

Freedom

C.I.R.A.

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CONTRASTS.

The Socialist and working-class movement of the last thirty years has assumed quite different characters in England, Germany and France.

Although in Germany the Parliamentary and legal political movement has reached such an astonishing development that in the Reichstag the Social Democratic Deputies outnumber each of the other parties; whilst the number of votes polled by them is nearly three millions, and the whole of Democratic Europe admires their progress. German political and social life has nevertheless during this period not only not gained anything in Democratic and Liberal institutions, but we observe even that the Kaiser has curtailed liberty as regards science, press, and meetings under the ridiculous pretext of *lèse majesté*. We see that the personal power not only of the Emperor, but also of the Ministers and State officials, is daily increasing; that German military brutality, police despotism, and the arrogance of officials have become proverbial. It is true that Social Democratic leaders, imitating Bismarck's famous boast "Germany fears God and nobody else," have declared many times that "they feared nobody, not even God;" apparently forgetting that in Germany indoor meetings even must be held with police authorisation, in the presence of a police inspector; that as soon as the latter puts on his hat all the fearless Social Democrats meekly obey this sign and close their meeting. Every Socialist remembers still that when the author of that famous phrase, Liebknecht, tried at a meeting to translate Herbert Burrows's speech to a German audience the inspector of police who was present would not permit it, and when Liebknecht, as Member of the Reichstag, protested, the meeting was closed.

The question may arise how, with such a tremendous development of so-called Democratic representation in the Legislature, the rights of the people are thus restricted; and why the Germany of our era enjoys less liberty than in the middle of last century after the popular uprising of 1848.

On the other, hand we note an equally great progress accomplished by trade-unionism and co-operation in England. If the German movement kept to legal, parliamentary and purely political tactics, the English working-classes also restricted themselves during the past thirty years to legal and peaceful efforts to obtain ameliorations in the wage system. As in Germany, where the Social Democrats have now a great number of Deputies in the Reichstag, and are at the same time being systematically deprived of their political rights, so also in England the co-operators, who number over two millions of members (which means that they have over five millions of people with them), possess no influence over the social, economic, or political life of their country. We see, especially during the last ten years, Parliament and Magistracy, Capitalists and Clergy, guided by unscrupulous and dishonest statesmen like Chamberlain, annihilating the right of combination conquered some fifty years ago by the hard struggles of trade-unions; we see that they are destroying popular education by handing over the schools to the declared enemies of science and instruction—the priests—and are preparing to impose a tax on the food of the people, thus plunging them into misery such as existed before the abolition of the corn laws, when, as Thomas Hood sung—

Oh God, that bread should be so dear, and flesh and blood so cheap.

Why is it that this apparently successful movement in England and Germany remains so fruitless in political and social life?

To begin with, legalism is a mockery in a society, where all the laws are made for the preservation of the privileges of the nobility of capitalism, the bureaucracy and clergy, against the interests of the people, whatever is ceded to the latter being

only ceded under pressure of popular revolt. The character of the movement in France is one of the best illustrations of this.

Whilst the German and English working-classes cling to their legal and peaceful tactics, the French proletariat never forget that throughout history, up to the present day, if the people obtained something from the governing and exploiting classes it was only by dint of revolt and revolutionary struggle. In 1871, France was crushed by the German invasion; Paris lost over thirty thousand of her best and most enlightened workers; an indemnity of 5 milliards of francs had to be paid to Germany; the northern and eastern provinces were devastated by war, and it was generally expected that France had for ever lost her place in the rank of great nations. The reaction which followed the suppression of the Paris Commune retarded for more than fifteen years every form of Socialist and working-class movement. The German Parliamentary Social Democracy was held up as an example to the French Socialist parties, English trade-unionism and co-operation were extolled as an ideal to French co-operators and trade-unionists; every "self-respecting" legal social reformer asserted incessantly that the French proletariat was divided and unable to organise a Socialist and co-operative movement, that it was capable only of producing Anarchist outrages, Boulangist, Dreyfus, or clerical disorders. After hearing these legal social reformers contend that contemporary France gave nothing to Democracy, let us see what the reality shows.

