SOLIDARITY

A FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW

of the Relations between d[illegible]rent sections of the Working Community of the United States and an Exponent of Anarchist-Socialism.

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THE WORKING OF THE YEAST.

To-day is what, curiously enough, we have agreed to call "Labor Day," because on it the masses are supposed to snatch a brief respite from their daily toil. Here, in New York, the Central Labor Union has marched several thousand men up and down the streets, and sent them back again to what are euphemistically called their "homes." The Central Labor Federation has held a picnic, and some speeches. In other words the upper crust of labor, as represented by the trades unions, has had a holiday, and celebrated it with much processioning, and a set harangue or two. That is all.

Meanwhile, glad as we may be to see the forces of even a small fraction of labor uniting, it is obvious that this holidaying settles nothing. It does not even touch the main question, which is one of *non-employment*, as recent events should have taught the dullest of us. Blood has been shed at Homestead, not for the sake of getting *less* work, but in the hope of getting *security of work*. In Tennessee and Idaho there has been guerilla warfare, on the largest scale, waged by men who saw themselves in danger of losing their jobs. In New York 8,000 militiamen have had to take the field to suppress some 500 switchmen, struggling desperately against the non-unionists who threatened to steal the work out of their mouths. The same story repeats itself at the salt works of Newburgh, England, where the Homestead drama has been reproduced in all its essential feature. Obviously, therefore, the problem is not one of how to get a holiday, but of how to keep from having unwished for holidays crammed down our starving throats. It is the sacred "liberty to starve" against which the biggest kick is being made.

This side of the question is treated, as far as possible, with respectful silences by the high moguls of organized labor, those gentlemen having been forced into a dignified policy of masterly inactivity during the trifling misunderstandings that have of late disturbed the harmony between capital and labor. We are far from blaming them severely. There was nothing for them to do, and they did it. If they had only had the decency to have kept quiet, and to have refrained from boasting about the fearful punishment they would bring upon Carnegie and his fellow-monopolists, they would have exactly filled the bill. As a matter of fact they must have known that they were powerless; what they lacked was the moral courage to confess it. Of course, the admission would have been an awkward one, since it would have immediately raised the question of—"What are these high-priced leaders good for anyhow?"

It is not we who need complain of all this. There has been, it is true, some most regrettable bloodletting, and many a good man has still his punishment to come; but, as against this, there has been an immense awakening. The plutocrats have been forced to show their hand, and in this connection we refer our readers to the article entitled "Our National Guard," in another column; the workers have had their eyes forced open to many things that the revolutionary wing of the movement had been vainly trying for years to bring to their attention. The sight of the armies that have been set in motion against them must have given them some idea of how desperately their rulers fear them, some conception of their own actual power whenever they shall choose to take a determined attitude. A probably still more important fact is that they have been taught a highly needed lesson as to their present weakness, a weakness that will continue just so long as they refuse to look facts in the face, seek refuge from their troubles in beer, banners and processions, and shift the responsibility on the shoulders of leaders who do not lead, because they have nothing that is willing to be led.

Apart from this general, and most salutary lesson, there are certain salient points that have stood out in startling prominence. For long past we have viewed with growing satisfaction the discredit which the press, and the politicians of all shades, have brought upon themselves by simply over-doing their parts. This has been greatly accentuated by their attitudes in the recent troubles, it being patent to all men that both these powers are willing to flood the country, if necessary, with troops, in defense of what, with ferocious irony, they still insist on dubbing "order." It must also be plain to every one, that the militia are only Pinkertonism spelt with a vastly bigger P, and that between the militia and the never-to-be-tolerated-in-America "standing army" there is merely the very substantial difference of a name. As a matter of fact propositions have been already made for the establishment of a "Militia Bureau" at Washington, in connection with the regular War Department, the object being to secure uniformity of arms, discipline, etc., throughout the country, and to bring the whole machine up to the regular army standard. This proposition has, according to the professional military organs, the support of almost every adjutant-general in the land.

In a word, the workers have received a good drilling in the gravity of the social question, and in the uselessness—to put it mildly—alike of the leaders whom they at present tolerate as "captains of industry", and whom they elect as "politicians." They have been taught again that what they want is not governors but true self-government, liberty to themselves administer their own affairs. To this most desirable thought-tendency the present outbreak of cholera should give a tremendous impetus, for not only is it throwing a flood of light upon the fearful conditions under which the poor of all the countries have to drag out their existences, but it is giving the world at large a terrific object lesson upon the impotence of government. It is precisely the bureaucratic countries *par excellence*—Russia and Germany—that have contributed most largely to the spread of this plague, begotten as it is of poverty, filth and famine.

