

The Freethinker

Edited by G. W. FOOTE.]

[Sub-Editor, J. M. WHEELER.

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[PRICE ONE PENNY.

DEATH OF MR. BRADLAUGH.

SINCE the last ordinary number of the *Freethinker* was published, the world has been made poorer by the loss of a great man. Mr. Charles Bradlaugh died on Friday morning, January 30. He had been unconscious for hours before the end came. Soon after six o'clock he ceased to breathe. Mrs. Bonner, his devoted daughter, was with him through the night, and his last flickerings of life were watched by her loving eyes.

From the first there seems to have been no hope. Mr. Bradlaugh's vital organs were terribly impaired by the Herculean labors and tremendous excitement of his career. He suffered from heart spasms in the earlier stages of his last illness; afterwards a vein snapped in the brain; and he gradually passed through exhaustion to death. Unfortunately the news of his great triumph in the House of Commons on the previous Tuesday could not be communicated to him. He passed away without knowing that the resolution which debarred him from the House had been expunged by general consent.

Seldom has the death of a public man caused so much sorrow or evoked such expressions of esteem. Mr. Bradlaugh died all too young; he went into the silent land just as the career of a statesman was opening up to him; but he lived long enough to command the respect of all but the malignant among his bitterest enemies.

This man of the people, who rose from the lowest rung of the social ladder to be the pride of thousands and the hope of myriads, was the embodiment of many great qualities. He was one of those practical geniuses who show what is possible to sagacity, sincerity, courage, and endurance. He was like Cromwell in this, that as he rose he developed new powers of mind and character. There was no man in England better fitted to be Prime Minister; none in whose hands the best interests of the country would have been more safe. He had convictions, and never concealed them. But he knew how to work along the line of least resistance. He was strong and deft in fighting enemies, but he was singularly magnanimous in the hour of victory.

I have expressed, through a reported speech in another column, what I felt it incumbent on me to say in the heat of this crisis. What remains to be said—and there is much—will appear in early numbers of this journal. Mr. Bradlaugh's death is a very great event. We are too close to see its full proportions. A little distance, at least, is necessary before we can half appreciate it; and the first stroke of loss inevitably disturbs the judgment of the most self-contained critics.

When I saw Mrs. Bonner on the day of her father's death she told me she would have a silent funeral. It was her own preference, and she thought it most agreeable to her father's wishes. Thinking this over as I walked from her house, I saw it would be a mistake to let Mr. Bradlaugh be buried without some

public expression of admiration and affection by his Freethought followers. Accordingly, as President of the National Secular Society, of which Mr. Bradlaugh became a life-member on resigning the chair, I summoned a members' meeting at the Hall of Science on the following Monday evening. A report of its proceedings will be found in another part of this paper. It was a very remarkable gathering. Men and women were sobbing with grief, but all seemed resolved that the cause should go on conquering and to conquer.

I am exceedingly glad that this meeting was held. I attended Mr. Bradlaugh's funeral as one of the two or three thousand mourners, and I felt that the silent funeral was a terrible mistake. Hundreds of Freethinkers who spoke to me were pained and grieved. Their lacerated hearts wanted the healing touch of solemn words. Man possesses reason and discourse, and sorrow weighs too heavily on the heart when it cannot be articulate. I was present at Austin Holyoake's funeral, when Mr. Charles Watts read the Secular Burial Service, and Mr. Bradlaugh delivered an address; and I know that the mourners went away with a sense that respect for the dead had been harmonised with regard for the living. For my part, I hope I shall never see another silent funeral of a public man, especially of a man within a thousand miles of Mr. Bradlaugh's greatness. It strikes too cold on the ideal side of human nature.

I travelled down to the cemetery with several members of Parliament. Mr. John Morley was there, looking very well, but wonderfully thin. I rejoice that he had the courage to attend the funeral. Dr. Hunter expressed to me his great admiration of Mr. Bradlaugh. He said that Mr. Bradlaugh's *personal* popularity with the Tory members of the House was positively amazing. The Tuesday night's vote was largely one of personal regard. Mr. John O'Connor spoke earnestly of Mr. Bradlaugh's sympathy for Ireland. He almost knew by heart that pathetic passage in which the great Democrat described an eviction scene he witnessed in the South of Ireland while in the army.

"Gentlemen," I said to those M.P.'s, "two things killed Mr. Bradlaugh. But for them, he would be still living. One was his struggle with the House of Commons, which was enough to tax the strength of ten men. The other was the non-payment of members. When Mr. Bradlaugh got his seat, he did his duty with painful care, and he had to work hard outside, with failing strength, for mere bread." Dr. Hunter admitted that no member of the House was so assiduous in duty as Mr. Bradlaugh. He said wittily, but with no spice of levity, "He sat like a hen over eggs." That is the spirit of duty which Mr. Bradlaugh brought to every task of his life. He was indeed one of a million, nay one of many millions. All who knew him feel they will never see his like again.

G. W. FOOTE.

In Memoriam.

CHARLES BRADLAUGH.

BORN SEPT. 26, 1833. DIED JAN. 30, 1891.

A GREAT soldier of progress has fallen. To Free-thinkers, some of whom have followed step by step his career for almost forty years, the sad news awakens emotion such as could be aroused by no other man. Few have been assailed by fiercer hate, or evoked more fervent devotion. On veterans who have fought by his side from the days when the stripling "Iconoclast" first became the terror of the churches, the close of so glorious a career will come like the eclipse of light that filled their world with splendor. That he has fallen in an hour of victory, whose fruits he cannot reap, makes it more grievous. So firmly had he won his way against hosts of enemies, that, with his clear, cool head, anything seemed possible. We hoped to have seen him at the helm of affairs, removing the iniquity of State endowments of religion and directing the commonwealth. With his powerful frame, iron nerves, soldierly training, firm grip of life, and buoyant spirits, that could take a giant's task as 'twere a plaything, but a few years ago, we, knowing the extent of his ambition, yet felt he could achieve it. And now he is fallen, and our hopes frustrated.

We hold the late hours and worry of Parliamentary work, with consequent want of exercise, even more responsible than the strain of the fierce fightings through life. That was his element. Battle and work would not have killed him; bad hours and worry have. We have one consolation. Mr. Bradlaugh was not the man to wish to live disabled from serving the cause he loved. And who among his friends could bear to see so proud a ship a helpless wreck? Were he with us he would say, "Mourn not, but go on with my work." This we must do, though but in petty fashion, compared to him.

Mr. Bradlaugh was a man of a million. His career proves it. Self-taught, rising from the very foot to the top of the ladder, using all material, baffling all opposition, living down all calumny, turning enemies into admirers, the world was forced to see the Atheist was a remarkable man, though unsuspecting that just because of his strong head and stout heart he was an Atheist. And now the lion is dead, how the asses bray!

Mr. Bradlaugh had the great qualities of a leader—eloquence, insight, dauntless energy, indomitable courage and force of character. In stormy meetings his commanding form and voice stood out in grandeur. A few words of his clear, deep thunder thrilled his auditors, impressing the unrueliest that here was one greater than his words. Behind the orator was the man. He could raise or quell feelings as a skilful musician passes from grave to gay, from lively to severe. But he was best when intensest, displaying the depth of his own convictions, rousing enthusiasm, exposing sophistry, stirring superstition from its stupor, denouncing bigotry, corruption and oppression. As a debater he carried heavier guns than any man of his time, and his fire, majesty and force were equalled by his skill in detecting the weak points of an opponent's armor. No fallacy could deceive, no quibble baffle him. His head showed the powerful reasoner. With lucidity of argument he combined glowing vehemence of language which carried all before it.

Though so brilliant in oratory, Mr. Bradlaugh was as industrious and accurate as if these were the qualities on which he relied. "Thorough" was his motto. He had a passion for truth. Whatever he took up he made himself master of. He united the barrister's skill of presenting his case with the solicitor's pains in preparing it. Had the legal profession been open, he would soon have been at the

top. As it was, he was the best lawyer in England, and many a poor man has profited by his ever-ready advice.

He had ambition, which if "the last infirmity of noble minds" is yet more truly as Milton says,

"The spur that the clear spirit doth raise,
To scorn delight and live laborious days."

But he had still more that sense of honor which makes ambition virtue. He could not be bought. His love for liberty and passion for progress never faltered, but remained the guiding principle of his life. Though a statesman, knowing he must displease those he served, he was ever of the people and for the people, and from first to last he clung to the cause he knew to be right. To Emerson's essay on Self-Reliance, which he copied when too poor to buy the book, he ascribed the incentive of his career. Probably he needed this not. His nature was self-reliant. Like some proud oak he stood alone. He had the high spirit and generosity of a great nature. Imperious and unbending in the path of war, where he had found every man's hand against him, in private life he was most amiable. His power sprang from deep feeling, and the loss of his devoted eldest daughter and the defection of his dearest comrade fell upon his noble heart as his own death-knell.

This is not the place to estimate his work as a politician, a political economist, and far-seeing statesman. Nor has the time come to adequately summarise his services to our own cause. When the history of Freethought in England is written his will be a conspicuous place among its many heroes. Sufficient now to say he was our most brilliant leader, and to his courage we owe more than to any other man. With gratitude and admiration we lay our humble tribute at the grave of this brave soldier of the war of the liberation of humanity.

J. M. WHEELER.

MEMORIAL SERVICE AT THE HALL OF SCIENCE.