Though still far from ideal Democracy and Socialism, France has realised a remarkable social and intellectual progress. It established a system of truly Democratic, free, compulsory education, from which priests and their teachings are banished; the French workers are organised in the *bourses de travail* on an Anarchist basis; their trade-union and co-operative movement has covered the country with a net of active societies; they have a Socialist and a Radical-Socialist parliamentary representation twice as large as in Germany; the Government of the Republic is always obliged to invite Radical-Socialist and Socialist Members into its Ministries (Gobelet, Camille Pelletan, Millerand, Bodin), as well as appoint from the same parties parliamentary presidents and vice-presidents (Bourgeois, Jaurès), things unheard of in Germany with its three million Socialist voters.

The French bourgeoisie and governing classes are of course no less desirous than the English and the German of restraining popular aspirations for political rights and social equality. And if they, who well know how to resist, are now forced to make terms with, if not even to submit to, the people, it is entirely due to the conviction that the French proletariat which has on its record the great revolution of 1789, the revolution of 1830, of February, '48, which passed through the glorious June days of '48, fought on the barricades in '52, and well remembers the heroic struggle for the Commune in 1871, a proletariat which crushed Boulangerism, checked military arrogance during the Dreyfus case, and is at present engaged in street fights to stamp out clericalism, that to such a proletariat it is only wise to make concessions in order to avoid a complete overthrow of the present régime.

The governing and the money-mongering classes in England and the German autocracy will likewise cede to the powerful, numerous English co-operators and organised workers and to the millions of German Socialist voters, if these will remember it was only by acts, by revolutions, that the people conquered political freedom and won social well-being; if they will bear in mind that the municipal and communal franchise was obtained in the 11th and 12th centuries by revolutionary struggle.

English co-operators and trades-unionists are at present strong and rich enough to acquire not only a few Democratic reforms as in France, but even to realise a co-operative enlightened commonwealth.

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NOTES.

The misery of the poor is such a hackneyed theme that it requires the vividness of a Zola to stir people out of their self-complacency and smug hypocrisy. Bare facts no longer do it, and unless some poetic genius vivifies the subject of how the poor live and suffer, the question is treated with a calm indifference that is simply maddening to those humanitarians who struggle for a better social order. There are occasions, however, at rare intervals when a case is so horrible in its brutality that it demonstrates for the millionth time that truth is stranger than fiction. Such a case was heard at the Mansion House on June 13th, when "John Peterson, a poorly clad man, was charged before the Lord Mayor with having stolen some bread and pieces of fat, value 2d., belonging to the City Corporation. William Wright, foreman of the Street Cleaning Committee, stated that on Saturday morning he saw the prisoner in Ludgate Hill raking over a dustbin. He saw him take from the receptacle some bread and pieces of fat. Having cautioned him before, he gave him into custody. The bread and pieces of fat were the property of the Corporation. Peterson said he was hungry, and took the fat and bread to eat. The bread was clean (*sic*). The Lord Mayor said this sort of thing must be stopped in the City. It was not the value of the stuff taken, but the mischief which was caused by the disturbance of the dust receptacles in the City. He fined the prisoner 1s. or one day's imprisonment."

There it is naked and unashamed from the press. The cowardly brute to say this thing must be stopped, when he as the chief legal parasite in the City takes ten thousand pounds for his year's glorification, to say nothing of the thousands he and his ancestors have wrung year by year by usury from that poor wretch and his class. As all the world knows, Sir Marcus Samuel is a Jew, and last November when he was installed as Lord Mayor he snubbed the Roumanian Minister to this country by omitting to send him an invitation to the official banquet. His reason for so doing was to call the attention of the people of this country to the barbarous treatment meted out to his co-religionists by the Roumanian Government.

