SOLIDARITY

A FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW

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

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SOLIDARITY,

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"THE HIGHER LAW."

When Garrison stood in Boston to proclaim liberty for the slave, he devoted himself to a principle. It was naught to him that the wealthy merchants of that flourishing city were angered by his assault upon that which formed the foundation of their prosperity. His soul was unmoved by the cries of manufacturers that profits were imperiled. Wealth founded upon iniquity, wrung from the toil of enslaved fellow-mortals, and entrenched behind legislative enactments, had no rights which demanded the silence of the eternal higher law of equity.

Not material prosperity, nor comfort, nor "the sacred rights of property," nor even Boston itself had claims which could subordinate the demands of liberty. There could be no compromise between right and wrong, between justice and iniquity. There were but two courses to pursue—either to dastardly keep silence or to unflinchingly proclaim the necessity of abolition. True to his own soul he chose the nobler part. Against him were arrayed State, church, wealth—all that men revered or courted in social relations; behind him was simple conviction of duty, that the slave's right was rooted in personality rather than statute enactments, and against these odds he flung to the breeze the banner of abolition. Neither colonization, mission labors, to teach contentment, nor appeals to the natures of men content in owning slaves to "ameliorate their sad lot" could find favor with such a man. He stood forth as a prophet of old, dishonored only by his hearers, jeered by the populace, and hated by the constituted authorities.

When Charles Sumner was taunted in the United States Senate that precedent and law, the Constitution itself, was irreconciliably opposed to his "dreams," he unhesitatingly appealed to "the higher law"—that law underlying all social growth through which the ideal of equity, of justice, ever shines through the clouds of ignorance and prejudice. When Wendell Phillips stood in Faneuil Hall denouncing the great crime, and read the latest Thanksgiving proclamation of the Governor, he paused over the last official phrase: "God save the Commonwealth!" and with reverence and solemnity added: "And I say that if such things are to continue—God damn the Commonwealth!"

Garrison lived to see the source of the iniquitous commerce upon which Boston thrived fall beneath the blows of indignant freemen. But the struggle for liberty still remains to be maintained. Again the cry has gone forth that injustice must cease; again the conscience is pricked with doubt whether there be not a higher law than that laid down in current economical text books. Again we find church, State, wealth arrayed against social relations, and again the banner of abolition has been raised, and earnest men and women are flocking beneath its folds. They demand abolition of the restrictions, legality has fastened upon labor; the abolition of the privileges by which man assumes to coerce man.

Garrison proclaimed liberty to the black laborer—his inalienable right to own and possess his own person. It was an idea—it appealed to both sentiment and reason; but in John Brown it descended from the head to the muscles. So, too, the outbreak at Homestead is a symptom of the new unrest. True, John Brown died, but the idea lived! Carnegie & Co. may fill their mill with new, and more obsequious toilers, but it will not end thus. The shots fired by the people upon the Pinkerton's has started a rolling echo, which will continue to reverberate in the hearts of the masses until other hands will itch in imitation and muscles move in determined action. It is immaterial to ask who fired the first shot—it matters not. Whatever cautious speakers may say, workingmen applaud their action because they did shoot, thought every bullet perforate some hoary parchment lie and sacred legal precedent.

What is called the labor question with us came into prominence immediately following our civil war. There is a profound significance in their connection. Industrialism seeks freedom in its relations. It ever surges against restrictions, seeking outlet for opportunities. Its spirit is voluntary cooperative union, based on free contract, relations flexible, fluid. Social relations are eternal; they antedate and will survive governmental forms. Industrialism has ever weakened these forms; when protest fails, muscles will harden to act. From the mediæval commune to the New England town meeting it has ever sought to withdraw its aims from artificial control. It has struck down internal customs barriers, abolished provincial boundaries, striven for international freedom of exchange, inspired all demands for emancipation, and aimed to transform the sword into the plowshare. But, so imperative is this demand that when barriers are placed across its onward march, it can on occasion transform plowshares into swords to hew its way through.

Between the real and the ideal, past and future, industrial relations there is an irrepressible conflict. One regulates, interferes, coerces; the other combines, contracts, cooperates. Where industrialism is content, governmentalism is weak, sumptuary laws outgrown, voluntary association increasing in scope, and administration excites but little friction. Where militarism most prevails, industry suffers from imposed restrictions, order checks progress, interference increases, and administration engenders friction.

The pulse of a nation is its statute book. The rifles of the strikers at Homestead have already enacted that the Pinkertons must go; Congress can but ratify—naught else.

