>AUSTRIA Brunn—Volksfreund Wien—Gleichheit</p> <p>DENMARK Social-Demokraten</p> <p>SWEDEN Stockholm, Social-Demokraten</p>
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THE SOCIETY OF THE FUTURE.

(Continued from p. 99.)

Well, but this demand for the extinction of asceticism bears with it another demand; for the extinction of luxury. Does that seem a paradox to you? It ought not to do so. What brings about luxury but a sickly discontent with the simple joys of the lovely earth? What is it but a warping of the natural beauty of things into a perverse ugliness to satisfy the jaded appetite of a man who is ceasing to be a man—a man who will not work, and cannot rest? Shall I tell you what luxury has done for you in modern Europe? It has covered the merry green fields with the hovels of slaves, and blighted the flowers and trees with poisonous gases, and turned the rivers into sewers; till over many parts of Britain the common people have forgotten what a field or a flower is like, and their idea of beauty is a gas-poisoned gin-palace or a tawdry theatre. And civilisation thinks that is all right, and it doesn't heed it; and the rich man practically thinks, 'Tis all right, the common people are used to it now, and so long as they can fill their bellies with the husks that the swine do eat, it is enough. And all for what? To have fine pictures painted, beautiful buildings built, good poems written? O no. Those are the deeds of the ages before luxury, before civilisation. Luxury rather builds clubs in Pall Mall, and upholsters them as though for delicate invalid ladies for the behoof of big whiskered men, that they may lounge there amidst such preposterous effeminacy that the very pushed-breeched flunkies that wait upon the loungers are better men than they are. I needn't go further than that: a grand club is the very representative of luxury.

Well, you see I dwell upon that matter of luxury, which is really the sworn foe of pleasure, because I don't want workmen even temporarily to look upon a swell club as a desirable thing. I know how difficult it is for them to look from out of their poverty and squalor to a life of real and manly pleasure; but I ask them to think that the good life of the future will be as little like the life of the present rich as may be: that life of the rich is only the wrong side of their own misery; and surely since it is the cause of the misery, there can be nothing enviable or desirable in it. When our opponents say, as they sometimes do, "How should we be able to procure the luxuries of life in a Socialist society!" answer boldly, we could not do so, and we don't care, for we don't want them and won't have them: and indeed, I feel sure that we cannot if we are all free men together. Free men, I am sure, must lead simple lives and have simple pleasures: and if we shudder away from that necessity now, it is because we are not free men, and have in consequence wrapped up our lives in such a complexity of dependence that we have grown feeble and helpless. But again, what is simplicity? Do you think by chance that I mean a row of yellow-brick, blue-slatted houses, or a phalangstere like an improved Peabody lodging-house; and the dinner-bell ringing one into a row of white basins of broth with a piece of bread cut nice and square by each, with boiler-made tea and ill boiled rice pudding to follow? No; that's the philanthropist's ideal, not mine; and here I only note it to repudiate it, and to say, Vicarious life once more, and therefore no pleasure. No, I say; find out what you yourselves find pleasant, and do it. You won't be alone in your desires; you will get plenty to help you in carrying them out, and you will develop social life in developing your own special tendencies.

So, then, my ideal is first unconstrained life, and next simple and natural life. First you must be free; and next you must learn to take pleasure in all the details of life;—which, indeed, will be necessary for you, because, since others will be free, you will have to do your own work. That is in direct opposition to civilisation, which says, Avoid trouble (which you can only do by making other people live your life for you). I say, Socialists ought to say, Take trouble, and turn your trouble into pleasure: that I shall always hold is the key to a happy life.

Now let us try to use that key to unlock a few of the closed doors of the future: and you must remember, of course, in speaking of the Society of the future, I am taking the indulgence of passing over the transitional period—whatever that may be—that will divide the present from the ideal; which, after all, we must all of us more or less form in our minds when we have once fixed our belief in the regeneration of the world. And first as to the form of the position of people in the new Society—their political position, so to say. Political society as we know it will have come to an end: the relations between man and man will no longer be that of status, or of property. It will no longer be the hierarchical position, the office of the man, that will be considered, as in the Middle Ages, nor his property as now, but his person. Contract enforced by the State will have vanished into the same limbo as the holiness of the nobility of blood. So we shall at one stroke get rid of all that side of artificiality which bids us sacrifice each our own life to the supposed necessity of an institution which is to take care of the troubles of people which may never happen: every case of clashing rights and desires will be dealt with on its own merits—that is, really, and not legally. Private property of course will not exist as a right: there will be such an abundance of all ordinary necessities that between private persons there will be no obvious and immediate exchange necessary; though no one will want to meddle with matters that have as it were grown to such and such an individual—which have become part of his habits, so to say.