J. Macdonald's letter to *Reynolds's*, of June 22nd, giving his reasons for not taking part in the meeting of protest against the Kischineff massacres will certainly raise feelings of disgust against him, as much for his lack of sense as of feeling. So we are to understand that this bloody work of the Czar and his officials must not be condemned because some co-religionists of the victims come to these shores, and in their misery and ignorance help to reduce wages! Such narrow-mindedness is simply barbarous in a "labour leader," who talks of uniting the workers against their oppressors. Suppose the teetotalers were to organise a massacre of all those who took intoxicating liquors. Would not Macdonald, not being quite a total abstainer, look for a strong protest from his Socialist friends, even though the teetotalers might argue that drunkards played, indirectly, into the hands of the capitalist class by preventing the masses from keeping their heads clear? Let him ponder these things.

A meeting of Russian revolutionary Socialists was held in Geneva, on the 15th of June, to protest against the incessant attacks on the Russian revolutionists and their acts in the struggle against the all-powerful bureaucracy, and also to denounce the polemical method of *Tskra* (*Spark*), the official organ of Russian Social Democracy.

At the beginning of the meeting, the editor of the journal, Plekhanoff, and his friends tried to break it up, but they were obliged to withdraw and the meeting, with a majority of 97 against 3, adopted the following resolutions, which we translate from a leaflet received from Geneva:—

1. The paper, *Tskra*, systematically directs its unfair polemics against revolutionary parties and persons, which is in complete contradiction with the best traditions of the Russian revolutionary party, and degrading for a Socialist organ.
2. By its tactics, which are advantageous to the reaction in Russia, *Tskra* is discrediting not only its own party but generally all revolutionists and their struggle.
3. This meeting protests energetically against the tactics of *Tskra*, and expresses its hope that the Russian Socialists, without distinction of section, will immediately put an end, by their united efforts, to these dishonouring polemics.

The organisers of the meeting received from the group of Russian students (men and women), in Lausanne, their full adhesion.

We, who have followed these two years all the attacks of the above-named paper on Balmasheff, Karpovitch, Leckert and other heroic Russian revolutionists, are only astonished that such a moral condemnation has not come before.

The following letter is our comrade John Turner's reply to the Secretary of the Shop Assistants' Union, who had written proposing his nomination as parliamentary candidate. His position is admirably explained, and it should make it clear to those who cavil at the Anarchists for being in "advance of their time," that an immense amount of solid work can be done, nay, *must* be done, in education and organisation on broad economic grounds, keeping the great issues clear of the muddle and intrigue of parliamentary tactics. This work, so much neglected by the parliamentarian "Socialists," can and will be helped in every possible way by the Anarchists:—

While I am gratified with the intended compliment at being one of those nominated for ballot of the members as to the Union Parliamentary Candidate; it would be impossible for me to stand, even if selected, since I feel very strongly that it would be wasting my time, and the Union's money, in a hopeless contest. Every minute lost and penny spent would be just so much money and effort diverted from the more necessary, useful, and profitable work of organising the assistants, so that they may have the power to help themselves. Besides, if the unlikely happened, and I was selected—stood, and was returned—it would be even worse, since I should have to give a lot of time to so-called "public affairs," which are, after all, only part of the organised exploitation of labour. Any little ability I may possess would be more and more absorbed in dealing with difficulties arising out of conditions which Parliament is quite helpless to alter even if it was so inclined. Being quite clear and convinced on these points, I feel my place is among the "rank and file," trying to teach them the elementary lessons of combination—assured that even those palliatives possible through Parliament will be gained much quicker by pressure from outside than by any number of representatives inside the House of Commons. For these reasons I decline.—Yours fraternally,
J. TURNER.

REAPING THE WHIRLWIND.

We are not much interested in the "change of Government" that has been so effectively carried out at Belgrade, except to observe that the capitalist press has omitted to mention that all this spilling of blood has been done by the upholders of their own class. The lunatics on the throne really courted their fate, as these people generally do; but we have always been told that it was only Anarchists who spilt blood to "remove" some remorseless oppressor of humanity, and it is consequently, we imagine, a little surprising to the man in the street to note with what easy consciences the ruling classes can strike when their own ends are to be served.

THE IDEAL OF ANARCHISM.