We need a new appeal to the higher law—the law of social health. Our civil war revived the militant spirit. The blood of the slain infused new life into the veins of autocracy; muscles shrunken from disuse began to assume their old form. The devil's talisman, patriotism, was appealed to and as the nation arose the individual withered. The war ended, but militarism had taken on a new lease of life. Old soldiers meet to fraternize in Grand Army camps, and lo! are by it transformed with a constabulary to preserve fixity, to resist change. Power rides rampant, the social pulse rises under the stimuli of coercive acts, and industry languishes. Reformers catch the prevailing contagion; temperance advocates appeal to law to prohibit intoxicants; land reformers enforce their panaceas by governmental taxation; the allied farmers try to turn on the spigot of flat currency; other to remodel our government on a free lunch basis, and women are eager to sit at the table of the suffrage sacrament and be saved!

Industrialism seeks peace, but sometimes peace is death. When peaceful evolution of industrialism is seen to be henceforth impossible the irrepressible conflict will have culminated. The struggle now, seen by the light of the skirmish firing at Homestead and Cœur d'Alene, is not to formulate systems, nor guide coercion, nor impose regulations, *but to destroy them.* It will be to uproot the false growth, to burn the weeds, to remove restrictions, and to stand shoulder to shoulder in the conflict. Homestead but rang the tinkling bell summoning us to our places in the great drama; others will follow, and the curtain rise. We remain easy, and repeat Cromwell's advice: "Trust in God, *but keep your powder dry!*"

DYER D. LUM.

"Amateurs" v. "Professional" Anarchists.

In the latter days a man, whom Mr. Tucker would have called a "professional anarchist" died in Italy. He was a rich young man twenty-five years ago—and went to London to learn diplomacy, but was converted to Socialism. He devoted his large fortune to the propaganda of the new ideas, he started the first Socialist papers in Italy, he traveled, he organized two insurrections in which he took part, fought, was arrested and hardly escaped imprisonment for life. The name of this man was CARLO CAFIERO—a Communist Anarchist if there ever was one.

Well, I know a good many of such Communist Anarchists—and I could name them—men who have forsaken their rank, spent what fortune they had, risked their lives, spent years in prison, become poor and led an existence of parias, when they could, if they would only pour some Individualistic water into their Anarchistic wine—revel in wealth and honors—men who devote all their energies, give every minute of their existence, every thought, every nerve to the Cause....

And I know other men who are fond of being called "philosophical" anarchists, and act the whole day as business men, but at evening attend some Anarchist well-to-do drawing-room, write a chosen, fine, literary language, with much hair-splitting and sophistry, keep afar from prison and never risk a hair of their head, yet are content to preach non-resistance to the workmen, except in cases of actual aggression, provided there is *no doubt* about the necessity and the successfulness of the defense, and sitting in judgment between capitalist and workmen take the sufficiently acrobatic attitude indicated by the sentence: "no pity for Frick, no praise for Berkman."

Those people, or rather that man Tucker, reply with slander to our arguments! S. M.

PLAIN FACTS AND FIGURES.

THE CAPITALIST CLASS.

The wealth of the United States has been found to have reached in 1890 the sum of $62,610,000,000.

One-half of it is owned by 25,000 persons; three-fifths belong to 31,000 persons. One hundred persons are worth $3,000,000,000; 70 persons command $2,700,000,000; and less than 50 of these can control the currency and commerce of the country at a day's notice.

As a basis for democracy, this distribution of wealth is rather a queer one.

THE POSSESSIONS OF NINE "TRUE" AMERICANS

are reckoned at from 50 to 150 million dollars, with a combined income of $37,894,000. Their wealth is of the most varied kind. Mr. Aston land; Mr. Gould's and Mr. Sage's in stocks, bonds or loans; Mr. Rochefeller's partly in Standard Oil stocks and partly in railroad securities; the Vanderbilts' and Mr. Huntington's in railroad stocks and bonds; Mr. Flagler's in Standard Oil stocks and Government bonds, and Mr. Blair's in Government and Municipal securities. Their combined fortunes would show increases in ten years of $1,206,824,000, and of $2,654,956,000 in 25 years.

THE STANDARD OIL

has made eight millionaires with fortunes ranging from 10 to 90 million dollars.

The origin and increase of those and other phenomenal fortunes are hardly to be attributed to labor. Some grow automatically out of the increase of population and building up of cities; others are due to lucky gambling and constant fluctuations of stocks on account of weather crops, new combinations, wars, strikes, deaths, legislation and personal manipulations; some more to the systematic grinding of the workingmen, and others to the skilful use of political influence and the plunder of the public treasury.

RAILROADS.

More land is owned by railroad companies (211,000,000 acres) than would make six States as large as Iowa.