LONG before the appointed time (8.30, Monday, Feb. 2), a crowd gathered in Old-street, anxious to gain admittance, and it taxed the energies of Mr. Forder, Mr. Anderson, and assistants, to see that only those entered who, as members of the N.S.S., were entitled to do so. The hall was thronged by an excited audience, and it says very much indeed for their self-restraint, that, swayed as they were throughout by the deepest feeling, they, in compliance with Mr. Foote's request, refrained from all expressions of applause.

Mr. Foote was followed to the platform by Mr. Holyoake, Mr. Truelove, Mr. Forder, Mr. Ellis, Mr. Brumage, Mr. Standing, Mr. Wheeler, Mr. R. A. Cooper, Mr. Moss, and others.

THE CHAIRMAN, in opening the proceedings, said: "This is a very sad and solemn occasion. We are Freethinkers, met in this hall to-night, and our old general is dead. To-morrow I shall have the melancholy duty of helping to carry his dead body to the grave. I never looked forward to the possibility of this. Mr. Bradlaugh was many years my senior, he was a man of great strength of body as well as of great mind and character, and I thought he would live to a great old age, and enjoy a long calm till the close of his life. The funeral, according to the wishes of his daughter, and, as she thinks, according to the wishes of her father, will be a silent one. There will be no ceremony and no speeches. In those circumstances, I thought, as president of the National Secular Society, it would be wrong to bury him without having some kind of meeting of members and friends; so I took upon myself to convene this; and the proof that I interpreted the wishes of the party is, the large gathering to-night.—No special invitations had been sent, but he had made a small selection of speakers, whom he would call on to speak of the dead; and first, he would call on one who had known him from a boy, and presided at his first public meeting—Mr. George Jacob Holyoake.

Mr. HOLYOAKE began by reading a resolution of condolence with Mrs. Bonner in her ineffaceable sorrow at the loss of her father, whose name is illustrious by his national services and his life-long vindication of freedom. When he first met Mr.

Bradlaugh he was but a youth of seventeen. It was after what he had suffered at the hands of Mr. Packer, and he asked him to preside. He had found by accident a small placard, the first bearing the name of Charles Bradlaugh, where it had laid aside for forty-one years, and that placard would be reproduced for those who might wish to see it. As a young man he was ready of speech and of very good judgment. Mr. Holyoake then signalled the fact that after being in the army he went as an errand boy, in order that he might obtain an honest living in the only way open to him, as an example worthy of imitation by every young man, and alluded to other instances in early life of Mr. Bradlaugh's intrepidity and integrity. The President had done well in calling this meeting. In America, when they buried Lucretia Mott and William Lloyd Garrison, similar services were held where two or three personal friends declared the grounds on which they based their esteem. This is the most fitting way in which we can commemorate our regard for the deceased. I was not only his counsellor for many years, but we were in substantial agreement always. We never differed on principle, but only on method, and he was as much entitled to take his course as I to give my advice. We must distinguish between wishing and will. They who will progress take care to provide the means. Mr. Bradlaugh always brought to bear his judgment, foresight, and perception of duty. He knew liberty could only be secured by eternal vigilance. When danger arose he was there. He never shrank from paying the price. The last number of the *National Reformer* declared itself Republican, Atheistic, and Malthusian. I bore that flag before him, but I am glad he bore it with stronger arm and greater power than I can. With all the progress he had made, all prospect of office before him, he withdrew nothing, modified nothing, but kept his principles always before the public. People say it is impossible for Free-thinkers to die happy. They never can understand that there is more pleasure in being free from illusions than in holding them. He who has the passion for truth never can be happy under Christian ideas. Mr. Bradlaugh held there was no religion higher than truth. This principle he maintained in his life, and he found satisfaction in convictions which were honorable to himself and serviceable to mankind. He lived the life of a soldier, and never shrank from duty. He made Freethought a national fact, and more illustrious than ever before.

The President then called on Mr. G. STANDING, who said he felt that just as in a family they might speak of the dead, so in this larger family, who were but a mere handful of those mourning throughout the land, he would say a few words. For seventeen years he had worked side by side with Mr. Bradlaugh, and during that time they never had one angry word. He thought we owed him a debt of gratitude, and the best way to acknowledge it would be to set apart the day of his death as a day to commemorate Mr. Bradlaugh and the services he had rendered. There had been a marvellous change in public opinion, and the greater part of the burden had fallen on Mr. Bradlaugh. He had borne as 'twere the sins of the Freethought party. He had confronted bigotry and prejudice, and conquered it. Since Friday the sense of his loss had deepened day by day, till it was overpowering. He hoped that, as the years rolled by, we might retain that sense of loss and revere the memory of the precious services of the friend of the freedom of the individual and of the race.

Mr. BRUMAGE (of Portsmouth) felt it a duty to be present. He had been intimate with Mr. Bradlaugh since 1854, and testified that, however firm in public, there was no one with a more genial disposition in private. The loss is great—it is national; but do not let it throw us back. We must press onward with the work still more. Though he had looked to Mr. Bradlaugh as the backbone of the party, he would say, Do not relax the work, but work still harder. Be steady and act in unity, and you are bound to succeed.

Mr. FORDER, who spoke with traces of deep emotion, said he had been commissioned by our Yorkshire friends in Huddersfield to testify their approbation of the worth and sense of the services of Mr. Bradlaugh. Those only who had known the man so many years, and who had seen the way in which he met the difficulties which beset us, could appreciate how he carried out his motto of "Thorough." He loved and revered his memory, but could not forget those past years when every ignoble cur shouted at his heels. When the *Morning Post* tells us a great man is lost to the nation, he did not forget it said, Thank God, he was kicked out of the House of Commons. For him to say what he felt was im-

possible. Mr. Forder concluded by reading some stirring lines by Gerald Massey with the refrain, "We do not bury the hatchet so."

Mr. R. A. COOPER (of Norwich) said: Brother Secularists, we have met to mourn the loss of the greatest leader our party has possessed. The blow is severe and terrible, but we have this consolation, we can be proud of him as a man who left his mark not only on our country, but the world, who goes to the grave with the respect and admiration, not only of his party, but of mankind at large. I first met Mr. Bradlaugh at the Reform League, when I found him the most sagacious, able, and thorough advocate of reform. From that time I watched his career. With all the daring with which he fought, he never forgot that care which calculated the causes he had to contend with. He left nothing to chance; when he led a forlorn hope he was always foremost in battle. The progress made is wonderful, and we owe it to him more than any other man. Young men can scarcely know the difficulties of the time when to be called a Freethinker or infidel meant that one was a bad citizen, a bad parent, and a bad man. Mr. Bradlaugh stood a head and shoulders above all who fought for our safety and peace. We cannot be too grateful to his memory. His life was a life of work for the good of the cause of truth and freedom.

Mr. FOOTE, in tones of deep solemnity and feeling, said: It falls to my lot, as President of the National Secular Society, to close the speaking. This hammer passed from Mr. Bradlaugh's hands to mine. I hope to keep it for some time, and to hand it on to the next-elected president as stainless as I received it from him. I called Mr. Bradlaugh our old general. He is dead at the age of fifty-eight. It is young, as political life goes; his life was not a long one, measured by the ordinary standard. But we must remember he began his public life early. He was working for principles at an age when most young men are only weaving dreams. If we measure life by heartbeats, by thoughts, by wise words and bold deeds, he lived the life of many men. What a life it was! What a great character! He seemed a compendium of many men and of many varieties of human power. When but a lad he became a Freethought orator. In his very youngest days, while he spoke as a Freethinker, he was also an ardent social reformer. He was a temperance lecturer even in the army, and when they sought to stop his tongue he knew how to use it and keep within the law. I remember him saying to me, "You know, Foote, I always cared for the condition of the people." I venture to say they never had a better friend. He never sought plaudits by cheap claptrap. His mind was of that earnest cast, that he hated mere feather-brained talk. His tongue he used as a weapon for definite ends. As a social reformer he did a grand work in calling public attention to that great question of population, which thinking men are beginning to see lies behind all others, and may nullify all other reforms unless it is wisely dealt with. He was a politician, as well as a Freethinker. His legal knowledge and his time were ever at the service of the people. The younger school of politicians have used harsh words of him which might easily be rebuked by the elder ones, who know what he had done in the past. He was not only a politician, he was a statesman. The fact that he commanded the respect even of bitter opponents proved his quality. It is so easy for prejudice to rise rampant against one who differs in opinion, but personal contact proves that human brotherhood is grander than all creeds and sectional differences. He showed his sagacity and large heart in his care for the millions of India. That dominion comes to us as an historic legacy. Mr. Bradlaugh wished the Hindoos to be governed justly, wisely, and with a view of their being educated up to the point when they may take their destinies in their own hands. In this he showed a wise and statesmanlike foresight. At the Congress to which he went in India he showed that hatred of mere feather-brained talk of which I have spoken. I am not surprised that his death struck heavily at the heart of the best Hindoos. He was not only a statesman. He was a fighter. While wrongs have to be righted and freedom is trampled on, the fighter is necessary. Like the hero of Browning's poem, he could say, "I was ever a fighter," and like him he met his death as but "one fight more." He faced it with fortitude, with consideration for all about him, and died peacefully. Some day, when the time has ripened, we may see some grotesque story of his having returned to the creed of his youth. With such a man change of the deliberate judgment of his maturity was impossible. He was a Freethinker. After his resignation he said to me in his room: "My convictions are not

