SOLIDARITY

A FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW

of the Relations between different sections of the Working Community of the United States and an Exponent of Anarchist-Socialism.

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SOLIDARITY.

The word is in itself a programme. It means that the social problem must be resolved, not in the interest of some class or fraction of a class, but of all—*i.e.*, in view of the total abolition of class distinctions and denominations. The word indicates also the method by which that end can be reached. To bind men together to forsake and fight race spirit, rivalries and interests, in our task. The present organization being distinguished by class hierarchy and class struggles, what we strive for must be characterized by solidarity. Solidarity implies liberty, as it may only exist among free men, and will guarantee the permanency of liberty in society. It also implies equality of social opportunities, without assuming uniformity of any kind. Economically, solidarity means co-operation all through; politically, it means the absence of a coercing power; morally, it means mutual help, mutual love and the greatest development of individual and social life. Solidarity, therefore, is the synthetical expression for Socialism and Anarchism, taking the broadest and deepest view of both, and of the nature, constitution and requirements of human society.

Persons receiving this paper, and wishing to have it continued, should write at once.

THE SOCIAL PROBLEM.

WILL IT BE REFORM OR SOCIAL REVOLUTION?—LOOKING BACK.

The story of all nations starts from conquest or robbery. There is a genesis far more true than that of the Bible; in the beginning it was robbery. Then law sanctified the property of the booty and prohibited any attempt in the despoiled to recover it. Then again the law was made the instrument of plunder, and increased enormously the fortunes of the plunderers. This is true of all countries, inclusive of the United States.

THE SQUATTERS.

Take, for instance, the history of the landed property in this country. It is a history of robberies, of plunders, of malversations, of conspiracies public and private. First, we had the "squatter," the conqueror of the soil; he did not, like Arab or Norman conquerors, plunge his sword into the soil nor force his horse upon the coast as a sign of conquest, but he notched and laid four logs together, made a "blaze" upon one of these and put his name, or, if that was inconvenient, some other man's name, with a date showing "when this claim was taken;" then he strapped his revolver a little tighter and sent his defiance to the civilized world. He constituted himself proprietor in right of his "Colt's," and waited for this property to acquire a value independent of any labor performed, thanks to the increasing railroads and growing villages, population and industries. Then he sold his property and moved further on. The cultivator, having bought from the squatter the right to cultivate the soil, put himself to work to clear the ground, plant his crops and make improvements of which there were none. In the mean time the squatter with his money becomes a shareholder of the railroad company.

THE RAILROAD COMPANIES.

The company has received its right of way, public lands and subsidies from the government. It now lays its rails and approaches the cultivator; it is in its power to open or shut outlets for the cultivator's products, to make centres of trade and to locate population at its pleasure; also to attract industries and form commercial cities. The railroad advances its lines and becomes master of the situation; it makes the laws, levies taxes, appoints judges and blackmails the entire population. Every one yields to its power. The government has given it lands and money, the towns have donated swamp lands, immunity from taxation and other special privileges; private individuals are obliged to concede right to pass through their land; whoever makes opposition is crushed.

Thus the company enriches itself, "waters" its capital-stock, and pays its dividends. The power it exerts over the property and the lives of the people increases daily. No limit has been placed upon it; the farmer as well as the manufacturer and merchant are at its mercy; it may make concessions, give privileges by discrimination, suppress any enterprise to the advantage of another, help one capitalist as against others, make special rates for special interests and foster monopolies. Its track is strewn with victims.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CAPITALISM.

In this way new and complicated enterprises, industrial, commercial, financial, etc., grow up and sometimes become as powerful or greater than the railroad itself. At first, machinery had to be imported, factories were started, mines opened, pipes laid, and elevators constructed; till, between the producers on one side and the consumers on the other, a large class of middlemen arise which control the whole industrial system. In consequence, coalitions are formed and trusts result; labor and skill are unimportant factors compared with the devices of the monopolies sheltered by law.

THE GOVERNMENT.

The government, which has aided this development of the capitalistic system, becomes itself a commercial enterprise. It starts public works, levies taxes and duties, distributes offices. Thus a portion of the wealth produced, instead of flowing to the capitalist, goes to the politician: parties are formed to divide the spoils. These conspire in secret to prey upon the people. The people are fed with fine words and proclaimed sovereign; they are intrusted with the choice of the legislators and administrators of the country, who seem to await their orders and to bow before their decision. Farce! The real elector is the caucus; the party, the primary, the convention are but tools of the caucus, parliaments and congresses are but executors of their will. The caucus is a coalition of capitalists, a wing of the army of exploiters, which has stormed and conquered the stronghold of government, in order to insure the defeat of the proletarians.