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY.

(An address delivered in Buffalo on September 3d, 1892).

Before dealing with the subject of my lecture, I have to explain how it is that a foreigner stands here before an American audience to speak about American interests. The reason is that there are *no American interests*; that the interests of the workmen of this country are identical with those of the European workmen, just as the interests of the capitalists of this country are substantially identical with those of their European colleagues, and that any change for the better or the worse in the conditions of the workmen reacts from one country to another and ultimately the problem cannot be solved without an understanding being arrived at between us all. We, in Europe, have as great an interest in your welfare as you have in your own; your victories are greeted with joy and your defeats cause sorrow on the other side of the Atlantic. The European workman is coming here—has he not a right to a fair existence as a reward for his labor? Has he not a right to struggle against his oppressor? Nay, this is not a right, it is a duty. He would be a despicable coward who would scrape an existence for himself [illegible] you the sufferings and dangers of the struggle with the capitalist. You would be the chief sufferers from the sort of Monroe doctrine which is preached to you by newspapers with the evident purpose of sowing distrust and discord in your ranks and dividing your forces.

We, in Europe have learned that lesson. When we ceased to trust political reformers, we ceased also to quarrel among ourselves. You know how the International Workingmen Association was started in 1864 in London. The workmen of France, Germany, England, etc., were at that time as divided as now are Europeans and Americans. They looked at each other as competitors. They did not see that they were all moved by the capitalist like the dolls in the children's theatres are moved by the concealed hand of the performer. Now, they met, and they told to each other the tale of their sufferings and oppression. And what did they find out? That their evils were identical, their enemy the same, and they concluded that the same should be the remedy. They decided to join their ranks and form a great International Association in order to present a united front to the capitalist, and they began to enquire into the causes of their sufferings. At the early congresses they were satisfied with co-operative schemes, abolition of inheritance and other petty reforms. By and by they got a deeper insight into the situation; they saw that the root of all the evils was private property, capitalism, and competition, and they claimed the abolition of private property, competition, etc. One step remained to be taken, and this was done by the anarchist section of the Association; they saw that the Government was the support of capitalism and in itself a source of monopolies and misappropriation of wealth, and they claimed the abolition of government. Of course, at this stage the Association was persecuted and apparently cut to pieces, but it had done its work, and its spirit survived, nay, each atom of it became a new International—now, I believe that the same thing must happen on this continent. Workmen of different nationalities and standing must join their ranks. Superior workmen must help

lower workmen to rise, and all workmen must not be satisfied with sham reforms, with skirmishes for wages and hours of labor, but realize that so long as there will be capitalists, they (the workmen) must be oppressed and exploited (such being the business of the capitalist), no matter what pretext or excuse is offered to them for the robbery which they endure.

There are two policies which may be pursued by the workingmen in order to better their lot or prevent it from becoming worse: one is the policy of isolation. Each trade shutting itself, each union contriving to keep its ground and discouraging the influx of outstanding workmen by heavy entrance-fees, closing of the membership's books, restriction of apprenticeship and legal restriction or prohibition of immigration.

This policy seems to procure good immediate results, but it proves fatal in the long run. It allows the capitalists to beat, one class after the other, the workmen. The men out of the ranks turn "scabs" and workmen fight workmen. Whenever this happens, the victory remains to the capitalists. The policy of isolation has been the cause of great disasters to the working classes, but perhaps it was never so cynically adhered to and it never bore so terrible consequences as in the last few weeks. I, for my part, never came in my life across such a piece of selfishness as the action of the leaders of the trainmen, firemen and railway employees in connection with the last strike was. "You are right, they said to the switchmen, but you must fight your own battle alone, because we have no actual grievance against the companies." Such language on the lips of workmen is a blasphemy. Why, the grievances of the switchmen are no concern to the firemen and trainmen? To-morrow the complaints of the firemen and trainmen will be judged of no concern by the switchmen; so the railway companies will have the best of firemen, trainmen and switchmen. If these people are so foolish as to remain indifferent to their respective sufferings, the result will be that they will all suffer, and deserve to suffer too. The policy of isolation and egotism is a suicidal policy. There is but one salvation for the working classes, and this is *solidarity*.