The word Anarchy signifies the negation of authority, the constraint of the many by the few, or even of the few by the many. But Anarchy is not a mere negation. In fact a mere negation is absurd. In denying anything we must deny it in the name of something else; we must affirm something else. What, then, can we say that Anarchism affirms? It is in the name of the individual that Anarchism denies authority. Anarchy signifies also the affirmation of the liberty of the individual. It has always been in the name of Liberty that revolution and great social changes have been brought about. I think it could be shown that what we call social progress has been nothing but a gradual increase in liberty given to the individual. I ought, perhaps, to say "taken by him"; for liberty cannot be granted, it must be taken. Well, the significance of Anarchism at the present time is that it has brought forward a new idea of liberty; it has given a new meaning to the word, an immensely wider and deeper meaning than has ever been conceived before; and it claims that the attainment of such liberty is possible.

What, then, do we mean by the word Liberty, that has so often roused the fire of revolt in men, and sends a thrill of enthusiasm

through the heart of every poet; is it still merely a negative term, signifying only the negation of authority and constraint? I think it is more than this. For the word Liberty by itself means nothing. "I desire for you more than liberty; you ought not only to be well quit of what you do not wish, you ought also to have what you do wish. You wish to be free? And from what? . . . To be free from something signifies simply to be quit of it or exempt from it."* Stirner urges that Liberty is merely a metaphysical phantom; and undoubtedly in this sense it is so. We must qualify the word,—liberty to do something. What is this something? Many answers might be given; but I think what Anarchism demands is that the individual should be free to develop his own faculties and to satisfy all his reasonable needs, material and intellectual, according to his own character and temperament. "The only object for which Society can exist at all, to be binding on the moral sense, and to have any claim on the allegiance, of any of its members, is that by its means the fullest scope may be given to the healthy development of the faculties of those members. Every check to that development, and every institution which does not help it, is an obstruction thrown in the way of the very ends of Society."†

I think that this conception of the integral development of the individual is really fundamental in the theory of Anarchism. It is not limited to Anarchist writers. We find the same idea in such diverse thinkers as Ibsen, Whitman, Emerson, Thoreau, Nietzsche, Guyau, Spencer. It is an idea that is "in the air," as it is said. But it remained for the Anarchists to draw from it the logical conclusions which constitute their theory, to criticise from this point the institutions of present-day social organization, and to show in what way we may hope to reach this liberty we desire.

What are the causes which obstruct or prevent the free development of the individual? There are those which come from heredity. There are fixed at birth certain limits upon the possible development of the individual. Yet I think that it is easy to exaggerate the importance of heredity. Probably much more of an individual's capacity and character depend on the influences of his early years of childhood. But this is a point to be settled by the biologists and psychologists, and to them we must leave it. In any case it must be granted that at present the obstruction put in the way of the free expansion of the individual by his social environment is much greater than that due to heredity, and is moreover of vastly more importance, since it can be removed.

When we contemplate the institutions of modern society in this light, we see that the obstruction it puts in the way of the development of the individual is immense;—the system of education, religion, the institution of private property and the resulting economic and juridical organisation, and finally the State, all fall under the criticism of Anarchist theory, and all must be condemned. Not till Society has been reorganised from the very base can anything like adequate freedom be hoped for; not till then will men be able to grow to the full stature; not till then shall we know all the best that humanity is capable of, all that men and women may become when the yoke is taken from their shoulders, and their thoughts, their actions, their lives may be free.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

PORTUGAL.

Portugal is a little country that once was rich, but is so no longer. Its peasantry is priest-ridden, its citizens police-ridden, its so-called Parliament King-ridden. Carlos, the jester, boon companion of Edward VII., reported like him to be one of the wealthiest monarchs in Europe, adopts the views of the Russian censor, and permits no news to circulate beyond his frontier. Some years ago there was an Anarchist manifestation—like George of Greece, he put his foot on it; some, as in Greece, were shot, the rest imprisoned, expelled, silenced. But Anarchism would seem to have some of the properties of the new element Radium; its disciples, even though silenced or dead, unconsciously become active radiators, carriers of Anarchist electricity. The censor sits close, yet we know the workers are restless, that the students have co-operated with them on the street, that this spring at Coimbra and elsewhere tax riots took place where many were killed by the police and troops. Bare mention of these facts reaches the ear of the world. Portalegre publishes one libertarian journal, *O Amigo do Povo*, but it would seem with difficulty since its issue is irregular. Yet we have no doubt at all that the revolutionary germ once quickened will sprout, and this in spite of Carlos and police bullets.