Railway securities were issued at the rate of 2 to 3 dollars for every dollar of cash-paid capital.

The average cost of all the railroads in the United States, up to a certain recent date, had been $30,000 a mile, while their average capitalization has been double that sum.

The revenues collected by these companies are more than five times those collected by the Government from tariff duties.

It was calculated in 1884 that an increase of net earnings, equal to one mill per ton moved by the New York Central, would add $1,970,087 to the income of the Company. The same increase on the tonnage of the Chicago and North-western Railway in 1888 would have taken from the public $1,939,044.

TELEGRAPH AND TELEPHONE.

The leading company of the United States has a stock capital of $80,000,000, of which a Senate Committee in 1884 reports: "nearly the whole of it has arisen from stock dividends."

The invested capital of the Bell Telephone Company is next to nothing, and it has been paid back in dividends scores of times over. One man's investment at $1,000, made years ago, brings him today $6,000 of dividends a year.

MINES.

Seven corporations own 200,000 acres, or two-thirds of the Pennsylvania anthracite field. These companies carry on mining operations, carry the coal to the market, and sell it. They sold in 1887 34,000,000 tons of coal for $90,000,000.

When a pool of these companies advances the price of coal 25 cents a ton, it takes from the consumers $2,500,000 for each 10,000,000 tons. The price of anthracite coal was raised by the pool 53 cents in 1878 and $1.83 in 1880. In the last six month coal has been advanced $1.30 a ton; and in the last weeks the production fell from 132,000,000 to 102,000,000 a week.

Some of the iron mines situated in the Vermilion range, Minn., and Mourminee regions, North Michigan, have paid 90 per cent. per annum on their capital stock, a much greater sum than the amount invested in the plant.

MANUFACTURES, ETC.

The net gain on the capital invested in manufactures varies very much according to the kind and size of the concern and other circumstances. The New England manufactures have yielded for many years 30 and 50 per cent. extra-gain to the capitalist. The gains in the retail-trade are usually very large; storekeepers, saloon-keepers and small usurers fatten themselves by sucking the very blood of the workmen.

There are in the United States

2664 NATIONAL BANKS.

Their resources amount to $227,000,000; their capital stock however, is $524,000,000; which shows that they do business to four times their capital stock.

PRODUCE EXCHANGE.

It is stated that the Produce Exchange sells in each year five times the value of the crop, and that in 1887 the Petroleum Exchange sold fifty times the amount of that year's yield.

In 1890, there were sold on the floor of the New York Produce Exchange, 1,238,327,000 bushels of wheat; of this amount only 22,991,000 represented actual cash wheat. In that year the total receipts of wheat in New York City amounted to only 15,794,857 bushels. It thus appears that nearly 100 bushels of "future" wheat, or promises of wheat, were sold for every bushel of the actual grain which ultimately reached this market. Again, the total crop of wheat in the United States for that year was a little less than 400,000,000 bushels, and it would appear that in the Produce Exchange building alone the wheat crop of the country was sold three times over.

COMBINES.

There are trusts in petroleum, cotton-seed oil and cakes, sugar, oatmeal, pearl, barley, coal, strawboard, castor-oil, linseed oil, lard, school slates, oil cloth, gas, whiskey, rubber, steel, steel rails, steel and iron beams, nails, wrought-iron pipe, iron nuts, stoves, lead, copper, envelopes, paper bags, big trunks, paving pitch, cordage, coke, reaping and binding and mowing machines, threshing machines, ploughs and glass, white lead, jute bagging, lumber, shingles, friction matches, beef, felt, lead-pencils, cartridges and cartridge shells, watches and watch cases, clothes-wringers, carpets, coffins and undertakers' supplies, dental tools, lager beer, wall paper, sandstone, marble, milk, salt, patent leather, flour of bread, painting trade, etc. A combine of buyers and slaughters controls the markets of Chicago and Kansas City, and both depresses the price paid for cattle in the market and raises the price of beef to the retail dealer.

In New York State there are two associations of wholesale grocers: they have fixed a price for sugar and tried to get the exclusive retail sale from the managers of the sugar trust.

THE GOVERNMENT.

The oppression, which in former periods exhibited itself on the banks of the Rhine by a robber baron sweeping down upon a rich neighboring community and depleting it of its movable property, now manifests itself in corporate management, in stock-waterings and in confiscation under the guise of taxation—in river and harbor bills, in protective tariffs, in grants to railroads, in subsidies to ocean mail steamships, in bounties to sugar and silk, in additions to the pension list, and thousands of other forms which are tyranny and exaction disguised under specious names to hide their nature, and clothed with the machinery of the Government itself to make the imposture complete.