No class or section of the working community can alone fight the capitalists. The lower classes are helpless, because they are poor and unorganized; other classes are equally powerless, of this country are the lower classes to compete against them. The remedy lies in union. The organized workmen are directly interested in redeeming the non-organized workmen from the state of slavery and poverty in which they are kept. By helping them to rise, they will insure themselves against lowering. We will never be tired of preaching this gospel of solidarity. Organized workmen we will ask to take the cause of unorganized workmen in their hands; and the latter not to thwart the efforts of organized workmen for a betterment of their conditions. Fraternal war between workers is, under all circumstances, to be deprecated.

The better situated workmen should exert themselves on behalf of their less fortunate brothers. There is nothing more foolish than the bitter feeling which exists between American and immigrant workmen. Do you really think that it is the poor Italian laborer who builds your railroads, bores your mountains, dries your swamps, at the rate of one dollar per day—and sometimes at the expense of his life—the cause of your low wages? No, that man has opened a new field for your labor; he benefits you. The enemy is the capitalist, who exploits both the Italian laborer and yourselves. You cannot blame the Italian laborer, who arrives hungry and penniless in this country, who falls a victim to the unscrupulous boss and accepts starvation wages. You may as well blame the sheep for becoming the prey of the wolf—or of the man. What have you done to prevent the immigrant from becoming the prey of your home-born capitalist? How did your free country protect the life and the independence of the men who came to develop its ressources and increase its wealth? What did organized labor do to defend the interests of labor against the greed of capital? Nothing. National rivalries and prejudices were allowed to grow between the workmen, and no step was taken against the exploiter. Do you think that it was the Hungarians who now work in the Pennsylvania mines at 75 cents a day who deprived the American workmen of the $3.00 wages they used to receive? No. The capitalist deprived the American workmen of their customary wages; he pockets the difference. He would very likely have closed the mines had he not been able to secure lower wages, because the development of capitalism causes the lowering of wages. The more wealth is accumulated, the greater is the tribute to be paid by labor and the less remains to the workman. You ascribe to the competition of fellow-workmen the consequences of the capitalistic system. This mistake is fatal. It brings you to fight each other—organized and unorganized, employed and unemployed, workmen in working clothes and workmen in uniforms of militiamen. The capitalist revels in the blood he sheds with your own hands.

The remedy lies not in maintaining nor in raising the present rate of wages; it lies in changing the [illegible]. The workman must be his own capitalist, and the capitalist be his own workman. The wealth produced by labor must belong to labor. The land to the peasant, the mine to the miner, the machine to the artizan. No man must be allowed to live on the labor of others. All men who are able to work must do so, and all men who are willing to work must have free access to the means of production. Labor has to be organized in the interest and for the well-being of the workmen, not of a few drones. Machines and other inventions must be employed to save labor, not to down the workmen and deprive them of their very means of subsistence. No man should be allowed to prey on the products of labor, to obstruct production, to monopolize, to speculate, to interfere in the exchanges between the producers; and when the interests of the people will be no more opposed to each other as they now are, when there will be no more extremes of wealth and poverty in society, and the present industrial war between the countries not only, but between the classes in each country, will cease, then will also cease the necessity for a Government or organized power to keep "order" in an iniquitous society. Men will look after their own interests, help each other, defend each other against aggressors, and agree together in the pursuance of culture and happiness. This is the ideal we strive for. This is the *new society* to which we, socialist-anarchists, convene you, if you will work for its realization, putting above your petty class-interests the interests of the whole community, of justice, of progress.

OUR NATIONAL GUARD.

A simple statement of these facts shows the folly of those who argue that labor organizations must ultimately triumph in an attempt to over-ride the law. In the first place "the wolf careth not how many sheep there may be," and unarmed and undisciplined organizations cannot count upon numbers. So speaks the *Army and Navy Journal* of August 27th, 1892, and the most unpleasant facts have generally the objectionable habit of being true. In any event it seems to the present writer that, while we hear much of the "invincible power of labor" and other glittering generalities, but little effort has been made to take accurate stock of the exact resources of the enemies of labor. This article is, therefore, intended to bring before the reader some slight conception of the exact extent to which in New York the forces of plutocracy have already been marshalled to its defence. I deal here with but one organization—the National Guard, or Militia.

Before me is the annual report, dated January 1, 1891, of the Adjutant General—Joseph Porter—and the moment one takes it up one gets an idea of the magnitude of the preparations that capital has been so quietly making. For the report itself occupies 594 pages, besides an introduction of 14 more. It is the log-book of the doings, within the preceding twelve months, of a crew of 13,743 men, whom monopoly has been carefully training for its defence. In it are recorded their target practice, their drills, their battles, sham and real, the clothes they wore, the weapons they used, the food they ate, their behavior, the proceedings before their courts—in short the whole history of this *imperium in imperio*.