AMERICAN POLITICS.

In no country in the world has practical despotism been so intimately associated with professed liberty as in this. Thus, it a very liberal idea to make States independent of the central government; but the central caucus still dominates through local caucuses. The federal government cannot place any check upon the abuses of state governments, but it can overload the population with financial burdens and the companies with privileges, as well as fill the offices with adherents all over the country.

The executive is separated from the legislative body, but between them a current of reciprocal services and interests establishes itself through the committees; thus the booty becomes divided as amicably as possible. Over and above the official representatives are the uncrowned kings of commerce and finance; these buy the members, and sometimes the members blackmail them.

DEMOCRACY NO REMEDY.

Democracy is no remedy. Nothing is more democratic than the popular elections of officials; yet popular elections have become auctions where offices are bidden in by the parties and sold by rich men. The difference which exists between the monarchical corruption of the government of George III. and that of this country, is that in the first case it was the king who bribed the members, while here it is the commercial magnates. The difference between the Bourbon monarchy before the Revolution and the United States Republic, is that the French kings sold the offices to provide for the needs of the government and to enrich his mistresses, while here the parties sell the offices to defray their expenses.

The worst is that this corruption is unavoidable. It is not the fault of men but of the system. The same individuals personally condemn it, but, as politicians, justify it and practice it themselves. In order to govern, they say, it is necessary to have parties; in order to have parties, we must have "workers" and these workers must be paid; nothing is more just than that those who get the offices through the party should pay for them. The corruption, therefore, is not an accident, but is of the very essence of the system. Given a great nation possessing large territory and immense resources, a part of which is at the direct disposal of the government while the government indirectly controls all the rest, and the consequence will be that, whatever the constitution of the country and its electoral system may be, power will be coveted for the wealth which it may procure, and the government and the whole country will be the prey of the strongest, the richest, and the most unscrupulous.

THE IRONY OF LEGISLATION.

To all this must be added the manner in which public functions are discharged. Officials are practically able to do as they like. Laws not favored by men of wealth and power, like the factory laws and others, remain largely inoperative. Laws seem to be enacted in order not to be observed, or to offer to officials some pretext to extort money from the citizens. It would be superfluous to cite examples when so many are before the minds of our readers. Nay, laws made for the people, such as the homesteadand timber culture laws, were turned against them. It is strange that just in a country where politics are so rotten, where law so often disregarded, where the brutal force of the police and the brutalizing force of the dollar reign sovereign, the people should still place confidence in political action and legislative reforms. Yet the disgust begins to be felt and the number of those who have turned their backs on parties increases daily.

A HOST OF REFORMERS.

But there is a great number of people who have each his pet scheme of reform, and wish to put it into practice. The Greenbackers, Freetraders, Single Taxists, Civil Service reformers, Prohibitionists, and hundreds of others pretend to heal society by the application of their different unique panaceas.

It seems that we lack the power of generalization; we see the evils but do not arise to observation of their causes. We waste therefore immense energies in efforts which are doomed to failure. How many stars have risen on the sky of reform and then disappeared: George, McGlynn, Bellamy, and many others! whose common mistake, in our view, has been the love of symplicity, and a tendency to deal with society as a mechanic deals with an engine sent to him for repair.

H. GEORGE'S NOSTRUM.

In the book by Mr. George: "Protection and Free Trade," which has deserved to be printed and distributed at the public expense by order of Congress, this is said: "There is in reality no conflict between labor and capital. That a rich employer squeezes needy workmen *may* be true. But the real cause that enables and even in most cases forces the employers to squeeze his workmen, is the competition of workmen with workmen for employment." The monopoly of land is, according to Mr. George, the source of all social evils, because the landlord takes from the workman all that is left to the latter by previous robbers. But it is evident that if the landlord was not the last robber somebody else would be, say, the employer, the money-lord, or the tradesman. The workman must be despoiled: his poverty is the very basis of the capitalistic system. Nowadays the landlord has taken second rank under the capitalist. A simple review of the sources of profits at the present day will show that the greatest part of the product of workmen goes to the monopolists, although they are able to conceal the real amount they receive by watering stocks and other practices. What would happen if the landlord should be obliged to yield his rents entirely to the Government? Who would profit by it? Would the employers, railroads, tradesmen, usurers, forsake their power to increase their gains according to the means of their victims? That is the question. All wealth comes from labor; the exertions of the capitalists are not only unproductive, but injurious to society as much as those of the landlord. The landlord has only to pocket his rent, but the shareholder of a company does not make greater exertions to get his dividends. Speculation, usury, stock-jobbing are of the esssence of the present industrial system. The cause of these evils is that production is not conducted to the satisfaction of the needs of the producers, but for the sake of profit-mongery.