HOLLAND.

Since the collapse of the strike, continual meetings have been held to discuss the vexed question of its failure and the best attitude to assume in face of that failure. The Socialist party, as everywhere, has its divisions, and so far has been more engaged in mutual recrimination than in remedial suggestions. The fact appears more and more to be that the rank and file is rapidly absorbing Anarchist spirit and principles, and begins to find the ballot-box diet monotonous. Hence an aspect of mutiny which the "leaders" are striving their utmost to crush.

The little colony founded at Blaricum by libertarians, some three years ago, has nearly been wiped out, not by an inroad of the sea, as one might expect, but by the fishers of Gooi. Tolstoyism did not appeal to these sea-dogs among the dunes, so one night lately they descended upon the homes of the unfortunate colonists and raided them. Although Holland is still accounted a Protestant country, here as elsewhere the Catholic Church has devoted itself to proselytism with its usual success. The colonists never went to church, openly sympathised with strikers, lived on greens and water, preferred naked feet to wooden shoes—therefore to the devil with them! The houses were fired, one being burnt to the ground; as far as could be their contents were pillaged or destroyed, the printery by good chance escaping. As the women and children fled in night attire, and the glare of the burning house reddened the sand-dunes, that little speck of the Dutch coast must have resembled a scene well-known to England before and for three centuries after the Norman Conquest, when foreign pirates ravaged her shores. The one home that was spared belonged to a colonist of mettle. He threatened his tormentors with a revolver. The non-resistents merely lamented, and laments unaccompanied by fisticuffs do not impress rum-soaked minds. The burgomaster investigated, with the result that municipal troops were billeted upon the marauders. The anomaly then presented itself of non-resistant anti-militarists being protected by the army. Their first idea was to remove the colony to a more reasonable neighbourhood, but they had sunk their money in these more or less profitless acres—so they remain, trusting ill-feeling will die down. For a month the soldiers had to be fed and lodged at Blaricum's expense—this is not likely to be forgotten by those who paid the bill, and the colonists are not unwise in their resolve to buy revolvers. The pity is they failed to practise some boxing on the night of the raid. A bully never respects any man so much as the man who knocks him down.

RUSSIA.

A delightful sample of the pot jibing the kettle for blackness comes from St. Petersburg. A great academician reproached Von Plehve for his instigation of the massacre at Kishineff, and his anti-semitic attitude. "What!" cried the abused minister, "I anti-semitic! I the instigator of Jewish massacres! Why it is the Tsar who orders these things, it is the Tsar who is anti-semitic!"

At Warsaw, during May, the Polish workers went into the streets with red flags and sang forbidden songs. The Cossacks came out also. Order again reigns outwardly, but where the whip struck will not be forgotten. Meanwhile there are constant rumours of frustrated plots against Nicholas and his ministers—palace guards doubled, and so forth. But the old doggerel runs that no man can stop the bullet that has its billet. More than one autocratic ruler must be set a-thinking since the *coup d'état* at Belgrade.

AUSTRALIA.

Recent advices from this continent disclose terrible labour conditions. Incapable and tyrannous ministers and capitalist "bosses" rule the country with an iron hand. In one district the unemployed are offered work, at clearing land, at a wage that means starvation and exploiting—8d. to 2s. 6d. an acre. In the Sydney factories the girls are given piece work, the weekly earnings rarely reaching 12s. 6d. and often being as low as 4s., whilst monstrous fines are extorted. At a meeting of the unemployed at Melbourne, a speaker declared that they might as well start rioting, for anyhow they had to fight with the ferocity of wolves to get work. Avowed Anarchists as yet are few in number. Comrade Fleming holds open-air meetings in Melbourne, and pounds away fiercely at the Church—the red flag at his side. On May 1st he was assisted by Tom Mann, who showed the folly of such workers as patched up, instead of utterly destroying, capitalism—root and branch. Australia, founded as a convict settlement, in which unheard-of cruelties were perpetrated, is again little less than the shambles of the worker. But as he believes in the ballot and uses the ballot, the less the pity and the more the blame to him who could prosper and be his own master did he choose. To either use the ballot to keep out exploiters and capitalists from dominant places—or drop it altogether—seems reasonable advice, yet few there be that follow it.