An exceedingly important empire, officered from the most aristocratic professions, served by dupes, and paid for but of the pockets of lethargic, muddle-headed labor.

WHAT IT COSTS.

In this report the Inspector-General—Thomas H. Barber—tells us that the capital invested by the State in armories, etc., is $6,000,000, the annual appropriation by the State being $400,000, and the quota contributed by the general Government $34,173.72. He opines that "this investment, and annual outlay, if wise, if it disseminates military knowledge, and keeps alive the military spirit of the State"—an opinion that I commend to the attention of the gentle humanitarians who flatter themselves that the day of war is past. I can further assure them that Gen. Barber's sentiments are apparently echoed by all the others who share in the making up of this report, that he himself speaks with delight of "the determination of the present State authorities to have an efficient military force," and that, not satisfied with the present $6,000,000 investment, he wants to see a military park created on 42d street and 5th avenue, New York City, and to have Castle Garden used as the armory of a regiment of heavy artillery.

ARMORIES AND ARSENALS.

Where is this investment placed? well, each regiment in New York and Brooklyn has its separate armory, those in New York—7 in all—stretching from 6th to 95th streets, and thus carefully covering the city. The State has also 22 other arsenals and armories at different points, and is now building 5 more for which our good Democratic Legislators have kindly voted appropriations that range from $15,000 to $35,000. And there are still another 6 in sight, for which similar appropriations have been made; that of the 23rd regiment of Brooklyn, being for $300,000. The State legislature, it may be here mentioned, had also made appropriations at its previous session of $423,500 for rifle ranges, and $7,712.39 for pensions.

DIVISION OF THE TROOPS.

The National Guard of the State of New York is divided into 14 regiments, 1 battalion, and 45 separate companies of infantry; into 5 batteries of artillery; into 1 troop of cavalry, and 3 signal corps. These contain in all 751 officers, and 12,992 privates. Of this total, New York city, has 4,589, divided into 7 regiments of infantry, 2 batteries of artillery, and 1 troop of cavalry; while Brooklyn has 2,798, divided into 5 regiments of infantry, and 1 battery of artillery. The headquarters of the 3d brigade, with 2,694 men, are at Albany, and those of the 4th brigade, with 1,832 men, are at Buffalo.

WHO THEY ARE.

According to the returns of the Chief of the Ordnance department, these liveried flunkies cost the State $200,510.80 for the year ending September 30, 1890, and a glance at the personnel of the regiments in New York and Brooklyn will be useful as showing the sort of folks to whom the money goes. In New York the 7th Regiment is at once the most aristocratic, and the largest, its membership being given as 1,040. It is commadded by Dan. Appleton, of the publishing house of D. Appleton & Co., and it is largely made up of clerks, and similar material. To those who imagine that clerks do not make good soldiers I may reply that the 7th is the only regiment reported by the Inspector General as having *all* its companies up to standard. The most distinctively workingmen's regiment, on the other hand, viz the 69th—composed largely of Irish bricklayers, stone-cutters, etc.—figures as having *none* of its companies up to standard, as having only 3 nearly up to it, and 7 below it. In other words, even when he takes the wrong side, and arms himself against his fellows, the workingman does his business in a slovenly and careless manner. The same applies, though in a somewhat minor degree, to the 8th, the 9th, and the 12th, all of which are workingmen's regiments, and have many of their companies below standard. As regards the 69th it may be mentioned that this exhibits its Irish composition by the fact that its various companies are practically so many political organizations and its officers political heelers and gin-mill keepers. If we go over to Brooklyn we find the same story repeating itself, the aristocratic regiments—the 13th and 23rd—being those that figure in the report as infinitely nearest to the standard of perfection. The commanding officers of these various regiments are largely composed of well-known lawyers, such as Adjutant-General Porter, and his partner, Major Luscombe; of financiers and capitalists, like Col. Partridge, Pres. of the De Kalb Av. R. R. Co., Col. Dowd, cashier of the Bank of N. America, and Major Geo. G. Cochran, an amateur soldier who is always yearning for blood; and of politicians like Col. David E. Austen, a Tammany office holder. If you put yourself to the trouble of consulting pub-

lications like the *Army and Navy Journal* you will find the writers frequently congratulating the country on the fact that its militia regiments are officered by men of this class, all of them conservative through and through.