Mr. George does not believe in over-production; in this he is quite right. The very sources of production are obstructed in the interests of the capitalist. But in this the capitalist is as much to blame as the landowner. If there are uncultivated lands, there are also factories closed and mines shut down, that the capitalist may keep up his rate of profit.

THE MONOPOLY OF MAN OVER MAN.

It is easy to have it appear that land being the basis and source of all production, its monopoly is the primary cause of all others. The fact is, however, that the first and fundamental monopoly, is that of man over man. The monopoly of the employer over the workman is the real cause of the monopoly enjoyed by a few persons over the soil and all the wealth of the country; and this monopoly of man over man is more extended in industry than in agriculture. There are still 1,670,944 farmers who own the soil they cultivate in this country; but in non-agricultural industries all those who are not exploiters of labor are exploited, George says that the monopoly of men arises from the fact that the workman has no access to vacant land. Would things be otherwise, if rent instead of belonging to the landlords became due to the State? Land is not all that is wanted for production; tools and machinery are also wanted. In Italy, for instance, the poorer peasants got in 1806, at the abolition of feudalism, free tracts of land to cultivate, but they lacked means, and at the first bad crop they were obliged to sell their land for a paltry sum to richer neighbors; and what other is the cause of mortgages in this country if not the lack of means of cultivation by small holders and the monopoly of produce by middlemen? In all countries capital has subjected the old independent artisan by stripping him of the means of production, by introducing machinery, by depriving the artisan of local custom and enlarging the sphere of trade. So long as the artisan was independent the peasant could be so also, because the artisan and the peasant are sufficient for their own requisite exchanges. The enslavement of the artisan has drawn with it necessarily that of the peasant who nowadays depends less on his landowner than upon the merchant and capitalists.

THE EFFECTS OF SINGLE TAX.

The benefits of the Single Tax would be discounted by the capitalists whose profits would be increased by the whole amount of the confiscated rent, except the expense of collection. The reason is that the rent and the profit represent not a surplus of production, as economists would have us believe, but the expenses necessary to keep up the capitalist class to its historical standard of comfort. The amount of these expenses as well as the amount of wages, has no relation whatever to the productivity of the soil and of industry. In fact the productivity has increased while the lot of the workman remains stationary. But it depends on the social value of the classes. Wherever the workmen are poor, ignorant, and divided, rents and profits are at their maximum, because landlords and capitalists have only taken into consideration their own interest. They are obliged to be less grasping where the workingmen are instructed, organized, and struggle energetically against their exploiters.

Monopolies are bound together and communicate with each other. Drive out monopoly from the soil it will appear more vigorously in industry, commerce, and the government. The reason is that monopoly is the effect, not of natural conditions, but of the social hierarchy. It arises not from differences in things and situations, but from differences between men and the value attributed to their different functions in society. The differences in things and situations are only pretexts, and they exist in industry as well as in agriculture. There are differences of arrangements, of exploiting abilities; there is, it has been stated, a rent of ability as well as a rent of the soil; to confiscate this rent is at least as necessary as to confiscate that of the soil.

MONOPOLY OF CAPITAL.

We know what additional profits the railroads may make by the increase of only one mill per ton moved. We know that the Reading Company, or the Standard Oil, or any other trust, may levy, by the increase of a very few cents in the price of different commodities over which they have control, enormous taxes on the nation. We know also that rates of railroads and the trusts are based upon what the people can afford to pay.

So long as these monopolies are not suppressed, there is no hope for a better condition of things. Not only railroads, gas companies, telephones and the like, but all capitalistic entreprises entail monopoly, because all give to their directors the power to tax the community.

THE MONOPOLY OF MONEY.