light. When I lay there (pointing to his bed) and all was black, the thing that troubled me least was the conviction of my life. The Freethought party is a party I love." And he showed it by working, by fighting and sacrificing for us. We now hear a remarkable chorus of appreciation. But we cannot forget the obloquy he suffered before he commanded the respect of his enemies. We remember how he was thrust from the precincts of the House of Commons like a taproom brawler. Those of us who saw that pale, resolute, coat-torn figure standing before the open door from which he was ejected, will never forget the scene to the last day of our lives. The House of Commons challenged him. He accepted the challenge with no light heart, but with a firm one. He fought year by year, and he won. He took his seat, he carried a Bill which prevented the possibility of such another scandal, and he induced the House to expunge from its books the unconstitutional resolution which excluded him. It seemed a poetically arranged drama that he should win the last fragment of victory in this great struggle, and then pay the debt of nature. Yet, by a sad, strange, irony, the news could not be told him. He died without knowing it. But we know it, and the world knows it. His motto of "Thorough" describes his victory in this tremendous conflict of one man, with right on his side, against the hosts of wrong. The general public caught only glimpses of Mr. Bradlaugh's greatness. Too late it began to recognise the solid strength of his character. But the Freethought party knew him intimately and always appreciated his worth. It watched with hope his early efforts, it was associated with his later struggles, it stood by him unswervingly in the darkest hours of adversity, and it rejoiced at his triumph, which, though long-delayed, was brilliant and complete. Yes, it was the Freethought party to which he really belonged. It is the Freethought party which is most profoundly affected by his death. What to others is a public loss is to us a personal bereavement. How many of us have sought—and never in vain—his counsel in perplexity and his assistance in distress! How many of us not only admired but loved him! But now his noble personality is gone from us for ever. In the days to come, when the old war with error and evil is waged afresh, we shall miss him where the standards reel, and the smoke is thick, and the fight is hot and deadly. We shall miss that strong arm, that wise counsel, that inspiring voice, and that indomitable courage which flamed like a beacon of hope in the night of other men's despair. Yet we shall shed no idle tears over his tomb. The war in which he led us has still to be carried on. Could we have stood around our old general as he fell beneath the sword of Death, the invincible lord of all, we should have seen his outstretched finger and heard his cry of "Onward!" As we charge the serried ranks of superstition, his name will spring to our lips. He will live in our hearts, animate our courage, and nerve our arms. Not in metaphor, but in verity, he will fight in our midst. The old general will be with his soldiers in the days of battle. Nor will he cease to inspire the army of freedom when our own hearts are chilled by the touch of death, and others take the weapons from our nerveless hands. For we shall hand on to our successors the tradition of his genius, his wisdom, his magnanimity, and his fortitude; and thus, though dead, he will share in the struggle for the freedom, the welfare, and the dignity of mankind.

After Mr. Foote's speech a Hindu rose and begged to say a few words as to the way in which his fellow countrymen felt the blow of Mr. Bradlaugh's death. They had no friend like him, and they were bowed with sorrow.

CHARLES BRADLAUGH.

OBIT JANUARY 30, 1891.

The hero of a hundred fights has passed
From out the range of battle with his peers.
Humbly I pay my tribute, void of tears,
Over the grave of dead Iconoclast,
Nor deem it wise to let remorseless fears
Awaken judgment to a sense of wrong
Done unto him through unavailing years
When Fame had hailed him with her trumpet blast,
For now he sleeps. Another star appears
Where his has set, and watches with calm eyes
The varying moods and manners of the throng,
Which needs must learn that when a great man dies
The life that *was* takes living force and breath
With those who are immortal after death.

WILLIAM EMSLEY.

THE FUNERAL AT WOKING.

Mr. BRADLAUGH'S remains were interred on Tuesday afternoon, at Woking Cemetery, in the family grave, which lies next to that of Thomas Allsop, the friend and biographer of Coleridge. The coffin was of wicker-work, covered with black cloth, and bore a plate with the inscription:—

CHARLES BRADLAUGH,

DIED JAN. 30TH, 1891,

AGED 57 YEARS.

The body had been "watched" at the Necropolis Company's mortuary since Monday morning by Mr. G. A. Fowler, one of Mr. Bradlaugh's staunch old Hall of Science friends. It was brought round and placed in one of the special trains that ran to Brookwood from Waterloo Station. This proceeding was witnessed by the crowd waiting on the platform, whose countenances betrayed the profoundest grief.

Freethinkers were there from all parts of the country. The huge figure and Alpine hat of Toby King, from Hastings, were conspicuous. Mr. Samuel Peacock represented the North-Eastern Secular Federation; Mr. A. Hemingway, Mr. Bilecliff, and others, represented Manchester; Mr. Murgatroyd came from Scarborough; Mr. J. G. Fisher, from Leeds; Mr. Daniel Baker and Mr. C. Cattell, from Birmingham; Mr. Atkey and Mr. Anderson, from Nottingham; Messrs. Moon and Rayner, from Southampton; Mr. Brumage, from Portsmouth; Mr. Croft, Mr. A. B. Wakefield, and Mr. Woffenden, from Huddersfield; Mr. R. A. Cooper, from Norwich; Messrs. Gimson, Barrs, Savage and Wright, from Leicester; Mr. Pine, from Bristol; Mr. Cheetham, from Rochdale; Mr. B. Marcuse was a delegate from the Montreal Pioneer Freethought Club, Canada. Among the individual Freethinkers was the venerable Mr. G. J. Holyoake. Mrs. Harriet Law was also present shaking hands with old friends from London and the provinces. Messrs. G. W. Foote, J. M. Wheeler, Thomas Slater, J. Umpleby, R. Forder, G. Standing, W. H. Reynolds, E. Truelove, J. H. Ellis, J. Robertson, J. Martin, Anderson, Trevillion, Hilditch, Meers, Rowney, Haslam, Grout, Calvert, Leckey, E. T. Garner, Lowry, and Angus Thomas, were a few of the multitude of Secularists caught sight of by our reporter. Messrs. French, Gill, Griffiths, Simson, Warren, Allen, and Rose, were among the stewards. A complete list of names would exhaust our space. It would include nearly all the chief workers in the Freethought party. Hundreds of ladies attended the funeral, among whom our reporter noticed Miss Vance, Mrs. Thornton Smith, Mrs. Standing, Mrs. Anderson, Miss Truelove.

Several ministers of religion were there, including the Rev. Stewart Headlam. Scores of political bodies were represented. Some miners brought a wreath all the way from Hamilton. N.B. The House of Commons was represented [unofficially of course] by Mr. John Morley, Mr. Labouchere, Dr. Hunter, Mr. J. A. Picton, Mr. Alfred Webb, Mr. John O'Connor, Mr. P. Mahoney, Mr. Burt and Mr. Fenwick. Among London politicians were, Sir John Bennett, Mr. F. A. Ford, and Mr. J. Nieass, one of the oldest of the Radical workmen's party. The Marquis of Queensbury was also in the crowd.

Brookwood Station, close to the cemetery, was never so thronged before. The ticket collectors were miserably inadequate to cope with the situation. Some time elapsed before the crowd could meet outside the waiting rooms, and as the ground had not been laid out for such a demonstration, the stewards were heavily taxed. Soon after half-past two the coffin was borne to the grave on the shoulders of four of Mr. Bradlaugh's old Northampton supporters and of Messrs. Digby (of the Indian Agency) and Mr. J. M. Robertson. It was followed by Mrs. Bradlaugh Bonner, Mrs. Norman and her son, Miss Emma Bradlaugh, Mrs. Besant (heavily veiled), Mr. A. Bonner, Mrs. Reed, and Mr. and Mrs. Levy.

The Members of Parliament, with leading Freethinkers, followed closely behind the principal mourners. The procession passed through lines of sorrowful faces and uncovered heads to the grave, where Freethought stewards had made a ring to resist the inevitable pressure of such a multitude. Beside the grave were arranged the funeral wreaths from all parts of the country. The Nottingham Secularists sent a fine example of the florists' art, with the accompanying inscription:—

"Brave, honest, incorruptible, thorough. With loving sympathy of the Nottingham Secular Society, a grateful tribute from the hands of loving admirers to Charles Bradlaugh, Member of Parliament for Northampton, for England, for India, and the faithful champion of the weak and oppressed of every creed and every nation."

Many other Secular Branches and individual Freethinkers sent wreaths. There was at least one wreath from a Christian—Mr. W. R. Bradlaugh, whose card referred to the text, Job xxxiii., 15-16. Other senders of wreaths were the Committee of the Indian National Congress, the Postal Telegraph Clerks' Association, and the officers of H.M. Customs.

The coffin was lowered in the presence of the principal mourners, and soon afterwards a large number of the crowd filed past the grave, some casting in flowers and all looking dejectedly at the coffin which held the body of their lost leader. This took a considerable time; indeed it was nearly two hours before the stewards and other old Freethinkers filled up the grave and the cemetery was deserted.

There were no speeches at the grave; there was no ceremony of any kind. The only "incident" was the presence of a sharp photographer who was utilising the occasion, perhaps for one of the illustrated journals. Mr. Bradlaugh's Freethought followers, who formed the great bulk of the mourning crowd, strongly expressed their regret that the funeral was a silent one. They could not understand why their old leader should be buried publicly and yet in silence. It was regarded as a lost opportunity. Mr. Foote and Mr. Forder were continually begged to say something, but they refused in respect for the wishes of Mrs. Bonner.