ABOUT 400,000,000 DOLLARS

are collected every year partly from Custom duties, which result in increased prices of the commodities to the consumer, partly from other taxes which are ultimately shifted on the workmen, and squandered in big salaries to the members of the Government and of the Houses, in the support of the army, navy, in forts and fortifications, the payment of interests on the public debts, and in public works devised for private benefit.

The Federal Government, the several States and counties are now indebted to the extent of

$1,289,020,840.

The increase of municipal taxes has been within a generation upward of 200 per cent. All the work performed and services discharged by the Government, central and local, benefit the capitalists: the places are filled by them; the public works are contracted to them and mostly enjoyed by them: even education is mostly for their use, while the workman pays the bill.

OTHER DRAINS

on the resources of the people are made by the concession of public monopolies, such as railroads, tramways, gas and water supply, street lighting, etc.; while the very soil of the country has been alienated to corporations or allowed to be appropriated by "squatters." The total amount received for sales of public lands down to 1884 was $230,285,892, *i. e.*, the total proceeds of the sale of half a continent amounted to less than one year's revenue of the Government in the latter year.

According to the doctrine of

POLITICAL ASSESSMENTS,

a judge who is elected for a term of years with a salary of fifteen thousand dollars a year, pays to Tammany the very moderate commission of ten thousand dollars for his election, which Tammany guarantees. The same holds for places in the Custom House and Post Office, and every branch of the service.

Selling offices and buying votes is the aim and purpose of

POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS.

In the municipal contests of New York a skilful expenditure of $60,000,000 decides the result of the election.

The heads of the various departments in New York and Kings County select two-fifths of the Democratic delegates to the conventions.

The country is governed by

AN "INNER CIRCLE"

of politicians. The power has become so centralized in political organizations that notwithstanding the rapid increase of population, nay because of that increase, fewer and fewer men determine who shall be elected by the people, precisely as in railway transportation, through amalgamations and consolidations, fewer and fewer men determine, notwithstanding increased mileage, what rates shall prevail.

The individual voter

IS A CIPHER,

and the only function he has to perform is to register his aye or nay as to the individuals who have been put forward by the political organizations.

Contrary to the theory which presumes that the electors choose the representatives and dictate to them the legislation they want, the fact is, that "at the dictate of leaders whom we have not chosen we vote for candidates whom we do not know, to discharge duties that we do not understand," and that consist in the oppression of the people.

THE MAIN WORK OF LEGISLATORS

consists in depleting the public treasury by securing grants for their friends or constituents, or by pushing financial jobs for which they are to receive some private consideration, or blackmailing corporations or private individuals, whose interests may be affected by legislation.

Besides that, no real concern for the people's interest is to be expected from legislators. On show days they make set discourses on questions which have been already settled either in a committee or in a "caucus" of the party which commands the majority.

7,000 BILLS

on an average are brought every year into the House of Representatives. Nineteen-twentieths of them meet with death without discussion. On the other hand, important Acts pass unnoticed and are discovered after a while to be so grave that the newspapers wonder how it happened that they were allowed to pass.

The whole constitutional machinary is fit but to promote party and individual interests at the expense of the community.

Laws intended for the benefit of the workman are proclaimed unconstitutional, or remain, under some protest, dead letter—such has been the fate of anti-trust laws, laws against corrupt practices in elections, labor laws, laws concerning the traffic of liquors, etc.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

is as bad as central Government. County officials

are chosen on political lines and by political parties. Judges on the bench have to do their dirty work to retain the favor of the political "caucus" which has nominated them.

Property is sacred; the life of the workman worthless. Frauds in manufactures, conspiracies against the workmen and consumers go unpunished. Great robberies are rewarded with honors and perpetual interest.

The rich man

BUYS THE COURTS,

concocts the evidence, hires the ablest lawyers, and succeeds in escaping punishment for the most heinous crimes, while the poor man is made to suffer heavily for each light offence.

The workman is partly allured, partly by to fight against himself. The police, the mi he United States troops are employed to defeat strikes and to kill workmen. The capitalist can have, besides, a little army of

PRIVATE POLICEMEN

to arrest whom he pleases and shoot down women and babies.

THE CONDITION OF THE WORKING CLASSES.

The economical condition of the working classes is lowering down. In almost all trades men are striking against reduction of wages. Lower standard labor is being substituted for higher all over the United States. Women and children take the places of the men in the factories.