There is a monopoly particularly important, that of money and credit. The price of commodities being determined by their relations to the quantity of circulating money, if all other monopolies were abolished, this one would suffice to the capitalist to squeeze the people. It would not even be necessary to shut up the mines, because the amount of coin being insufficient for the requirements of exchanges, another monopoly has grown up, that of credit, *i. e.*, guarantee of payment which merchants and shippers reciprocally make. Now, credit is monopolized by bankers and rests on a monetary reserve in one or in a few banks. Exchanges are made through bankers, and the profits of these are enormous. These profits are paid to them because of the guarantee they lend to the promises of merchants. For, it is not enough for the creditor to know that the debtor possesses a fortune, which might be seized and sold for the payment of the debt: he must depend upon the payment without judicial proceedings at the time due, in order that he may go on with his own affairs. Such being the commercial and financial system of the day, it is evident that even were land, railroads, mines and factories nationalized, the farmers, in order to pay their rents to the government, the factory managers in order to pay their assessment, and the government itself to pay its officials, etc., and the people at large, in order to buy and sell commodities, would be all tributary to the lords of finance.

In order to do without the services of these financiers, the government, it is said, should organize the exchanges, issue notes and bonds, negotiate them and liquidate temporary fluctuations in values. Thus the State would become the great banker and the great trader of the country, after having already become the great landlord, the great manufacturer and the great carrier. In fact the State would absorb and incorporate in its administration all the economic concerns of the people, which is an absurdity.

SOCIALISM AND ANARCHISM.

The anarchists do not believe this monstrous organization possible; such a greater East India Company, possessing and managing all, can never be formed. We are opposed to centralization. Free producing associations, entering into agreements for common interests, and federating without parliamentary or central authority, is all that is needed. Government itself—the first and greatest and most obdurate of all monopolies—must be abolished, and the whole industrial system must be transformed. Communist-Anarchists (or Socialist-Anarchists it would be here more correct to say), do not see any other solution of the social problem. They are equally far from the State Socialists, who believe in centralization, and from individualists: but these divisions will be fully treated in other articles hereafter.

FREE COINAGE.

Here we must continue our criticism of reformers. Some claim as the panacea of all social evils the abolition of monopoly of money. Of course, it must be abolished. But, so long as capital is monopolized, money, or at least credit, will be also. Not everybody will be able to issue money and have it accepted. The money which will be accepted will be that of some Rothschild, as Herbert-Spencer has observed and Benj. R. Tucker approved.

PROTECTION AND FREE TRADE.

Very little have we to say about protection and free trade. Under both systems—it is well known—the work-man is exploited because there is no power in the world that can oblige the manufacturers who benefit by protection, or the merchants who profit by free exchange, to share their gains with the workingmen.

THE IMMIGRATION OF PAUPER LABOR.

Other people demand the restriction of immigration. The American workingman has nothing to gain by such measures, which would lower his social standard. Were the American workmen obliged to take the place of the Italian, Hungarian and Bohemians laborers now, they would be obliged to accept more or less their established wages, and therefore sink to an inferior level. We must not think of restricting but of developing production. The American soil may nourish millions of men more; it needs yet great works of all natures. Men are lacking for the work, not work for the men. On the other hand, if the present population should be reduced to a moiety, capitalists would find their interests in still keeping a portion of it out of employment.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

We come to another class of proposed reforms. It is pretended that it is possible to put an end to all party intrigues and corruption by reforms in the civil service; as if parties did not have in governmental centralisation their very source; as if there had ever existed a Parliament without parties. If, thus, such parties could be prevented from struggling for offices, they would but struggle the more for public contracts and privileges. If parties did not exist, capitalists and companies would create them, or even without parties they would exert the same influence over the government.

DIRECT LEGISLATION.

A new agitation is now made for the referendum and direct legislation, and those who advocate such reforms propose as a model for the United States the small Swiss Republic. But the very example of Switzerland, where, in spite of the referendum and popular initiative, men are sold at public auction for debt; where popular vote is falsified, as is witnessed in the recent uprising in Tessin, and the present sitting of the Constituency Assembly, proves that no hope rests in such political reforms. It is not by increasing the number of elections and of number of appeals to the people that the monopoly of wealth may be destroyed. Quite to the contrary, the more elections and appeals to the people the greater the power and the resources of politicians and of their allies, the capitalists.

THE PEOPLE'S PARTY.

It is almost inexplicable that people should look for social salvation to politics after the cruel experiences made in this and other countries. What good has not been anticipated from the victory of the Australian labor party? How the entering of their representatives has been hailed! Now we learn that "with a legal quibble thousands of nomadic shearers and bushmen were disfranchised, whilst the patriotic league faked its rolls in the towns. It sent its agents to the quarterly revision court and the ranks of labor were decimated. Willing magistrates, in the hands of the colonial secretary aided in these designs. Finally, a quinquennial parliament bill has passed and the climax of class-law" has *not yet* been reached.