Now, as to occupations, we shall clearly not be able to have the same division of labour in them as now: vicarious servanting, sewer-emptying, butchering, letter-carrying, boot-blackening, hair-dressing, and the rest of it, will have come to an end: we shall either make all these occupations agreeable to ourselves in some mood or to some minds, who will take to them voluntarily, or we shall have to let them lapse altogether. A great many fidgetty occupations will come to an end: we shan't put a pattern on a cloth or a twiddle on a jug-handle to sell it, but to make it prettier and to amuse ourselves and others. Whatever rough or inferior wares we make, will be made rough and inferior to perform certain functions of use, and not to sell: as there will be no slaves, there will be no use for wares which none but slaves would need. Machinery will probably to a great extent have served its purpose in allowing the workers to shake off privilege, and will I believe be much curtailed. Possibly the few more important machines will be very much improved, and the host of unimportant ones fall into disuse; and as to many or most of them, people will be able to use them or not as they feel inclined—as, e.g., if we want to go a journey we shall not be compelled to go by railway as we are now, in the interests of property, but may indulge our personal inclinations and travel in a tilted waggon or on the hind-quarters of a donkey.

Again, the aggregation of the population having served its purpose of giving people opportunities of inter-communication and of making the workers feel their solidarity, will also come to an end; and the huge manufacturing districts will be broken up, and nature heal the horrible scars that man's heedless greed and stupid terror have made: for it will no longer be a matter of dire necessity that cotton cloth should be made a fraction of a farthing cheaper this year than last. It will be in our own choice whether we will work an extra half-hour a-day more to obtain a clean home and green fields; nor will the starvation or misery of thousands follow some slight caprice in the market for wares not worth making at all. Of course (as I ought to

have said before) there are many ornamental matters which will be made privately in people's leisure hours, as they could easily be: since it is not the making of a real work of art that takes so much ingenuity as the making of a machine for the making of a makeshift. And of course mere cheating and flunky centres like the horrible muck-heap in which we dwell (London, to wit) could be got rid of easier still; and a few pleasant villages on the side of the Thames might mark the place of that preposterous piece of folly once called London.

Now let us use the key to unlock the door of the education of the future. Our present education is purely commercial and political: we are none of us educated to be men, but some to be property-owners, and others to be property-servers. Again I demand the due results of revolution on the basis of non-ascetic simplicity of life. I think here also we must get rid of the fatal division-of-labour system. All people should learn how to swim, and to ride, and to sail a boat on sea or river; such things are not arts, they are merely natural bodily exercises, and should become habitual in the race; and also one or two elementary arts of life, as carpentry or smithing; and most should know how to shoe a horse and shear a sheep and reap a field, and plough it (we should soon drop machinery in agriculture I believe when we were free). Then again there are things like cooking and baking, sewing, and the like, which can be taught to every sensible person in a few hours, and which everybody ought to have at his fingers' ends. All these elementary arts would be once again habitual, as also I suppose would be the arts of reading and writing: as also I suspect would the art of thinking, at present not taught in any school or university that I know of.