THE LATEST REPORTS

about the employment of children in factories comes from Rhode Island. But already, in 1880, of 172,544 hands employed in the cotton mills of the United States, no less than 112,859, or two-thirds, were women and children. In Massachusetts, out of 61,246 employees in the same factories, 22,180 were males; 31,496 women, and 7,570 children. The disparity in the numbers of men and women was carried so far in favor of the latter in certain manufacturing towns of the latter State that they were coming to be known by the appellation of "she-towns."

Ten million people live from their daily toil in this country; two more cannot find work. It has been estimated in Massachusetts that one-third of the persons engaged in remunerative labor are unemployed at their principal occupation for about one-third of the working time.

THE SWEATING SYSTEM

is in full swing in all large cities, with its miserable wages, long hours of work, employment of women and children, and disregard of all the decencies and health-requirements of life. 40,000 working women in New York are so poorly paid that they must accept charity, sell their bodies or starve.

A New York daily made an investigation and discovered that 23,855 families, composed of 119,000 members were

EVICTED LAST YEAR

from their homes in New York—a larger number of evictions than in Ireland.

It is estimated that 10,000 children die annually in this country from lack of food. 73,045 inmates in almshouses were registered in 1890.

A comparison of production in 1840 and 1890 shows that

IN MATTER OF FOOD

the masses of the American people are on a lower plane of comfort than they were fifty years ago. The production of cereals has increased fivefold while the population has only quadrupled, but if the quantity of grain exported is duly deducted from the total crop, it is found that the domestic consumption of breadstuffs *per capita* has remained substantially the same.

On the other hand, a large decline has taken place in the consumption of meat. The number of cattle increased 15 per cent. less than population, and much of the cattle of the present day, raised on ranches, weighs less and is of inferior quality as compared with the farm cattle of 1840. Besides, a considerable quantity of meat is now exported, thereby reducing the available supply for domestic consumption. Again the rate of increase of population in the last 50 years has been twice as great as that of sheep and swine, so that the *per capita* consumption of mutton and pork is now one-half of what it was in 1840.

A fact most important but little noticed is the

CHECK ON POPULATION.

The average number of persons to a family for the United States as a whole has steadily decreased since 1850. At that census there were on the average 5.55 persons to a family. This number was brought down to 5.09 in 1870, to 6.04 in 1880 and has been furtherly reduced to 4.94 in 1890.

While the average size of families has decreased, the average

NUMBER OF PERSONS TO A DWELLING

increases.

In New York City there were in June 1890, out of a total of 81,828 occupied dwellings 40,769 or 49.82 per cent. which contained more than 10 persons with a total population of 1,265,299 persons or 83.50 per cent of its entire population.—23,596 dwellings or 28.83 per cent. of all the dwellings have more than 20 persons to each dwelling and contain in the aggregate 1,010,786 persons or 66.70 per cent. of the total population. 8,313d wellings contain from 21 to 30 persons, 9.350 from 31 to 50 persons, 5,460 from 51 to 100, and 473 over 100 persons.

In Brooklyn 25.70 per cent., in Jersey City 23.53 per cent., in Cincinnatti 21,92 per cent. of the population live in dwellings containing more than 20 persons.

The time when the United States will have

NO MORE LAND

to dispose of is near at hand. Productive land is already gone. Long miles of mountains and sandy plains and cactus desert remain, without soil, rain or water: even the squatter would shrink from such regions.

The forest areas of the country are rapidly diminishing, and the timber lands will soon be exhausted.

The capitalist limits the output of the mines, notwithstanding the demand of the people. The Consolidated Coal Companies (Southern Illinois) have wrecked many of their mines for the purpose of limiting the supply and raising the price, and have bought many mines of competing companies and closed them for the same purpose.

The farms of the United States are being

EXPROPRIATED BY THE CAPITALISTS,

usurers and companies. Most of them are heavily mortgaged. In Kansas only 43.28 per cent. of the total number of farms and homes are free of incumbrances. In the Ohio counties the incumbrance is 40.63 per cent. of the value of farms and homes. In Tennessee the acres incumbered numbered, in 1880, 498,247; in 1889, their number had increased to 1,196,856. In Nebraska the existing mortgages cover 58.13 per cent. of the taxed area.

1,024,701 FARMS

were rented in 1880, or a little over one-fourth of the total enumerated. Of the rented farms, 322,357 were taken on the cash-rent system, and 702,244 on the share or produce-rent system, the farmers being compelled to share their crops equally with their landlords, while the greatest share asked of the British farmer is one-fourth.

There are already

3,323,876 FARM LABORERS

in the United States. In the 92,210 bonanza farms (farms numbering from 500 to thousands of acres), everything is done by machinery. Hired laborers do the work for 15 or 20 dollars per month during a few months, and seek odd jobs during the remainder of the year: they are fed in a barrack and live without their women and children.