That is not all. The party itself has broken up after six months, its members were divided, discredited and powerless. "Neither have they gained the slightest concession, except the one small boon of a State labor bureau, established with the intention of finding work for the unemployed, free of cost; and this concession, small as it is, has actually done the workers more harm than good, for the employers have taken advantage of it to reduce wages where possible; in fact they are making a free labor agency of it, and are using it as a weapon against the unions.

SMALLER REFORMS.

Think of this and see how helpless is the condition of workingmen under the present regime, and how utterly refractory to any serious reform is this regime. Even in small matters its irretrievable character is appearing. Here we have a statement by a public official that closing houses of prostitution would result in increased prostitution in private houses. Here again is a prohibitionist from Alaska complaining "that the sale of liquor having been prohibited in that territory, the natives make their own beer, or kwas, which is deadly intoxicant; thus there seems to be no way of reaching the seat of the trouble. We may be able in time, he adds, to stop the traffic in intoxicants, but how can we stop its manufacture as a private matter."

A PLEA FOR SOCIAL REVOLUTION.

From all sides come outcries against social evils which it has been vainly attempted to cure. Let us learn that lesson and understand that no single reform can be successful. No great things can be accomplished by concentrating efforts upon one line. Society is a complex organism and is not to be treated for one evil alone; we must attack it from all sides. Partial remedies are no remedies at all, and instead of acting as palliatives they stimulate the actual evils.

Of all the questions considered, that of government seems to us, at the present juncture, the most worthy of consideration. The other questions have been discussed and explained, but great prejudice is still entertained on this. Government is regarded as emanating from the people; it is supposed that it may be reformed. People go even to the length of believing that they may make it an instrument of warfare against the ruling classes. This is an illusion almost amounting to folly. So many reforms have been swallowed up in the vortex of politics, and lost and forgotten; so many popular men also and hopes have vanished away, that faith survives and people cling to this plan, though followed by so many wrecks. We must make up our minds to sever ourselves from political parties and their issues. We must fight them on the only ground where, not the party intrigues, not wealth, will give the victory, but the number of the combattants and the justice of the cause. We must take rank in the army of the Social Revolution.

THE PROSPECT IN THE UNITED STATES.

If there is one fact on which all agree (all but the official statisticians) it is that labor in this country is rapidly sinking to the European level. The time when Americans boasted that "every farmer in the country owned his farm" has pased. More than one-fourth of our farmers are tenants, a great number have their own farms heavily mortgaged, and there is already an army of over 3 millions laborers.

High wages are no more a common thing; work is growing more and more uncertain, the proportion of workers to the amount of production is steadily and rapidly declining in all industries; women and children take the place of the male and adult workers. One million men, on the average, look for jobs; our great cities are blessed with the sweating system. The power of capitalists and millionnaires increases at a frightful speed, and the future of the working classes is very gloomy.

In Europe, Revolution is ripe; and Revolution nowadays means not the substitution of one form of government for another, of one set of exploiters and rulers for another, but the destruction of the wage-system and the founding of a new society where all workmen will cooperate together, possessing in common the means of production, and distributing among themselves the products of their exertions.

FOREIGN IMPORTS.

This is Socialism. This is Anarchism. And we are told that Socialism and Anarchism are "foreign imports" and that we must beware of them as of the pickpockets. Must we understand then that we are doomed in consequence to remain for ever wage-earners, to be owned by a few capitalists and companies, and be the *target* of their whims and their greed? Are we to forsake the use of those weapons which may give us victory over our oppressors? Socialism and Anarchism are no special growth of any country, but of the capitalistic system, which is international. Truth and Justice are the common patrimony of the whole of mankind. In this very country we have had Socialists and Anarchists long before they were in Europe, or at least quite independent from those who advocated the same principles on the opposite coast of the Atlantic.

AN AMERICAN ANARCHIST.

There is a man who, more than half a century ago, preached in this country the gospel of the elevation of the working-clases. What did he understand by the elevation of the working classes? He said that he did not understand that the workman should be raised above the need of labor, nor that he should force himself into what are called the upper ranks of society and be transformed into a "gentleman," neither that the workmen should become "self-important politicians; that, as individuals or a class, they should seize on political power. An individual is not elevated by figuring in public affairs, or even by getting into office. Office is not dignity. The lowest men, because most faithless in principle, most servile to opinion, are to be found in office. To govern one's self, not others, is true glory."