BRADLAUGH.

B rave Bradlaugh rests at last; his work is done;
R ight well, for Right, he thought, and fought, and won.
A fearless front to Freedom's foes he turned;
D eath's chill alone could quench the fire that burned.
L et parsons, priests and prudes their prating cease.
A nd work, as he did work, for Truth and Peace.
U nmoved by bribes and threats of ghostly creeds,
G reat minded man! while pond'ring human needs,
H is honest heart converted thoughts to deeds.

G. L. MACKENZIE

TRIBUTE TO MR. BRADLAUGH FROM FRANCE.

M. Pasquier, secretary of the French Freethought Federation, sends Mr. Foote a letter, of which the following is a translation:—"The Committee of Administration of the French Freethought Federation sends to the English Freethinkers an expression of the profound grief which has been created in France among all the friends of liberty of conscience by the death of Charles Bradlaugh. This sincere friend of France and the Republic, this apostle of science and freedom, will be as much regretted by the Freethinkers of France as by those of Great Britain. In the name of the Federation, we send you fraternal condolence."

INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF FREETHINKERS.

M. Léon Fournémont, secretary of the International Federation of Freethinkers, was expected to attend Mr. Bradlaugh's funeral. He was unable to do so, however, but sent Mr. Foote a letter, of which the following is a translation:—"Dear citizen—I counted on being able to attend the funeral of Mr. Bradlaugh, but I find it altogether impossible. I beg you will kindly convey to all our English friends our deep regret and sincere condolence. He who is just dead, amidst the esteem and veneration of all, will ever remain as one of the noblest figures of Freethought and Democracy.—Yours with all my heart, Léon Fournémont."

A CHRISTIAN TRIBUTE.

The following letter has been sent to Mrs. Bradlaugh Bonner:—

"Darenth House, Stamford Hill, N.

"Feb. 1, 1891.

"DEAR MADAM.—This afternoon, at the Conference of the Christian Social Reform League, held under the presidency of Alderman the Rev. C. Fleming Williams, L.C.C., in the Rectory-road Congregational Church, a unanimous vote of condolence was passed to you in your hour of bereavement. We do not wish to intrude upon your sorrow, but if our sympathy could mitigate the poignancy of your grief—for as fellow-workers with your respected father we feel that in some measure your loss is also our loss—we would willingly, as brethren, help you to bear the burden of anguish. Sorrow not; he has gone to his reward. His rest has been well and nobly earned. His memory will be kept green by his doughty deeds for men.—Yours in the service of Humanity,

"C. R. W. OFFEN, Hon. Sec."

TRIBUTE FROM DR. W. COLLINS.

It was in his rôle as a Royal Commissioner that I had the privilege of knowing Mr. Bradlaugh. Some two years ago, when the Government decided to appoint a Commission to inquire into the subject of vaccination and its compulsory enforcement, many observed with satisfaction the inclusion of Mr. Bradlaugh's name among her Majesty's "trustworthy and well-beloved" advisers. By his own request I have occupied the chair next to him at the meetings of that Commission, and a valued acquaintance rapidly ripened into a close friendship. During his long illness of last winter, by day and by night at his bedside I had many a charming conversation with him upon men and things, the memory of which I shall ever value. Of his work on the Commission, his strict impartiality, his mental grasp of even pathological intricacies, his skilful handling of a witness, none could speak but with ungrudging praise and admiration. The impression which the evidence hitherto adduced had made upon his mind, and which he freely communicated to me at the last conversation which I had with him on Sunday week, it may be my duty some day to publish. At that last conversation it seemed impossible that that active brain, full of will, noble ambition, and plans for future labor, could so soon be at rest, did not one recognise only too clearly how the more merely physical organs of heart and kidneys were damaged beyond repair. He had, to use his own expression, lived three lives in one, so inveterate a worker has he been. His splendid will would have carried him through if man could live by will alone.—*Pall Mall Gazette.*

G. R. SIMS ON MR. BRADLAUGH.

The death of Charles Bradlaugh has been as dramatic as anything in his career. He compelled attention while he lived, and he breathed his last under circumstances which riveted all eyes upon his death-bed. When the message came from the House of Commons, which was a generous if tardy apology for the outrage of ten years ago, the member for Northampton was unconscious. He lived to be respected by the Tories and hooted by the Democrats. He died at a time when his name was on every lip, and he had not tasted the bitterness of forgetfulness and neglect which comes to so many public men.—*Referee.*

AN ACROSTIC.

CHARLES BRADLAUGH—IN MEMORIAM.

C ourageous, piercing searcher after light,
H emmed in by foes, and joying in the fight;
A lone he stood amidst a sneering crowd,
R epelled their taunts, and with a bearing proud
L ooked down on facile folk so apt to call
E ternal justice to the judgment hall.
S wear not at all, the Great Reformer cried,
B ut that command for ages was defied.
R ash oaths were gabbled o'er in every court
A s idle formula of no import;
D ire was the lesson, Bradlaugh as a teacher
L ived to enforce on layman and on preacher;
A theist they dubbed him, but they found that God
U sed as an instrument the fittest rod!
G reatly he strove, and won this reformation—
H e who has reverence may make affirmation.

JUSTITIA.

BATTERSEA BRANCH N. S. S.—A special meeting of this Branch was held on Sunday evening, and the following resolution was unanimously passed: "That we tender our sincerest and deepest sympathy to Mrs. Bradlaugh Bonner, who has sustained so severe a loss by the death of her father, Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, whom we all loved and esteemed and whose memory we shall always honor and revere." The members then subscribed for a handsome wreath, and Mr. Martin, our president, was deputed to lay it on the grave. Several other members were also elected to represent the Battersea Branch at the funeral, including Mr. J. H. Ellis, and Mr. and Mrs. Pearce. After the meeting, Mr. Heaford delivered an eloquent address on "Charles Bradlaugh, his life and work," which was listened to by a large audience with rapt attention. At the close Mr. Sowden and others testified to the good work done by our grand old leader. It is proposed by this Branch to have an anniversary address on our departed chief.—A. WATKIN, sec.

A PLEA FOR TRUTH.

BY MONCURE D. CONWAY, M.A.

(Continued.)

IN former times, theologians could not imagine that any man could have an actual and conscientious disbelief of their dogmas. They attributed all scepticism to an evil heart, or to a desire to forget and hide the truth lest it might check their evil propensities. This being their premiss, it was but a natural inference that all sceptics must be wicked men. Thus Thomas Paine was branded as a drunkard—a pure fabrication—and Voltaire stigmatised for immoralities of which he was innocent. But there was another inference. These men being only pretended unbelievers, it was but natural that when the hour of death arrived, the disguise should fall, the truth come out and the terrors it was impossible really to believe then come so close that they would cry for mercy and die in the agonies of remorse. To suit that theory, fictitious scenes were invented for the deathbed of Paine, who died most peacefully, and that of Voltaire, whose only trouble in his closing hours was that the priests hung about him like vultures.

But that old theory broke down. The upright lives of such men as Hume, and Herbert, and Bolingbroke, and Franklin, and their peaceful deaths, reduced it to absurdity. There has succeeded to it another, which is, that unless a man believe in immortality, his life must be selfish, and he must have an excessive horror of death. While, on the other hand, the believer in heaven sacrifices present for future happiness, and dies with joyful hope. But this theory breaks down under the facts just like the other. The sceptical philosophers around us are apparently no more selfish than other people. If they were devoted to self, they would take care first of all not to express their scepticism. There are eminent men of science around us, disbelievers in Animism, whose abilities might have made them bishops, but whose self-sacrificing devotion to what they believe true causes them to live in poverty, and under the denunciation of the comfortable souls who find godliness to be great gain. Nor do we find that heretics have any greater dread of death than believers in a future life. The orthodox man for whom the grave is a gate to Paradise, sends for the doctor just as fast as the sceptic, and never seems in any hurry to enjoy his future bliss. On the other hand, no martyrs have ever marched more fearlessly to death than the revolutionists of France and Germany, who, in nine cases out of ten, were unbelievers in any future life. The unbeliever in a future life has not, indeed, much reason for the gloom commonly ascribed to him. If he has lost expectation of future joys, he has equally lost all apprehension of future woes; and, so far as the natural desire for continued existence is concerned, he knows that, if it is to be, he will attain it just as much as any believer in it, with the advantage that it will not have for a part of it the torture of some of his friends.

Let us take another case—the common idea of what it is to be a fatalist or necessitarian. The believer in freewill sits down and evolves from his inner consciousness, the typical believer in necessity. As the fatalist believes that what will be will be; that nothing can be altered by the will of man; so, he must assuredly be a man who sits passive and allows things to take their own course. If he be a Calvinist, and believes that God has predestined from before the foundation of the world those who are to be saved and those who are to be lost, he will not fail to give himself up to sensual pleasures, knowing well that if he is one of the elect, self-indulgence cannot harm him, and if not, he will at least enjoy this life while it lasts. But when our speculative believer in freewill comes to examine the facts, he finds that the most active figures in history have been those same believers in fate. They are such men as the heroes of Greece; as Paul and Mahomet; Luther, Calvin, and John Knox; as Cromwell and his soldiers; as the Puritans who founded the American Commonwealth; men, aggressive, powerful, irresistible, who have left their impress on the world in epochs; men, too, who, instead of finding in their election to divine favor, a reason for self-indulgence, felt in it an inspiration to surrender their every power to what they conceived to be the will of God.