UNSKILLED LABOR

all over the country is in a slave-like condition. Men for great public works, railroads, tunnels, mines, sugar refineries, cotton mills, etc., are recruited through immigration and employment agencies, at starvation wages, and in many cases for no wages at all, except the scanty food distributed in the shanties or sold at pluck-me-stores. Only a few years ago this was the condition of things in the granite trade and in the Pennsylvania coal fields; and even nowadays we often hear of railroad and mine laborers kept under armed guard, bullied, robbed and forced to work under pretext of indebtedness, while their wages are either appropriated by the boss or by the Company.

American workmen believe it is

THE PAUPER IMMIGRANT

who deprives them of the opportunity to work, and lowers their wages. In fact the pauper immigrant opens new fields to labor and therefore provides new employment to the Am[illegible] workmen, to the American and the fo[illegible] are victimized by capitalists who restrict the production, increase their claims on labor and place workman against workman.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE.

The evils of the present system are:

1.—Monopoly of the means of production.

2.—Monopoly of the means of transportation and exchange.

3.—Monopoly of Government through centralization and the "representative" system.

THE OUTCOME OF THESE MONOPOLIES

is a society divided in classes, superior and inferior.

Wealth, power, knowledge accrue to the higher classes; labor is the elephant that bears the burdens of toil, of taxation, the damages of competition, of crises, etc. The distinction of ranks is, as a rule, hereditary. Each class has a particular standard of living, and contrives to live up to it. The remuneration is higher where the work is less. Honor accompanies the fortune extorted from labor: the workman is looked to with a feeling akin to contempt.

PROGRESS IS CHECKED,

production obstructed, the increase of population increases the value of accumulated wealth and the poverty of the masses.

Artificial needs prevail over real ones. The existence of the workmen depends on the goodwill and interested combinations of the capitalist. The mental energies of millions of men are simply suppressed, and those of the few are diverted to unsocial ends.

The workmen are made

INSTRUMENTS OF THEIR OWN OPPRESSION.

If they vote, if they produce, or if they "serve the State," they act always for the capitalist and against themselves. No freedom. No democracy. With increasing population and centralization the power of the Government grows at the expenses of the liberty and the wellbeing of the people.

No hope may be entertained for a peaceful solution of the grave problem.

THE BALANCE OF LEGISLATION

is always in favor of the capitalists—who, like Brennus, throw their swords in the scale. While the workman hardly succeeds to scrape from the hands of legislators insignificant laws, which are not even enforced, the capitalists combine to force down wages and to squeeze the nation through the Government.

Monopoly, repelled from one object, concentrates in others.

RENT, PROFIT, INTEREST, TAXES

are not fixed quantities. As one is limited, the others increase. What the means be by which the capitalists despoil the workmen, is quite irrelevant. We have to

ABOLISH EXPLOITATION OF LABOR,

monopoly in all its forms and class distinctions; we have to establish cooperation instead of the wage-system, mutual help and solidarity instead of competition.

This change can only be brought about by

SOCIAL REVOLUTION

i. e., by the forcible expropriation of the capitalists and the demolition of the government.

Means of production such as land, mines, factories, machines, etc., must belong to those who work, *i. e.*, to the associations of workers.

The associations ought to be free to fix the conditions and terms of labor and to manage their own affairs; but instead of entering between themselves into competition for profit or for supremacy, they should organize their mutual relations on

THE PRINCIPLE OF SOLIDARITY

as the only conducive one to social welfare.

Men ought to live up to that principle—and willingly correct any inequality which might grow in their conditions. It is impossible to establish

ARITHMETIC JUSTICE

in society, to assign to each individual exertion an exact value: to measure the reward to the quantity of work done. Even if possible, the system would be destructive of human society and repulsive to human nature.

NO CLASS OF BUREAUCRATS,

nor a coercive power ought to be allowed to grow up in society. No society is secure when some toil and others rule. No society is secure where manual work is separated from intellectual work, and each is represented by a distinct class Workmen must take care of their own interests, and refuse to submit to the limited judgment of few rulers. End to the reign of politicians!

NO DANGER

is to be apprehended from the destruction of Government and private property.

Labor is prompted by the desire of living, by the love of comfort, the natural expansiveness of the human faculties and by love for people with whom we associate.

The work performed by free men for their own benefit will be greatly superior to the work performed under the whip of the capitalist.

Crimes and vices are carefully manufactured by the capitalistic system. The Government and the police foster and abate a good many crimes; prevent none. Men are made criminals and vicious by poverty, ignorance, bad example and hatred resulting from the struggle for life. Educate people to help and love each other; and crime will become an anachronism.