Well, armed with these habits and arts, life would lie before the citizen for him to enjoy; for whatever line he might like to take up for the exercise of his energies, he would find the community ready to help him with teaching, opportunities, and material. Nor for my part would I prescribe for him what he should do, being persuaded that the habits which would have given him the capacities of a man would stimulate him to use them; and that the process of the enjoyment of his life would be carried out, not at the expense of his fellow-citizens, but for their benefit. At present, you know, the gains held out as a stimulus to exertion, to all those who are not stimulated by the whip of the threat of death by starvation, are narrow, and are mainly the hope that the successfully energetic man shall be placed in a position where he shall not have to exercise his energies: the boredom of satiety, in short, is the crown of valiant exertion in civilisation. But in a social condition of things, the gains that would lie before the exercise of one's energies would be various and wide indeed; nor do I in the least in the world believe that the possibility of mere personal use would, or indeed could, limit people's endeavour after them; since men would at last have recognised that it was their business to live, and would at once come to the conclusion that life without endeavour is *dull*. Now what direction that endeavour would take, of course I cannot tell you; I can only say that it would be set free from the sordid necessity to work at what doesn't please us, which is the besetting curse of civilisation. The suggestion of a hope I may, however, make, which is of course personal—which is that perhaps mankind will regain their eyesight, which they have at present lost to a great extent. I am not here alluding to what I believe is also a fact, that the number of people of imperfect mechanical sight is increasing, but to what I suppose is connected with that fact—namely, that people have largely ceased to take in mental impressions through the eyes; whereas in times past the eyes were the great feeders of the fancy and imagination. Of course people use their eyes to prevent them from tumbling down stairs or from putting their forks to their noses instead of to their mouths, but there as a rule is an end of the use they are to people. I am in the habit when I go to an exhibition or a picture-gallery of noticing their behaviour there; and as a rule I note that they seem very much bored, and their eyes wander vacantly over the various objects exhibited to them, and odd to say, a strange or unusual thing never attracts them, no doubt because it appeals to their minds chiefly through their eyes; whereas if they came across something which a printed label informs them is something familiar, they become interested and nudge each other. If, *e.g.*, ordinary people go to our National Gallery, the thing which they want to see is the Blenheim Raphael, which, though well done, is a very dull picture, at least to anyone not an artist; and they do this because they have been told that the—h'm! the—the—well, the thief that owned it managed to squeeze an exorbitant sum of money out of the nation for it. While, when Holbein shows them the Danish princess of the sixteenth century yet living on the canvas, the demure half-smile not yet faded from her eyes; when Van Eyck opens a window for them into Bruges of the fourteenth century; when Botticelli shows them Heaven as it lived in the hearts of men before theology was dead, these things produce no impression on them, not so much even as to stimulate their curiosity and make them ask 'what 'tis all about; because these things were done to be looked at, and to make the eyes tell the mind tales of the past, the present, and the future.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

(To be concluded.)

All friends willing to assist in the formation of Branch of the S.L. in Streatham should communicate with J. Campbell, 98 Wellfield Road, Streatham.

UNITED RADICAL CLUB, Kay Street, Goldsmiths Row, Hackney Road.—Sunday April 7th, at 8.30. Graham Wallas, "Practical Land Nationalisation." 14th, William Clarke, "Practical Socialism."

SOUTH NORWOOD LIBERAL AND RADICAL CLUB, 92 Portland Road, South Norwood (3 minutes from Norwood Junction).—On Tuesday April 9th, at 8 p.m., Eleanor Marx Aveling, "A Socialist Programme."

THE FROG'S MARCH.

THAT Mahoney's death must be attributed to the circumstances attending his removal to the police-station, no sane man can dispute. During this period he was in the keeping of the police, therefore his caretakers (?) must be held responsible for what happened. The jury at the coroner's inquest, however, took quite a different view of the question. One juror was an eye-witness, and as a proof of the close attention with which he watched the case, when asked by the coroner whether the deceased knocked the policemen about "with his feet or hands," his reply was "Oh, anyhow." This very graphic description evidently satisfied the coroner. This intelligent witness also "thought that the man killed himself in his temper," an idea which was corroborated by the still more intelligent coroner, who remarked, "That's what the medical evidence points to." The only wonder is that this most intelligent jury did not bring in a verdict of "Suicide whilst in an unsound state of mind." The sapience of the coroner and the jury was still further manifested when they recommended that the "frog's march" should be discontinued. Superintendent Arnold remarked, "It cannot be discontinued because it is not sanctioned." A juror proposed passing a vote of censure on the police. After a few remarks from the coroner and Arnold, the jury proceeded to give another proof of their supreme wisdom by signing the verdict without adding any censure on the police.

Any one making himself acquainted with the facts of the above case, must feel convinced that justice is no factor of our law-n'-order system. All rational minds will hold the four policemen concerned in this case guilty of murder; and a jury, not quite so thick-headed as the one that tried this case, would have brought in a verdict of "Homicide."