AMERICAN NOTES.

In the language of Cagliostro, "The cauldron seeths and boils" in this glorious Republic. Never in the history of the country (from a national standpoint) was there such prosperity, and never was there such unrest. Strikes, strikes everywhere, and the workers win all along the line. The organisation of the workers in their trade unions goes on at a terrific rate. At a recent meeting of the American Federation of Labour Executive, at Toronto, Canada, Secretary Morrison publicly stated that the A.F. of L. has at the present time under its jurisdiction 105 international organisations of labour, that the membership of the Federation has increased five-fold in Canada alone. The reports of the organisers show enormous increases everywhere, and the gains in improved conditions are fairly startling. Side by side with this activity of the workers comes an organisation of capitalists, and both sides are lining up for battle. If half the stories that come from Chicago are true, that windy city seems to resemble a cockpit. There are between forty and fifty thousand men out on strike there and some of the parasites are getting so nervous that they are emigrating to what they consider more favourable parts. One story I have heard is that H.

* Max Stirner, "Der Einzige und sein Eigentum," pp. 184, 185.

† Toulmin Smith, "Local Self-Government and Centralization," p. 33.

H. Kohlsat & Co., a very rich company with a large number of high-class lunch rooms, have closed them all together, with their bakeries; and the American Biscuit Co. (a branch of the Trust) have sent all their machinery and goods to other cities, and have sold all of their horses and wagons at auction. The teamsters' (carmen) strike is largely responsible for this. The Anthracite Coal Miners threaten to break out again as Barr is seeking to break down the finding of the recent Coal Commission. As if to add fuel to the flames, the capitalists are forcing the hands of the judges and lawmakers to breaking point, and it is a case of fight or die with the unions. In April I wrote how the capitalists of America had seized on the Taff Vale decision with great avidity, and were proceeding to put it into execution here. It has come. In Waterbury, Conn., some unions have been sued for damages and the enemy were successful. In Rutland, County Ill., a manufacturing company sued the local union of machinists for 10,000 dollars damages. The trial lasted seventeen days, and the jury (a body of farmers) gave judgment for 2,500 dols. Again, at Evanville, Ind., the judge of the circuit court in deciding a case held that, although unincorporated, unions could be made to pay damages for injuries resulting from acts of violence or disorder, provided, of course, its responsibility for such acts could be traced. This last proviso can be very easily fulfilled when found necessary. In Canada they seek the same end—i.e., the disruption of the Labour movement—by different means. In order to break down the alliance between the workmen of Canada and the United States the following law has been proposed by Senator Longhead:—"594A. Every one is guilty of an indictable offence and liable to two years' imprisonment who, being a person not a British subject, whether residing in or out of Canada, does, in Canada, incite, urge, or induce workmen, by any act or means whatever, to quit any employment in which they may be engaged, or to enter upon any strike with the object of enforcing additional wages or terms of employment from their employer." Rather good, that, for a Free British Colony? However, it is not passed yet, so we must wait and see. Of course the idea is to sever connections between the American Federation of Labour and the Canadian unions. I think it will fail, but one never knows in these days to what lengths these people will go in their desperate desire to remain on the people's backs.