THE ELEVATION OF THE WORKING CLASSES.

What is, then, true elevation for the working classes? Here is the answer:

"Manual labor, is a great good, but in just proportions. In excess, it does great harm. It is not a good, when made the sole worth of life. It must be joined with higher means of improvement or it degrades instead of exalting. Man has a various nature which requires a variety of occupations and discipline for its growth. Study, meditation, society and relaxation should be mixed up with his physical toils. He has intellect, heart, imagination, taste, as well as bones and muscles, and he is grievously wronged when compelled to exclusive drudgery for bodily subsistence. Life should be an alternative of employments, so diversified as to call the whole man into action. Our civilization is far from realizing this idea. It tends to increase the amount of manual toil at the very time that it renders this toil less favorable to the culture of the mind. The division of labor, which distinguishes civilized from savage life, and to which we owe chiefly the perfection of the arts, tends to dwarf the intellectual powers, by confining the activity of the individual to a narrow range, to a few details, perhaps the heading of pins, the pointing of nails or the tying together of broken strings; so that while the savage has his faculties sharpened by various occupations, the civilized man treads a wondrous, stupefying round of unthinking toil. This cannot, must not, always be so. Variety of action, corresponding to the variety of human powers, and fitted to develop all, is the most important element of human civilization."

And he proceeded then to formulate the fundamental idea of Socialism and Anarchism—the abolition of ranks.

ABOLITION OF RANKS.

"It is a libel, he said, on social order to suppose that it requires for its support the reduction of the multitude of human beings to ignorance and servility, the systematic depression of the majority of man's intelligent offspring.

"I see no need of ranks, either for social order or for any other purpose. A great variety of pursuits and conditions is indeed to be desired. Men ought to follow their genius and to put forth their powers in every useful way. I do not ask for a monotonous world. We are far too monotonous now. The vassalage of fashion, which is a part of rank, prevents continually the free expansion of men's powers. Let us have the greatest diversity of occupations. But this does not imply that there is a need of splitting society into castes or ranks, or that a certain number should arrogate superiority or stand apart from the rest of men as a separate race. Men may work in different departments of life and yet recognize their brotherly relations, and honor one another and hold friendly communion with one another."

The man who, half a century ago, uttered these words, was a son of this country, and addressed American workingmen—his name was W. Channing.

Persons wishing to support this publication, will please notice that A PERMANENT SUBSCRIPTION is opened to defray its printing and mailing expenses. An account of the sum collected and expended will be given in each number.

NOTES AND COMMENTARIES.

"Reform the homes, and there will be no need to reform the saloons," says the Christian Union. "Saloons flourish because many thousand so-called homes in New York are merely human pigeon-holes, where men and women are glad to escape to the friendly cheer of almost any kind of saloons." Are homes alone responsible for the evil of the "saloon"? And factories? and excessive work? and poverty? You need to reform the whole of society before you will be able—not to reform saloons—but to do without them.

Here are the proper words of Superintendent Byrnes to which we refer in another column.

"The problem involved in the suppression of houses of prostitution and assignation is difficult of solution. While it is an illegal traffic under the laws of the State, and the police are charged with the execution of all laws regardless of consequences, it is a grave question in my mind, and one which deserves the serious consideration of the general public and future legislators, whether good results are obtained by the closing up of such houses and the scattering of the inmates. They must necessarily seek shelter in tenement and apartment houses, mingling with respectable people, and thus are brought into contact with the younger members of families, making the children of tender years

familiar, to a certain extent, with a vice of which they would not under other circumstances obtain a knowledge."

The most significant assertion in this passage is that "they must." Why, then, *must* prostitutes remain prostitutes? We need not answer that question.

Dr. De Costa said on this matter: "The poor girls..... are simply victims of the social order. .....The concealed capitalist is chief of the sinners. This in reality is a question of Labor and Capital. Capital is to-day forcing its victims to work on starvation wages in factories and shops that are sinks of iniquity. Capital provides the houses and the means (for prostitution), appoints the pimps and paupers, coining great profits out of the misery and shame."

Yet Dr. De Costa opined that "crime must be dealt with and at times severely," though, "in inflicting penalties, we should seek *reformation*."

Whom to punish? Whom to reform? The capitalists, perhaps, who "manufacture sins as they manufacture houses and furniture"? Of course, their victims!