—Reprinted.

(To be concluded.)

NATIONAL SECULAR SOCIETY.

President, G. W. FOOTE.

PRINCIPLES AND OBJECTS.

SECULARISM teaches that conduct should be based on reason and knowledge. It knows nothing of divine guidance or interference; it excludes supernatural hopes and fears; it regards happiness as man's proper aim, and utility as his moral guide.

Secularism affirms that Progress is only possible through Liberty, which is at once a right and a duty; and therefore seeks to remove every barrier to the fullest equal freedom of thought, action and speech.

Secularism declares that theology is condemned by reason as superstitious and by experience as mischievous, and assails it as the historic enemy of progress.

Secularism accordingly seeks to dispel superstition; to spread education; to disestablish religion; to rationalise morality; to promote peace; to dignify labor; to extend material well-being; and to realise the self-government of the people.

MEMBERSHIP.

Any person is eligible as a member on signing the following declaration:—

"I desire to join the National Secular Society, and I pledge myself, if admitted as a member, to co-operate in promoting its objects."

Name

Address

Occupation

Active or Passive

Dated this.....day of.....18

This Declaration should be transmitted to the Secretary, with a subscription; and, on admission of the member, a certificate will be issued by the Executive.

The minimum subscription for individual members is one shilling per year; all beyond that amount is optional, every member being left to fix his subscription according to his means and interest in the cause.

Members are classed as *active* or *passive*. *Passive* members are those who cannot allow their names to be published. *Active* members are those who do not object to the publication of their names, and are ready to co-operate openly in the Society's work.

Fill up the above form and forward it, with subscription (as much, or as little, as you think just to yourself and the cause), to Mr. R. Forder, sec., 28 Stonecutter Street, London, E.C.

OBITUARY.

Though not unexpected, the death, on January 11th, of Josiah P. Mendum, proprietor of the *Boston Investigator* severs one of the links binding the present days of American Freethought with the early days of the struggle. When Abner Kneeland was imprisoned for blasphemy in 1836, J. P. Mendum and his friend Horace Seaver stepped into the breach and sustained the *Investigator*, which they jointly upheld until the death of Mr. Seaver in August, 1889. Beyond sustaining this Freethought paper, a substantial result of Mr. Mendum's labor was the erection of the Paine Memorial Hall at Boston. Mr. Mendum was nearly eighty years of age, and leaves a family of several daughters and one son, Mr. Ernest Mendum, named after Mrs. Ernestine Rose. To that brave and venerable woman we tender our sincere condolence, she having lost in Mr. Mendum and Mr. Bradlaugh two of her dearest friends.

Many of our London friends will hear with deep regret of the death of Mrs. Burton, wife of Mr. Geo. Burton, which occurred on Monday evening. Mrs. Burton and her husband have been members of the Benevolent Fund Committee from its commencement. The funeral will take place on Saturday at Finchley cemetery at 3.30, and Mr. Forder will conduct the service.

On Tuesday last, January 23, the Bolton Branch lost an earnest worker in the person of John Ashton, aged 68, who was a long-standing member of our Society. He remained staunch and firm to those principles which had been his guide for over 30 years; and four days before he died he voluntarily requested that the Secular Burial Service be read at his grave side by our President, Mr. Thomas Holstead, which was fully carried out on January 27, at Long Cemetery, Bolton.—James F. Hampson, Sec.

MR. FOOTE'S ENGAGEMENTS.

Sunday, February 8, Gladstone Hall, New Wortley, Leeds; at 11, "Is the Bible Inspired?"; at 3, "A World Without God"; at 6.30, "Oration on Charles Bradlaugh."

February 15, South Shields; 16, Blyth; 17, N. Shields; 18, Crook; 19, Spennymoor; 20, Middlesboro'; 21, Ox Hill; 22, Newcastle.

March 1, 8, 15, 22, 29, Hall of Science.

April 5, Birmingham; 12, Camberwell; 19, Belfast; 26, Liverpool.

May 10, Camberwell.

June 7, Camberwell; 14 and 21, Hall of Science.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

LITERARY communications to be addressed to the Editor, 14 Clerkenwell Green, London, E.C. All business communications to Mr. R. Forder, 28 Stonecutter Street, London, E.C.

THE *Freethinker* will be forwarded, direct from the office, post free to any part of Europe, America, Canada and Egypt, at the following rates, prepaid:—One Year, 6s. 6d.; Half Year, 3s. 3d.; Three Months, 1s. 7½d. Australia, China and Africa:—One Year, 8s. 8d.; Half Year, 4s. 4d.; Three Months, 2s. 2d. India:—One Year, 10s. 10d.; Half Year, 5s. 5d.; Three Months, 2s. 8½d.

SCALE OF ADVERTISEMENTS.—Thirty words, 1s. 6d.; every succeeding ten words, 6d. *Displayed Advertisements*:—One inch, 3s.; Half Column, 15s.; Column, £1 10s. Special terms for repetitions.

It being contrary to Post-office regulations to announce on the wrapper when the subscription is due, subscribers will in future receive the number when their subscription expires in a colored wrapper.

H. R. W.—Thanks for the correction. Such little slips will appear.

FORDER TESTIMONIAL FUND.—We have received the following: H. Haigh, 1s.; James Firth, 1s.; Thomas Berry, 1s.; H. Boocock, 6d.; J. W. Lees, 6d.; J. Herring, 6d.; P. Ashton, 6d.; T. Dobson, 6d.; N. J. Billany, 2s. 6d.

G. RUTLAND.—You can only obtain it in Emerson's complete essays.

McSICCAR.—Thanks for your kind letter. You are one of scores whom we have helped in their studies.

R. W. (Sunderland).—Pleased to hear you find a ready sale for *Salvation Syrup*.

W. H. CHEESEMAN.—Mr. Foote is prepared to defend his own writings. He cannot answer for other people's statements or opinions. We see nothing miraculous in the early spread of Christianity, which was not comparable to the rapid spread of Mohammedanism after the death of its founder.

R. G. LEES (Camberwell).—We set up a few branch resolutions on Mr. Bradlaugh's death, but so many poured in that we were obliged to halt. The rest must be "taken as read."

F. SMITH.—Too full of other matter this week, as you will see.

J. COLLINSON.—Professor Newman's books are published by Kegan Paul, Trubner and Co. Particulars of the lecture you refer to will be printed in our next.

J. EVANS.—Cuttings are always welcome. Price Hughes is not likely to reply.

W. TAYLOR.—Will appear in our next.

W. HOLLAND.—The matter you allude to was dealt with in one of our paragraphs some time ago.

S. KNIGHT.—Glad to hear that Mr. Moss paid a successful visit to Rusden, and that you are all looking forward to his next visit. A lively discussion is the very thing we want.

INFIDEL.—Ingersoll's oration on "The Gods" can still be obtained of Mr. Forder.

T. RYAN.—Mr. Bradlaugh's death is a terrible loss to Freethought. Thanks for your good wishes. We mean to keep straight on the old path.

A. O. G.—Mr. Bradlaugh sat for Northampton as a politician, not as a Freethinker. He wisely refrained from theological criticism in the town he represented.

A. FLINDLE.—We are not aware of any such retraction by Mr. Labouchere. It is idle for Booth to keep saying "My trust deed is all right; the opinion of Huxley's counsel is not worth the paper it is written on." What he has to do is to answer the definite objections of Huxley's counsel. A trust deed is a mere sham unless there are persons who have the right to take action against Booth if he goes wrong.

A. ANDREWS (Chatham).—Miss Alice Bradlaugh's remains were to have been cremated, but the crematorium was repairing, and they were interred in the Woking cemetery. Mr. Bradlaugh was buried by her side.

ROSE.—Professor Huxley's articles in the *Nineteenth Century* are very good. Mr. Foote's *Creation Story* (2d.) would probably assist you. The footnotes contain many references to good literature on the subject.

T. DAVIES.—What particular line do you follow? If Christian evidences, read Giles's *Hebrew and Christian Records*, Greg's *Creed of Christendom*, and if possible *Supernatural Religion*.

T. PHILLIPS.—Thanks for the marked paragraphs.

PAPERS RECEIVED.—Fritankaren—Liberty—Freethought—Ironclad Age—Menschentum—Echo—Neues Frereligioses Sonntags-Blatt—Freidenker—The Liberator—Der Arme Teufel—Secular Thought—Boston Investigator—Western Figaro—La Vérité Philosophique—Progressive Thinker—Flaming Sword—Loyal American—Two Worlds—Star—Church Reformer—Le Figaro—Reading Observer—Visitor—Sunday Chronicle—Kent Messenger—Independent Pulpit—Portsmouth Evening News—The Christian—Sussex Daily News—Lancashire Evening Post—Stockwhip—Northampton Daily Reporter—Spennymoor Journal—Daily Chronicle—Market Rasen Mail—Thanet Advertiser—Umpire—Club and Institute Journal—Middlesex Chronicle—Bradford Observer—English Churchman—Leicester Mercury—Dispatch—Huddersfield Examiner.

FRIENDS who send us newspapers would enhance the favor by marking the passages to which they wish to call our attention. CORRESPONDENCE should reach us not later than Tuesday if a reply is desired in the current issue. Otherwise the reply stands over till the following week.

SUGAR PLUMS.