The *Federationist* is doing excellent educational work in the publication of their organisers' reports, and the statistics they gather each month showing the condition of labour generally throughout the country. The articles and editorials are also very good, and do yeoman service in pointing out that labour must emancipate itself on the economic and not the political battlefield. The June number has an excellent article along these lines by Mrs. Martha Moore-Avery, for many years a shining light of the Socialist Labour Party in Boston. Time softens the asperities of debate, and it comes as a welcome change to hear Mrs. Avery put us out of court on the grounds that our ideals are too high and lofty for this common earth. Time was when Mrs. Avery was as narrow as the Lion himself, and we were "fakirs" like Gompers! The article is a bit ponderous, but she shows clearly that the Labour problem cannot be solved in the political arena.

LITERARY NOTES.

We heartily recommend a new cheap sixpenny work issued by the the Rationalist Press Association, 17, Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, London, E.C. It is a reprint of Grant Allen's "Evolution of the Idea of God." The object of this very well and interestingly written book is to give a general outline of how the idea of God was evolved by man from the earliest savage period till to-day. The human origin of the gods evolved from the fear and the worship of ancestors is told in the always interesting form which was characteristic of Grant Allen, especially the chapter, "Manufacture of Gods," which contains some original speculation. The works of Dr. Tylor, "Primitive Man," Frazer, "The Golden Bough," Hartland, "Legend of Perseus," and Herbert Spencer, and especially the recent work of Elie Reclus on the "Origin of Religions," which was printed during the last few years in *Société Nouvelle*, will find a new interest if they are read after this general review of the matter by Grant Allen.

The other cheap reprints of the same Association are: A selection of Huxley's "Lectures and Essays," "The Pioneers of Evolution," by Edward Clodd; "Modern Science and Modern Thought," and "Human Origins," by Samuel Laing (the latter revised by E. Clodd); "Literature and Dogma," by Mathew Arnold; "The Riddle of the Universe," by Haeckel; and "Education," by Herbert Spencer. All works which everybody will be glad to possess and to read at his leisure.

We are very glad to learn that no less than 116,000 copies of Tolstoy's "Resurrection" have been sold from the time the drama was produced till the 6th of May.

"The Bugbear of Socialism" is a little pamphlet by "Alvan Marlaw," and forms No. 1 of a series of Anti-Jacobin Papers. It is a well-reasoned and spirited attack on the State Socialist position. It makes a timely appearance when the disgusting scramble amongst the Social Democrats for seats in Parliament is beginning to disgust even those who are not yet Anarchists. It can be obtained from L. Marcartney, 20, Wolseley Street, Dundee.

REPORT.

PAISLEY.

The Group here has certainly surprised both friends and enemies alike by their constant and vigorous propaganda of Anarchism. Meetings are now being held every Sunday in the Jail Square. This square is a splendid place for speaking in, there being little or no traffic of a nature likely to disturb the speaker. The local Socialists have hitherto had a complete monopoly of the place, so when the Anarchists first appeared on the scene, the Socialists looked upon the act as an invasion of their rights. However, with two local comrades rapidly developing into good speakers, these meetings are likely to be continued throughout the rest of the Summer, no matter how the Socialists view our action. Probably the most successful meeting yet held took place on June 21st, when comrades Turner, of London, and Smith and Dallas, of Glasgow, spoke to a large and interested crowd. This meeting lasted two and a-half hours, and even then the crowd showed no desire to go away. Apart from these meetings much propaganda has been done in the country roads around Paisley. A large number of papers, pamphlets and leaflets have been distributed along these roads, while the various gates, walls, &c., bear evidence of the existence and activity of Anarchists in the district. Commenting on this, one of the local papers remarks that "some boiling-over Anarchist has been along the Barrhead Road lately. The walls of Hawkhead Policies have no end of Anarchist cries chalked upon them, 'Vive l'Anarchie'; 'Rent is robbery, Taxes plunder'; 'No God, no Parliament'; 'Down with the clergy,' and so on."

Of course the Paisley comrades are duly thankful to the editor of that paper for the advertisement he has given them and that particular method of propaganda. Any comrade visiting Scotland will be heartily welcomed in Paisley, and if a speaker will be assured a good and attentive crowd. D.

MONTHLY ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

FREEDOM Guarantee Fund.—Golding 6d., H. G. 10s., T. M. 10s., A. M. 10s.
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