"The industrial system of a nation as well as its political system," says Mr. Bellamy, "ought to be a Government of the people, by the people, for the people." But what is "the people"? Is it a compact unity, or a mass distinguished by variety of interests and functions? And what is to be a Government? The whole system of Mr. Bellamy hangs on such mysterious words. Here is another instance: "Were the system (of tram-cars) under *public* management," says the *Nation*, "*public* opinion would have long ago forced the adoption (of fenders) and thus saved a score of lives." In this passage *public* opinion and *public* management must be taken as synonymous, or else what becomes of the argument?

Mr. Bellamy has invented still another valuable expression: "public nationalism." The passage in the *Nation*, where it occurs, is worth reading.

"Nominally, we have a democracy and the popular majority is supposed to rule. In fact, we have a Government of lawyers and politicians who effectually block the popular will, whenever it opposes the interests of private capital. In fact, we have no "popular will" at all. The Government prevents the very existence of a "popular will."

But this is a small matter. Mr. Bellamy continues:

"There is no radical remedy for this state of things, and no way to secure a truly democratic Government, except by overturning private capitalism and replacing it with the public or co-operative capitalism and nationalism. But, as agencies to help us to accomplish this overthrow, by giving the people more direct power over legislation, the popular initiative and the Referendum are most excellent devices and we heartily support them."

Just so.—We have no truly democratic Government and there is no remedy for such a state of things except by overturning private capitalism. Yet we can get the Popular Initiative and the Referendum, i. e., a truly democratic Government, and use it to overthrow "private" capitalism. What a conundrum this is!

The confidence which Individualist-Anarchists put in private enterprises and private capitalists, is really astonishing. *Liberty*, for instance, dealing incidentally with the lottery-tickets of the latest Paris Exhibition, assumes that "an immense sum was realized," and yet "every one got full value for his money and no one was coerced"; whilst the fact of the case were that people were not indeed coerced, but cheated, by a gang of speculators into buying the lottery-tickets, which were not worth half their price, since the ordinary tickets, which it was stated would be sold for 25 cents, could practically be got by anybody at less than a third of the price.

Is it not clear that in all such cases—as in that of the tram-cars Company, also dealt with by *Liberty*, it is not the Company or the speculators, but the public that is passive? Private monopoly is, in our view, as bad as official despotism.

The way to assist us is to subscribe for a weekly, fortnightly or monthly contribution. Write at once giving full names and addresses.

THE SPIRIT OF THE "UNIONS."

One of the main objects which we have in starting this paper is to offer to the different sections of English-speaking as well as foreign-born workingmen in this country the opportunity of setting forth their own views on their mutual relations and common interests. We will gladly receive any communication, which may be addressed, in any language, to us on the working of the Unions, on the problem of competition of non-Unionist against Unionist labor, or the "scab" question, and on any other matter affecting the condition of the working classes.

The discussion of all these contested points will undoubtedly clear the ground of many prejudices, and pave the way to a *real* union of all the exploited,—without distinction of nationality or descent,—not for the immediate relief of their greatest sufferings only, but for their complete emancipation from the rule of Capitalism.

There is little doubt that, as they are now, Unions do not answer the purposes for which they were called into existence. Many Labor organizations have put in front of their Statutes a most radical,—some quite a socialistic,—and some almost an anarchistic "Declaration of Principles";—but not only do they not exert themselves for the realization of their professed principles, but they make a point and a rule of not to dealing with "politics." As a consequence of the elimination—not indeed of "politics," but of principles and of general interests—from the objects of the association, the tone of Labor organizations has become rather low; the sittings are dull; members have lost the habit of attending them and of co-operating in the work of the Union; but obey its laws and pay their dues for fear of losing employment. And many Unions—the biggest and wealthiest—have become a pure matter of business, chiefly for their well-paid officers and leaders, the ignorant or arbitrary ruling of whom has disgusted and alienated the best members. The authority which the leaders have acquired enables them to betray and sell their men whenever there is an opportunity to do so. The dangers of such a situation are manifest: if the methods, the practises and the corruption of politics are introduced in the Unions; if defiance and discord are allowed to creep into the ranks of the workingmen, the capitalists may pursue with confidence the plan, which they seem bent on carrying out just now, of lowering wages and depressing the condition of their employees, by substituting lower standard labor for higher all over the country and in all trades.