Mr. Foote had capital meetings at Hull on Sunday. Freethinkers came from Grimsby and other places in the district, some even coming so far as from York. The evening meeting was large and enthusiastic. There was some discussion, which was lively, if not very profitable. Prior to the evening lecture, Mr. Foote spoke of the death of Mr. Bradlaugh. His remarks were reported in the local press.

The Hull Branch is making excellent progress. It now boasts of nearly seventy members. The committee smile at Christian talk about the decay of Secularism. Mr. Billany, growing older but still strong, is well to the front, and Mr. Naewiger is a most capable secretary.

On Wednesday evening, Jan. 28, the Hull Branch of the N. S. S. had a tea, which was a complete success. Eighty members and friends sat down in the Cobden Hall, Waltham-street. After tea dancing commenced, which was kept up till two next morning. Songs, recitations and readings were given between the dances, which helped to make the evening as pleasant as possible. A balance of £1 6s. 9d. was the result.

At the close of the usual Freethought lecture at Camden Hall, Camden-street, Liverpool, on Sunday, February 1, it was moved by Mr. Charles Stocker, "That this meeting desires to express its opinion that by the death of Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, Freethought has lost a most redoubtable champion, Liberty a staunch defender, and Humanity a bright ornament, and further desires to convey to the family of Mr. Bradlaugh its sympathy with them in their bereavement." This was seconded by Mr. V. W. Hardwick, supported by Mr. Doeg, and carried unanimously by a large audience.

Freethinkers in North Lambeth are invited to attend a meeting at Mr. V. Roger's 114 Kennington Road, on Sunday, Feb. 15th, at 12 o'clock for the purpose of starting a branch of the N. S. S. and especially with a view to open-air work. We hope there will be a good meeting and a good branch established. North Lambeth is a fine field for Secular work.

Mr. George Standing will lecture in the Baskerville Hall, Birmingham, to-day (Feb. 8). In the afternoon and evening he will speak upon the political and Freethought work of the late Mr. Bradlaugh.

Felix Volkhovsky, a Russian patriot who has escaped from the horrors of Siberian exile, is to deliver a lecture at the Hall of Science on Wednesday next (Feb. 11), in aid of the funds of the "Friends of Russian Freedom," a society of which Dr. Spence Watson is the president. The chair will be taken at 8.30 p.m. by Mr. James Bowlands, M.P. The prices of admission are 3d., 6d., and 1s. Volkhovsky's subject is: "The Story of my Life: Personal experiences of a Russian democrat in solitary confinement in Siberia as an exile, and in his escaping to freedom." Mr. George Standing (upon whose initiative the lecture has been arranged), informs us that Volkhovsky speaks English very clearly and well; and our friends in London should make a point of attending, not only on account of the interesting character of the lecture, but also in order that the funds of a most deserving society may receive substantial benefit. Tickets may be obtained from Mr. Forder, or from Mr. Anderson at the Hall of Science.

The London Secular Federation's course of Free Lectures at the Athenæum, Tottenham-court-road, were very successful. Mr. Foote wound up with a discourse on "Heaven and Hell." The hall was quite full, with the exception of a few reserved seats, and the lecturer was very frequently applauded. Opposition was offered by the Rev. Z. B. Woffendale, who spoke most courteously, and thanked the meeting for hearing him in the same spirit.

One of the latest, if not the last, contribution of Mr. Bradlaugh to literature is a paper which appears in the February number of the *New Review* on "The Individualist Ideal in Politics." It may be considered an answer to the paper on "Socialism in Politics" by Mr. G. B. Shaw in the January number.

We are happy to state that Mr. G. Bernard Shaw will lecture on a Freethought subject at the Hall of Science shortly.

Among the worthy notices of Mr. Bradlaugh, and standing out from a crowd of unworthy ones, the unworthiest of which comes in the shape of fulsome praise from those who formerly abused him, we may mention the articles in the *Speaker*, the *Sunday Chronicle*, the *Huddersfield Examiner*, the *Brighton Argus* (written by Mr. Holyoake), and the articles by Mrs. Besant, "D.," and Mr. J. M. Robertson in the *Weekly Dispatch*.

The North American Confederation of Atheists, through Miss Baby Monroe, publish a humorous declaration as follows:—"Jehovah wasn't God. Jesus Christ wasn't God. Jesus Christ isn't our Savior. He never was. He never will be. Mary wasn't the mother of God. Mary wasn't a virgin to any considerable extent at any time. God didn't make the world in six days. God didn't make it at all. There is no God." A supplementary declaration sets forth these self-evident truths: "The gospel is founded on fable, falsehood, and fraud. Ministers and priests are propagators of exploded humbugs. They are the drones in the industrial hive. They consume but do not contribute. Investing wealth in church edifices while want pervades every city is wickedness." Miss Baby's papa is probably responsible for these declarations.

The Children's Party given by the West Ham Branch on Thomas Paine's birthday was attended by 120 little Secularists. The Committee beg to acknowledge the kind help rendered by members and others.

The second annual report of the West Ham Branch is good reading. The Branch is doing good work and improving both financially and in point of members. We observe that Mr. Sam Standing is delivering a course of Thursday evening Free Lectures in the Branch's hall during February on "English Christianity: its Rise and Decline."

Under a bold advertisement of Mr. Foote's approaching lectures, the editor of the *Spennymoor Journal* writes some fair-minded paragraphs, bespeaking an impartial hearing for the President of the National Secular Society. The *S. J.* also prints in full a letter from Professor Huxley to the Spennymoor Branch, acknowledging its vote of thanks for his criticisms on General Booth's scheme. Professor Huxley laughs at those who declare that he is indifferent to the cause of the people. He points out that he sat and worked on the London School Board until his health broke down.

We are pleased to note that *The Stockwhip*, edited by Mr. Wallace Nelson, still comes out monthly at Brisbane, and lashes the bigots and hypocrites. It has hitherto reached us very irregularly.

It was on Dec. 17 fourteen years since Mr. Joseph Symes began his career as a Secularist lecturer. Reviewing his fourteen years of fighting in the *Liberator* he says, "Theological bitterness, spite, rancor, unmercifulness, uncharitableness, I knew beforehand as well as now; and I was fully aware that the holy ones would show me neither justice nor consideration of any kind; that they would leave no stone unturned to blast my character and ruin myself. In that I have not been disappointed." But Mr. Symes is by no means disheartened. On the contrary he is as ready for work as ever. He says in conclusion, "What the next fourteen years may show I cannot guess. But one thing is clear as day to

me, namely, that I must work away, until my foes shall cripple me, or old age, decay or sickness lay me aside. And I am of opinion that it may be as hard to shelve me in the future as in the past. All the fight is not out of me yet, nor the endurance either. Secularism must be consolidated and made triumphant."

We think that upon consideration Mr. Standing may modify his proposition that Freethinkers should commemorate the death of Mr. Bradlaugh. For one thing it falls too near the birthday of Thomas Paine, Jan. 29, a name that must ever be remembered in our ranks. The event of Mr. Bradlaugh's death will not die out of memory. But let us rather keep his birthday, Sept. 26, and rejoice that we had such a leader, rather than lament that he is lost.

ROME OR ATHEISM?

PROFESSOR NEWMAN ON CARDINAL NEWMAN
AND MR. FOOTE.

[CONCLUDED.]

IT is not in the *Grammar of Assent* that we must look for Cardinal Newman's view of Atheism and Catholicity. That volume was written as much for Protestants as for Catholics, and he said nothing in it to alarm any section of his readers. We must turn to his addresses to Catholics, especially to the *Discourses to Mixed Congregations*. In the sermon on "Faith and Doubt" he sketches the case of Catholics who have listened to doubts, and as a punishment lost their supernatural faith. The weak-minded, irresolute ones hover about the Church, though no longer of it. But "if they are men of more vigorous minds, they launch forward in a course of infidelity . . . till sometimes, if a free field is given them, they even develope into Atheism."

This seems to imply that in "a free field" whoever breaks away from Catholicism is likely to reach Atheism. An explicit declaration to that effect is made in the sermon on "Mysteries of Nature and Grace." The whole passage is worth quoting.

"O my brethren, turn away from the Catholic Church, and to whom will you go? it is your only chance of peace and assurance in this turbulent, changing world. *There is nothing between it and scepticism, when men exert their reason freely.* Private creeds, fancy religions, may be showy and imposing to the many in their day; natural religions may lie huge and lifeless, and cumber the ground for centuries, and distract the attention or confuse the judgment of the learned; but on the long run it will be found that either the Catholic Religion is verily and indeed the coming in of the unseen world into this, or that there is nothing positive, nothing dogmatic, nothing real in any of our notions as to whence we come and whither we are going. Unlearn Catholicism, and you open the way to your becoming Protestant, Unitarian, Deist, Pantheist, Sceptic, in a dreadful, but uninevitable succession; only not inevitable by some accident of your position, of your education, and of your cast of mind; only not inevitable if you dismiss the subject of religion from your view, deny yourself your reason, devote your thoughts to moral duties, or dissipate them in engagements of the world."

Surely this passage, and particularly the sentence I have italicised, is a plain declaration that there is no logical halting-place between Rome and Atheism. The whole sermon, indeed, is a wonderful presentation of the difficulties of a belief in God as a wise moral governor of the universe. Reason, the Cardinal urges, is impotent to reconcile the terrible facts of life with the existence of such a deity. If you will be a Theist, you must trust to *faith*; and if you trust to faith, you will find it leads you to the bosom of the Catholic Church.