Matthews and Monro evidently approve of the "frog's march," and Monro would like to receive suggestions. The only suggestion which could be made is that Matthews, Monro, the coroner, and the jurors in this case should qualify by first going through a process of alcoholisation, then have their heels kicked and their persons generally hustled about, and lastly, be treated to a "frog's march" from Shoreditch Church to the police-station. If they don't commit suicide on the way, they will then be able to speak authoritatively on the merits and demerits of this vexed question. A. B.

VIGOROUS SPEAKING IN A SCOTTISH PULPIT.

It is not often that the ermined hypocrites who sit upon the judgment seats of our land, receive such a vigorous wiggling as was given them last Monday week by the Rev. David McQueen in the Pleasance United Presbyterian Church, Edinburgh—more power to him! Referring to the execution of Jessie King, the baby farmer, for the murder of babies committed to her charge, the reverend castigator said: "Why is mercy so scant in the court here? Because morality is not always on the bench. The sinner has little or no mercy on the erring. If all the justices, sheriffs, and law lords had to undergo an examination in moral character, there would doubtless be several vacancies in Parliament House. A knowledge of the ten commandments is as necessary as an acquaintance with Scottish law. Are all sheriffs pure of heart and clean of hand? I fancy there are some of them who have seldom heard of the seventh commandment." He then condemned in scathing terms the punishment of newsboys with the lash for selling newspapers within the sacred precincts of Waverly station. "The day is coming!" he exclaimed, "when the miserable farce of Justice and Sheriff Court and Court of Session will be trampled and spat upon by an enlightened Christian conscience." Commenting upon a statement made by the Lord Justice Clerk, in reviewing a case where an Aberdeen mill-worker, who had been ruined by a "gentleman of means" under cover of a promise of marriage, had received £300 damages, in which he said "the sheriff had given £300 damages! £300 damages for the ruin of an Aberdeen mill-worker! The thing is ridiculous!" "This," exclaimed the preacher, "happened in Scotland, in a court of justice. The speaker was the Lord Justice Clerk. This is his idea of morality. What should we do? Why, society should hiss him from the bench. We should petition the Queen to send him about his business. If he is a member of a Christian church his name should be erased from the roll. What justice can the poor expect from such a filthy channel? What can innocence hope for when such as sit as her judges are corrupted?" There is some logic as well as humanity in preaching of this stamp. We could do with a deal more of it. J. B. G.

The race dies constantly, not from old age, but dies out from the distemper of poverty and consequent crime.—*Rev. Geo. N. Boardman.*

In the *Leader*, a Liberal weekly, there are two discussions in progress, one on "Shall we feed School Board children?" and one on "The housing of the poor," in both of which some of our friends might profitably take part. To the last-named our comrade Chatterton contributed a letter in last week's issue.

The Working Men's Club and Institute Union makes the offer to working men and women of a third-class journey to Paris and back, for the Exhibition, and four days' board and lodging, for £2 11s.; or six days for £3 3s. For four days in Paris, with two drives round to see the sights and two days admission to the Exhibition, £3 7s.; or for seven days' stay, three drives, and two days in the Exhibition, £4 13s. The railway tickets are available for 14 days, and any may stay up to that limit for 6s. 6d. per day for lodging at the Hotel Longchamps (close to the Exhibition), a meat breakfast, a substantial meat tea, light, and ordinary attendance. An interpreter will accompany the excursionists. Applications must be made to J. J. Dent, 150, Holborn.

JEWISH CABINET-MAKERS IN MANCHESTER.—On Saturday week a crowded meeting of Manchester Jewish cabinet-makers was held in the International Club, 122 Corporation Street, and was addressed by Messrs. Remond, Harper, Barnes, and Hutchison (S.D.F.) of the Alliance Cabinet-Makers' Association. Comrade Wess, who presided, referring to the sermon in a neighbouring synagogue of the Delegate Chief Rabbi (Dr. Know-nothing Adler), in which he termed Socialists "blatant, noisy, atheist and anarchist agitators," and advised working men to avoid them, said, "This crowded meeting of Jewish workers serves as a protest against such shamefully libellous misrepresentations of the cause of the workers." He appealed to those present to persevere in the struggle for the emancipation of labour, heedless of any such idle talk and abuse by well-fed representatives of the golden calf. The meeting was very enthusiastic from beginning to end, and resulted in the formation of a branch of the above-named association.