Let us not stop for objections or details. These will be arranged somehow. Great principles are our guide. The great evils of the present society demand a radical remedy: and this is

ANARCHIST SOCIALISM.

Workmen, awaken to the requirements of the situation. You cannot avoid being crushed; if you do not depose your masters. You cannot hope to better your position by worsting that of your neighbor, by

CLOSING THE PORTS

of this country to immigrants, or to foreign products. By protecting your millionaires you do not protect yourselves. You believe you can organize and secure wages and employment against "scabs," but capitalism manufactures

MORE "SCABS" EVERY DAY,

and will make, may be, "scabs" of yourselves. By acquiring political influence and partaking in electoral trickeries, you will be made

THE DUPES OF POLITICIANS

and may be of your own leaders.

Revolt—that is your only salvation. Change the economical and political system. Young America must get rid of the institutions she has inherited from old Europe. A new era is dawning on the world—when all men will be free and equal and united in the pursuit of happiness and justice.

NOTES AND CORRESPONDENCE.

A FALSE REPORT.—Comrade Wm. Holmes, from Chicago, writes to us denying having made a democratic speech at a recent meeting held in that city. "Those who know me personally know that I have too deep a hatred of both the old parties to speak in favor of either of them. But there are many to whom I am only known *by name*, and the statement could cause misapprehension..." We belong to the latter and are very glad to publish this denial—which should settle the matter.

MORE "SOLIDARITY" GROUPS WANTED.—We have "Solidarity" Groups in this city, in Brooklyn, in Philadelphia, Pa., and in Boston, Mass., and they are earnestly at work, widening the circulation of the paper, getting new subscribers and making in several ways good propaganda among the American workingmen. We want more of such Groups. There has been hardly a time when there were greater opportunities for anarchist propaganda than the present. *We must go on with this paper.* The expense of publishing it is not great; it is written and edited gratuitously, but its printers must be paid. Those who sympathize with the principles it advocates are asked to suscribe for it, and to induce others to subscribe. Send us quantity orders—50 copies of any one number, or 25 copies each of any two numbers will be sent for the purpose of distribution to any address upon receipt of $1.00. Help the cause by spreading the light in this way. Let those who belong to organized bodies induce their organizations to procure sufficient copies to distribute among the membership. Our especial mission is among the Labor Unions, knowing as we do that the emancipation of the working classes can only be accomplished by the workers themselves.

Help it now! And all together! In every possible way that may suggest itself.

THE CAPITALISTIC PRESS.

This designation is applied to those newspapers which are published to maintain, and are dominated and inspired solely by commercial and capitalistic ideas and principles. The policy of a newspaper; the interest of its circulation, or advertising patronage demands that:—an election being pending—the workingmen must be cajoled; their strike here must be approved; a trifle more wages, a few minutes less time for their work day; what of it? The *wages-system* is not attacked; the corporation concerned can readily adjust its tariffs to the new arrangement, if it cannot unaided deal with the troublesome agitators, by the operation of the beautiful laws of supply and demand, in the wages-market, and the inviolate sacredness of the rights of property. So hurrah for the strike! Hurrah for the honest workingman! But, careful now! and be cautious! Don't violate the *law!* The law, the majesty of THE LAW must be respected! And there they have 'em!

Or, the election being just past, the expenses of the campaign having been such as to tax the railroad heavily, a reduction in the pay-roll becomes necessary to replenish the depleted coffers. The strike is on! The president of the road (or his society friend CODLIVER), being the principal share owner of the *Daily Hustler*, and being in an ugly mood, finds vent for his spleen by setting his scribblers to abusing and ridiculing their unfortunate fellow-serfs in the other department. The abuse or applause of the press has very little if any effect on the matter in either case, but it satisfies the proprietor by enabling him to manufacture what passes for public opinion, and brings to him the fancied security of the ostrich with head burried in the sand, thinking himself thus entirely hidden from observation. The distinguishing feature of the "Capitalistic Press" is that its policy is dictated by the commercial interest of its owner; it has only policy on which to exist; it has no principles based upon fundamental right or justice. It is made to order, and fashioned according to the caprice of the commercial plutocrat.

Thus, it comes to pass, that when a real blow is aimed at the injurious capitalistic system, through its representative FRICK by the man BERKMAN, this press, true to its instinct, returns with unerring unanimity to the defense of its class, and abuse of the striker who has the right notion of how to strike. It knows it may dally and defer with the simpletons who only wish to maintain the scale of wages; and it knows that for its own protection it cannot do so with those who go directly to the root of the evils it is here to sustain. You must give the capitalist credit for making his fight with clear sighted intelligence, while the workers mostly make theirs blindly in the dark, or in the air.