So far I have established my point. Cardinal Newman did assert that the alternative, to every man who uses his reason freely, is Rome or Atheism. But Professor Newman says I have no right to agree with the Cardinal unless I "uphold the Roman Creed as itself logical." "Can we believe," he asks, "that Mr. Foote looks on the Nicene Creed, and the creed falsely called Athanasian, with its Three Divine Persons who are *not* Three Gods, as eminently logical?"

Unless he does, he is writing *not* sincerely, *not* truthfully, but to support his own foolish Atheism."

Now I have a great respect for Professor Newman. I learnt something from him in my younger days. I admired his learning, his fine spirit, and his beautiful style. I will therefore refrain from saying that he is writing *not* sincerely, *not* truthfully, but to support his foolish Theism. I will say instead that, in my opinion, he has fallen into confusion. His very illustration is singularly unhappy. The Nicene and Athanasian Creeds are recited by Protestants as well as Catholics. Both are appointed to be read in the Church of England service. The three Gods in one Person are no special part of Catholic irrationality. Even if they were, I do not see that they are specially illogical. Error can be *logical* as well as truth. Its deductions and developments may be a beautiful series of flawless syllogisms. The fallacy will then lie in its original major premiss; that is, in the set of first principles from which it starts. Now it does seem to me that the Roman creed, ay, and the Roman ritual, is a logical development of the primary assumptions of Christianity, and that Protestant sects come short of it in proportion as they sacrifice Faith to Reason. A supernatural book, for instance, is useless without supernatural interpreters; the living voice of God in the Church is therefore a corollary of an inspired Bible, and the Protestant theory of private judgment is an illogical departure from the theory of inspiration.

On his own part, Professor Newman says I am wrong in asserting that he finds the proofs of God's existence are not what he once thought them. He asks *when* and *where* he has made this admission. He declares that, "on the contrary," he has "never ceased to regard Atheism as monstrous folly, and more than ever since in the last thirty years 'a *self-acting Universe*' is talked of.

I admit that Professor Newman has never ceased to inveigh against Atheism, sometimes in very unphilosophical language. I also admit the difficulty of putting my finger on particular sentences that prove his changed attitude as a Theist. But I certainly felt that his attitude *had* changed, that there was a difference between some of his later Theistic utterances and the early part of his book on *The Soul*. Still, I am liable to err, if Professor Newman is not, and I accept his correction.

I must tell him, however, that I fail to see how the *faith*, by which he once (see *The Soul*, chap. ii.) justified the ways of God to man, is quite consistent with the *reason* to which he has since appealed. Let him apply to the existence of God (subject to definitions) the same ruthless criticism he has applied to the doctrine of a Future Life, and see what is left at the end of the process.

I must also tell him that, in my opinion, he strikes at the root of Theism in striking at the belief in a Future Life. Supernatural expectations are at the bottom of supernatural beliefs. God is very much the dot to complete man's "I." All Professor Newman leaves us is a "pious opinion"—to use his words—of a hereafter; and he laboriously shows that this opinion has as little to say for itself as the most foolish of convicted superstitions.

Professor Newman denies that his faith is "crumbling away." "I tell Mr. Foote," he exclaims, "that my faith, my hopes, my joy keep rising, as I see Christian sects vying in *good works*." So do mine. But this is not the faith I referred to. Professor Newman's religious, or theological, faith was what I meant; and as he now expounds it, in the page before me, I am bound to say it does not exceed what John Stuart Mill regarded as "permissible" in his *Essay on Theism*.

Christian sects are now—after centuries of mutual hatred, persecution and bloodshed—doing "a work which will change the aspect of the world." Pro-

fessor Newman says—"We are in the beginning only. The awakening of Womanhood is the dawn of a new era, equivalent to the making Christian purity the goal of our civilisation." I also rejoice at the awakening of Womanhood. But what has it to do with Christianity? Is the charter of Womanhood to be found in the strange teaching of Jesus, or in the insolent teaching of Saint Paul? "Christian purity" has expressed itself in foolish asceticism, in the crying up of virginity, in the essential degradation of marriage. Surely Professor Newman forgets some of his own words in the *Phases of Faith*. And surely his use of the word "Christian" has a flavor of subterfuge when we recollect its ordinary meaning. The essential point of Christianity is the divinity of Christ; take that away, and the best Christian teaching becomes merely a part of Humanism.

G. W. FOOTE.

ACID DROPS.

The *Evening Standard*, after much gush about Mr. Bradlaugh being "an honest if misguided soul," wound up by saying "if Mr. Bradlaugh's life had been prolonged it is not unreasonable to think that he would have rejected his deplorable opinions." What amiable asininity, or rather what a specimen how men will write that of which they know nothing save that there are fools with whom it will go down.

On another column of the selisame paper, after giving the facts of Mr. Bradlaugh's life, it mentions that recently the Chatham Secular Society wrote to Mr. Bradlaugh, saying that a rumor was being industriously circulated that illness changed his views, and he responded by lecturing on "My Heresy: its Justification," in which he said "that having at last leaned over the edge of the grave, although he had not fallen in, the blackness of death made no wavering."

In the *National Reformer*, too, quite recently (Nov. 9), Mr. Bradlaugh wrote: "I, of course, recognise the possible domination of a weak mind, or of a strained physique, by the head of a great church, by a half insane fakir, by an Ignatius Loyola, by a Mahdi, by Joseph Smith, and I further recognise that whilst a mind is not free from dualism or pluralism there are very wide possibilities for conjectural imaginings. It is also certain that men of strong mind and marked character have sometimes fallen easy victims to gracefully assisted illusions. At present, so far as I am concerned, the closest re-examination of my Atheistic position does not enable me to detect any weak link in the chain, and I cannot conceive the possibility of my remaining sane and yet joining any of the many conflicting teachers of dualism." Christians, when they dare not say that such men as Mill, Clifford, Darwin or Bradlaugh, died in their belief, will persist in affirming that they might have done so if only they had lived a little longer.

The following extraordinary passage is from the London *Daily Chronicle's* obituary notice of Mr. Bradlaugh:—"As for his attacks on dogmatic theology and revealed religion, they were, like Burns's 'Heretic blast that was blaun in the wast, That what is no sense must be nonsense.' They only touched a narrow circle of unbelievers, and even within this circle he had long ceased to be an infidel Pope. For 'Iconoclast' had an Agnostic enemy who hunted him down and tore him to pieces with the keenness and ferocity of a sleuthhound. This was one calling himself 'Saladin,' who appears to have been his superior in education, in philosophic subtlety and literary culture. 'Saladin' also wrote a style which was rather striking, for it was a kind of combination of that of Swift and Carlyle, and he took the popular fancy—possibly because he confesses to strange moments of soul-yearnings and poetic imaginings."

We believe these statements will be news to the Freethought party. Hunting Mr. Bradlaugh down and tearing him to pieces was a very difficult performance while he was living. Of course it is easy enough now he is dead. For the rest, this apparently inspired passage in the *Chronicle* is unspeakably loathsome.

The report of a fatal ice accident at East Farleigh given in the *Kent Messenger* states that the two young ladies who were drowned went on the ice arm-in-arm, and reverently singing a hymn.

President Westbrook, of the American Secular Union, says that society "has for its main, nay, only, object the complete separation of Church and State." Even that cannot be effected without any attack upon the Churches and their dogmas.

Is the report that there will be an International Catholic Scientific Congress in Paris at the beginning of April a *poisson d'Avril*? The conjunction of Catholic and Scientific suggests the first of that month as the appropriate date.

The Rev. J. D. Davis, missionary in Japan, laments that a great crisis threatens to postpone the coming of God's kingdom in that kingdom. "We have an awakened Buddhism which is hiring men of the Ingersoll type to go about, Bible in hand, pointing out its supposed mistakes and railing against it." And then there are the Unitarians almost as bad, and the German missionaries who are all rationalists, and, alas! the Japanese are not being trained to bow their reason at the shrine of faith. "The adjectives, 'new,' 'advanced,' 'progressive,' and 'liberal,' have a charm for Japanese thinkers," and "the missionaries' influence is thrown into the shade." Shocking; and then to think that the Japanese are even sending missionaries of Buddhism into Christian lands. What is our blessed religion coming to?

The Rev. Mr. Yates, of Bonham, Texas (says *Freethought*), will doubtless have less faith hereafter in the literal validity of Scriptural promises than he had a few weeks ago. He read in Mark xiv., 18, that if a believer drank any deadly thing it should not hurt him, and to prove that the Bible meant what it said, and that he was a true believer, he took ten grains of strychnine. A physician, assisted by a stomach-pump, saved his life; but he is now willing to concede that the last part of the Gospel of Mark is a wicked and fraudulent interpolation, whose author he would be pleased to interview.

Last week Mr. John Budgen cut his throat with a razor at Maidenhead. He had been for forty years superintendent of the Congregational Sunday School at Kensington, and was suffering from religious mania.

John Wyatt, another Bible-reading father has been sentenced to hard labor for cruelly beating his children. For the defence it was urged that he was a man of strong religious convictions, and read to his children from the Bible about sparing the rod and spoiling the child. Solomon's methods did not commend themselves to the magistrate, who sentenced him to a month's imprisonment, without the option of a fine.

The irrepressible lie about Beecher pointing out a cripple to Ingersoll, though denied by both of the men, turns up again in America, and seems to be still doing its work in the Sunday-school books and pious journals.