There is also great danger in the fact of Unions taking an attitude more and more hostile to non-Union men. Many Unions are already rings, or trusts, or combines of superior workingmen to hold their own, not so much against the employers' class as against the lower class of workingmen. All Unions have established high entrance fees, some almost prohibitory ones. There are organizations to which admission is quite a privilege. The war waged against non-Unionists, the persistence and mercilessness with which these are, when possible, driven out of employment, do not contribute to foster good feelings, or sympathy for the Unions. Very little effort is made by the latter to approach non-Unionists, to stretch them a helpful hand, to overcome their ignorance or their prejudices. When a strike occurs, there are many men who are compelled by sheer necessity to take the places left vacant. If to these still more are added who have cause to complain of the Union and to avenge injuries received at its hands, the strike is surely doomed to be lost. Solidarity should not be preached only in time of strike to would-be "scabs;" but should be practiced before hand by the Unions towards the unorganized and the unemployed workingmen.

The spirit of many Unions is bad. It is a spirit of egoism more than a spirit of solidarity,—a spirit of submission to the capitalistic system more than of emancipation. A great prejudice has taken hold of the minds of some classes of workingmen; *i. e.*, that they may by strict regulation of their number, by restrictions put on apprenticeship, etc., keep up their wages steadily at their present rate. But this view is mistaken. Prohibitions and restrictions will avail only for a short time, but they will prove useless and vain in the long run. Laws which govern wages cannot be counteracted by such poor and artificial means. No Labor Union may stand the double pressure of capitalists and lower labor, combined together. To raise, or even to maintain, wages in the higher occupations, the wages of inferior ranks of workers must be raised or maintained. The conditions of the superior classes of workingmen are determined in relation to those of the inferior classes and the key of the whole system is the situation of unskilled laborers and the number and chances of unemployed. The superior workingmen are therefore interested in the promotion and elevation of the lower ranks. They should fight their own battle on the battle-field of the lower classes. Solidarity is their best policy; nay, there is no other policy. Neglect of educational work in the Unions, and pitiless persecution of non-Unionists, are the greatest mistakes ever committed by Labor organizations. Such mistakes—it must be avowed—have been committed over and over and over again. But now we perceive signs of a change for the better. We notice a craving on the part of the intelligent workingmen for a new Unionism. What is needed is *real union*, founded on general as distinguished from particular interests;—on the cooperation of all members, not on the will and the ruling of the leaders;—on Education, not on Discipline;—on Equality, not on Privilege.

Comrades and sympathizers should all be present at the

SPECIAL MEETING,

which will be held at 85 East 4th Street, 1st Floor, on Saturday, 25th, at 9 P. M., to consider the question of the present publication.

A SYNOPSIS.

I. Every man, if he is able, shall work in order to share in the benefits of society.

II. The labor performed by the individual must be useful to society. Usury, speculation, monopoly, are injurious work, if they are work at all.

III. In order to work and produce the means of production are needed, that is to say, the land, machinery, factories and raw materials. Therefore these things should be possessed in common by the workers.

IV. Labor shall not be a sheer manual toil, but shall be alternatively manual and intellectual, and not excessive. Class distinctions shall cease to exist. Medical doctors, architects, accountants, etc., are surely useful members of society; but agriculturists, artizans, etc., are still more useful and there is no reason why the former should rank above the latter.

V. Work is generally done in co-operation by a certain number of men. The means of production being, therefore, in the possession of the different associations, will practically be at the disposal of all the workers.

VI. Each association will discuss and fix the conditions and arrangements for the work to be carried on in it, but arrangements will be made between the associations for the common interests.

VII. The exchanges will take place directly between the associations, without middlemen, forestallers, commission agents or speculatorr. Money is not needed.

VIII. No ruling-class, no parliament, no Executive must be allowed in such a society; any centralization leads to power, and power breeds privilege and monopoly.

IX. The sexual union shall be prompted by love alone, not by interest. The woman shall be economically emancipated from the man, and vice versa. The sons, attached to their parents by ties of affection, are also related to society, which owes to each individual, subsistence, instruction and, at its proper time, the means wherewith to work.

X. The realization of these principles cannot take place under the present system, nor can take place under the present system any substantial amelioration of the lot of the working classes. Reforms have been tried everywhere with no effect; they all break against the established power and the vested interests of the ruling class; hence the necessity for social revolution to destroy government, expropriate capitalists, and reconstruct "society" on the basis of Solidarity and Freedom.

All comrades are requested to procure American subscribers and agents for the paper.