Thus, also, it comes to pass that in its abuse of the striker who knows how to strike, it finds it convenient to insinuate and suggest all manner of badness and bad morals against him and his associates, and *anarchists generally;* notably has it paraded as a fact that he has neglected to secure a paper license from a regularly constituted capitalistic authority, granting him the privilege of taking the lady of his choice into domestic partnership. It is strange it has failed to show that he habitually entered into such partnerships promiscuously. This, however, may not be entirely an oversight; it may be rather due to the fact that such a course might lead to a general knowledge that it is *de rigueur* in the "best" circles for "gentlemen" to provide themselves with at least one mistress, and for "ladies" not to be lacking in the supply of lovers, thus leading to disagreeable comparisons. It might also have a tendency to bring out the disagreeable, ugly knowledge that these "gentlemen's" companions are recruited, by the influence of capital, from the ranks of the workers. As GERALD MASSEY put it long ago:

"Our Fathers are working for pauper pay,
Our Mothers with death's kiss are white,
Our Sons are the rich men's serfs by day,
And our Daughters their slaves by night."

It is a doubtful compliment to the intelligence of the workers that they have no press of their own upon which they can depend for reliable news and information, particularly regarding strikes and other efforts that are made to improve the condition of their class.

H.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

Attention should be called to the excellent meetings which this body is holding every Wednesday evening, at 8 P. M., at room 24 Cooper Union; every Sunday evening, at 8 P. M., at 54 Union Square; every Saturday afternoon, at 4.30, in City Hall Park. This league has not narrowed its field of action by pledging itself to any cut and dried programme; it declares in its Constitution that the social question has to be settled not by any special clique, but by the people at large, it devotes itself therefore to endeavoring by every means in its power to make agitation among the masses. Several of its most active members have taken part, as speakers, in all the more important mass-meetings that have been held in this city within the last twelve months, and hold themselves ready at all times to address labor meetings on demand.

The subjects discussed at its various meetings cover a wide range, but are always selected with a view to bringing out some one of the more radical aspects of the movement, and much attention has been paid of late to explaining the essentially revolutionary tendencies of the American people, as exhibited particularly in the Abolition movement. Indeed, while strictly international, the League has been anxious to get the ear of the more conservative English-speaking workers, believing that they are, above all others, the force that it is most necessary to win over to our cause.

With this end in view the League publishes a weekly news letter, about two columns long, and containing comments on labor events both in this country and abroad. This it furnishes gratuitously to such labor papers as care to accept it, and of these there is quite a large number.

The League was formed by a handful of people who were expelled, with a vast flourish of trumpets, from the Socialist Labor Party in the early part of this year. Their crime consisted in having objected to the policy of the party forcing its political programmes on organized labor, and in one of its members having severely criticised the whole tactics of the party in a series of articles in the *Bakers' Journal*. These articles were subsequently published in a pamphlet entitled "The Socialist Labor Party—a Criticism," which was signed by the expelled members.

Events have shown that the victims of this banishment have found themselves vastly the better for the punishment, their hands having become immediately free, and their opportunities for making agitation being greatly enlarged.

Our readers should, whenever it is possible, attend these meetings, and all desiring information as to the League, should address the secretary, Mr. J. S. Steele, 54 E. 9th St.

LECTURE LIST FOR AUGUST

At Cooper Union and 54 Union Square.

Wednesday, 3d, J. H. Edelman, The Militia; Sunday, 7th, M. Oppenheimer, The Lesson of Homestead; Wednesday, 10th, W. C. Owen, Labor's Enemies; Sunday, 14th, Marie Louise, The French Socialistic Revolution of June, 1848; Wednesday, 17th, S. Merlino, The Origin of Government; Sunday, 21st, J. H. Edelman, God and the State; Wednesday, 24th, Ida M. Van Etten, Children who Work; Sunday, 28th, Mrs. Imogene C. Fales, Co-operation; Wednesday, 31st, W. C. Owen, Down with Hypocrisy!

An excursion to Washington Park, on the Hudson River, near Yonkers, will take place by the steamer Bay Queen on Sunday, August 21st, under the auspices of the International Publishing Association. Tickets, 25 cents.

Received up to now $6.00 from Boston; $3.00 from New Bedford; $1.30 from Brooklyn for copies sent. Besides the amount of subscriptions: Donations: $10.00 from the Philadelphia "Solidarity" Group, on July 24th; $1.00 from Newark.

Next week will be published a "Solidarity" pamphlet No. 1.