The *Redruth Independent* appears to have been possibly in error in stating that John Dunn drove Atheism out of Hyde Park. Mr. James Rowney reports that he lectured there last Sunday, both morning and afternoon, to very large audiences, and without a single interruption. He finds the number of attentive listeners increasing, not diminishing, and remarks that if John Dunn drove Atheism out of Hyde Park, the resurrection of Secularists in that quarter compares very favorably with the resurrected saints who trotted up to Jerusalem when Jesus rose from the dead.

In the *Church Reformer* for February Mr. Stewart Headlam deals in kindly fashion with the Sin of Schism, and how to abolish Dissent. The Bishop of Exeter has a drastic method of treatment. The Rev. H. Marriott, a clergyman in his diocese, had the audacity to patronise with his presence services held in a Baptist chapel. The schismatical proceeding was reported to the Bishop, who has summarily demanded that Mr. Marriott should resign his license to preach in the diocese.

The Jewish community in San Francisco are said to have

given £50,000 for the purchase of land in Mexico, which it is intended to divide into lots among the Jews who are compelled to leave the Czar's dominions. The road from Russia to Jerusalem is not by way of Mexico. And, by the way, the Jews are becoming so numerous that we fear they will be overcrowded when they assemble in the valley of Jehosophat.

Some doubting American Jews have issued a curious document, which finds place in the columns of *The Christian*. They seem half inclined to turn Christians, and say: "Joseph speaks of Christ, although some contend that the passage is spurious; yet we cannot prove it is not genuine." Well, they should look up the Christian work of Dr. Lardner. They will find he can. These curious Jews conclude by observing that, "if anyone can prove that the Messiah is yet to come we should very much like to hear from him."

A curious thing about the Messiah yet to come is that all those Messianic passages which Jesus omitted to fulfil Christians say he will obligingly perform on his second appearance. But the prophets forgot to foretell that he would come twice.

A dispute involving a question of veracity has sprung between Father Ignatius and the Rev. Dr. Rainsford, at whose church he preached. The question was one of cash. Llanthony Abbey, says the the Father, needs a deal of money, and he can get it better from halls than from churches.

During a discussion on the wages of the road sweepers employed by the Wandsworth Vestry, Mr. Brown said, "old men were employed on Sunday mornings from five to nine o'clock sweeping the roads clean for them to go to church. For that they got one shilling. If any one of the Vestry could go to church, offer up his prayers in comfort, and think of that, then he did not think he had any heart at all."

Salvation-Army General Booth announces himself as prepared to solve and settle the labor problem—to inaugurate and lead a "social revolution"—but he won't start until some person or persons put up a million pounds sterling. If there were any warrant that the job would be well and permanently done, it would be cheap at the money, and we wouldn't mind being able to give the whole sum ourselves. But we have doubts, and these doubts do not diminish, but rather grow, as we find the great apostle of noisy piety chattering about immigration, shelters for the poor, with hymns and prayer-meeting attachments, and other nostrums of the like kind.—*Journal of the Knights of Labor*.

The *Reading Observer* reports the Rev. E. J. Simons as preaching on the subject of "Agnosticism" at the Wesleyan Chapel, and observing that he had been told by a member of Parliament that he believed a moiety of the members of the British House of Commons were Agnostics. Shocking! But who was the member of Parliament, and how did he know?

The Rev. Walter Walsh and the Newcastle ministers are still holding forth on why the working men don't come to church. The truth is, they don't because they won't. When the ministers understand this, they will grasp the situation.

E. Breach of Landport has the questionable honor of immediately upon the death of Mr. Bradlaugh reviving the lie about "a man who dared his creator to strike him dead within so many minutes, holding his watch in his hand." This lie, as Mr. Holyoake has showed, was popular even before Mr. Bradlaugh came into the field and will evidently long outlast him. Mr. E. Breach protests against Mr. Bradlaugh being deemed "a good Christian" and "a profoundly religious man," and there he is undoubtedly right, but had Mr. Bradlaugh been living he might have been compelled to apologise for circulating a falsehood.

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SUNDAY MEETINGS.

Notices of Lectures, etc., must reach us by first post on Tuesday, and be marked "Lecturo Notice," if not sent on post-card.]

LONDON.

Ball's Pond Secular Hall, 36 Newington Green Road, N.: 7, Mr. F. Millar, "Darwinism and Religious Thought."
 Battersea Secular Hall (back of Battersea Park Station): 7.30, Mr. W. L. Phillips (Fabian), "Panaceas for Poverty." Monday, at 8, social gathering. Thursday, at 8, committee meeting
 Bethnal Green Branch N. S. S.—"The Monarch" Coffee House, 166 Bethnal Green Road, E.: 7.30, a Freethought lecture.
 Camberwell—61 New Church Road, S.E.: 7, dramatic recital; 7.30, Mr. A. B. Moss, "The Growth of Secularism." Friday, at 7.45, Science Classes (Hygiene and Chemistry).
 East London—Swaby's Coffee House, 103 Mile End Road: 8, Mr. W. J. Ramsey, "The Teachings of Jesus opposed to True Morals."
 Edmonton—Freethought literature can now be had at the newsagent's adjoining Silver Street Railway Station (G.E.R.).
 Hall of Science, 142 Old Street, E.C.: 7, Mr. Touzeau Parris, "Christian Doctrines, Rites, and Symbols of Pagan Origin."
 Hammersmith—Hammersmith Club, Grove House, 1 The Grove, Broadway: Tuesday at 8, Mr. C. J. Hunt, "The Teachings of Christ."
 Kilburn—Liberal Club, Belsize Road, High Road: Tuesday, at 8, Mr. E. Calvert, "Religion and Secularism Contrasted."
 Leyton—Mr. Beadle's, 10 Daisy Villas, Manor Road: 7, a meeting of members and friends.
 Milton Hall, Kentish Town Road, N.W.: 7, Orchestral Band; 7.30, Mrs Thornton Smith, "Evolution of Conscience." Monday, at 8.30 social meeting. Tuesday, at 8, singing and dramatic classes (practice).
 Tottenham—Lecture Hall (corner of Seven Sisters' Road and High Road): 3.30, Freethought Bible Class.
 West Ham—Secular Hall, 121 Broadway, Plaistow: 7, Sermon by Buddhist Missionary. Thursday, at 8, Mr. Sam Standing, "English Christianity: its Rise and Decline, II.—Tudor Eccentricities."
 Westminster—Liberal and Radical Club, Chapter Street: 7, Mr. C. J. Hunt, "Evolution and Design."
 Woolwich—"Sussex Arms," Assembly Room, 60 Plumstead Road (entrance, Maxey Road): 7.30, Mr. J. Rowney, "In the Beginning God created the heaven and the earth."
OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.
 Battersea Park Gates: 11.15, Mr. A. T. Dipper, "Jesus Wept."
 Hyde Park, near Marble Arch, at 11.30, Mr. James Rowney, "The Prophet of Nazareth."

COUNTRY.

Crook—35 Gladstone Terrace, Sunnyside, Tow Law: 6.30, final arrangements for Mr. Foote's visit.
 Glasgow—Albion Hall, College Street: 12 noon, debating class, "Land Restoration"; 6.30, Mr. Shaw, "The Origin of Christianity."
 Hull—Friendly Societies' Hall, Albion Street, No. 2 Room: 4.30, Mr. C. Reynolds, "Why I am Not a Parliamentarian." New members' subscriptions now due.
 Leeds—Gladstone Hall, New Wortley: Mr. G. W. Foote, 11, "Is the Bible Inspired?"; 3, "A World Without God"; 6.30, "Oration on Charles Bradlaugh."
 Liverpool—Camden Hall, Camden Street: 11, Tontine Society; 8, Discussion Class, "Christianity, a Persecuting Religion"; 7, Mr. Harry Smith, "Understandest thou what thou readest?";
 Newcastle-on-Tyne—4 Hall's Court, Newgate Street: 3, special summoned meeting of members to consider objection to resolution passed at last meeting, and to elect officers.
 Plymouth—100 Union Street: 7, Mr. Darton, "Immortality."
 Portsmouth—Wellington Hall, Wellington Street, Southsea: Mr. Sam Standing, 3, "Shakespeare or Jesus?"; 7, "The Higher Life of Secularism."
 Sheffield—Hall of Science, Rockingham Street: Mr. W. Heaford, 11, "Bruno, Freethought Hero and Martyr"; 3, "The Bible: what it is and what it is not"; 7, "In Darkest England—Is General Booth's the Way Out?";
 South Shields—Capt. Duncan's Navigation School, King Street: 7, adjourned discussion on "The Necessity for an Eight Hours' Bill."
 Spennymoor—Victoria Hall, Dundas Street: 6, Mr. E. Fletcher, "The Evolution of Morality."
 Sunderland—Albert Rooms, Coronation Street: 7, Mr. W. R. Stansell, "Charles Bradlaugh: a Sketch of his Life."

LECTURERS' ENGAGEMENTS.

ARTHUR B. MOSS, 44 Credon Road, Rotherhithe, London, S.E.—Feb. 8, Camberwell; 15, Woolwich; 22 (morning), Battersea. March 1, Woolwich. April 5, Woolwich; 19, Camberwell.
 STANLEY JONES, 3 Leta Street, City Road, Liverpool.—Feb. 8, Liverpool.
 TOLEMAN-GARNER, 8 Heyworth Road, Stratford, London, E.—Feb. 15, Chatham.

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