IS IT A FIGHTING FORCE?

Certainly it is. I have heard of the want of skill of this and that company, of their inability to sight their own rifles, of their being carpet soldiers, attracted merely by the brass and buttons, the trimmings and feathers, and so forth. Making, however, the most that can possibly be made of these shortcomings, it must be admitted that the reports show a constant increase of efficiency, and an increasing determination on the part of the authorities to secure efficiency at any cost. Our plutocrats have two distinct elements upon which, from all appearances, they will be able confidently to rely: (1) the toughs, from whose ranks Pinkerton recruits his forces; (2) the young men, who as clerks, salesmen, etc., are the most devoted adherents of capitalism, and worshippers at the shrine of respectability; their devotion being usually in inverse ratio to their salaries. It is this class that has, above all others, a superb contempt for the working people, and a fanatical fondness for our present wage system. As already pointed out, the regiments composed most exclusively of members of this class are the ones that come most closely up to the standard, and if the ability to do mischief is there we may be sure the inclination will not be wanting.

At present the programme of the organized workingmen has apparently gone no farther than bands, banners and processions, and starvation contests, in which they pit their empty stomachs against monopoly's purse. As this last is obviously, whatever so-called leaders may say to the contrary, a hopeless game, despair has in those latter days invariably driven them to violence—weak, unorganized, and conducted with miserably inefficient weapons. The contempt which such abortive efforts inevitably create is further accentuated by a determined optimism on the workers' part which has, until quite recently, refused to look facts in the face, and has insisted on regarding the militia as toy soldiers, without earnestness of purpose, and meant only for parade. In the writer's humble judgment they are nothing of the kind; on the contrary, they are, under another name, a carefully drilled and elaborated standing army under the leadership of men whose views are thus expressed in the last issue of the *Army and Navy Journal*: "Forms of Government may change; legislative and judicial tribunals may be shorn, for the time at least, of their office; but military authority must remain until men cease to be moved by selfish passions."

As the Roman Empire tottered more and more swiftly to its fall, the military power became more and more supreme, and history is to-day repeating itself here as in the European countries. "The wolf careth not how many sheep there may be."

W. C. O.

JULES MOINEAU.

The Court of Liege, Belgium, has just sentenced a man, Jules Moineau, to 25 years of hard labor, *ostensibly* for the offence of having stolen explosives and attempted to wreck the residence of Judge Renson, but *virtually* for the offense of being a professed anarchist.

The severity of the sentence leaves no doubt about it. The courage of the coward (*i. e., fear*), undoubtedly swayed the minds of the judge and jury.

At the aspect of an appalling crime, society is terrorized, but at the sound of an *idea*, it writhes in *delirium tremens!* This was the condition of the judges and jury who sentenced Jules Moineau.

Having merited so much attention from the Belgian authorities this man has become of sufficient importance for us to look into his object and principles.

In an eloquent, pathetic and exhaustive defense, his lawyer has vindicated the principles of Anarchism.

This remarkable plea, which is a tribute to, rather than a defense of, Anarchy, being the expression of an outsider, has a claim to the consideration of the intelligent and thoughtful.

Previous to reporting the discourse of the talented orator, I will give a concise sketch of the life of Jules Moineau, and a short address he delivered before the Court.

Jules Moineau, a man of culture and refinement, was born at Liege, Belgium, in 1860. At the age of ten years he lost his father, and his mother, who was a midwife, was left as the bread winner for three small children. Her practice being among the working classes, the struggle to provide for the needs of her family was very severe. It was the presence of so much difficulties and hardships that first awakened in the mind of young Moineau a feeling of painful sympathy for the working classes in general.

At the age of 15, he entered the Mining School. Democ[illegible] in his instincts, he soon became a thinke[illegible] suffering of the people, especially those of the m[illegible]g district, called for a remedy, and all kinds of means revolved in his mind. First he thought Republicanism a panacea, but he soon found that one may starve under a Republic as well as under a Monarchy. Next, collectivism appeared to be a means of levelling conditions, but his lucid and earnest mind needed but little time to perceive in collectivism the demon of Officialism and Authority. Then Anarchy dawned on his fervid imagination as *the* system best suited to secure equality among men.

At the sollicitation of his mother, he entered the military school, regardless of the fact that the step clashed with his principles. Reliable testimonies prove that, as subordinate, he was dutiful, and as a superior, he was kind and forbearing. His mother having, on her death bed, recommended to his care a child, an orphan whom she had adopted, he faithfully provided for its needs out of his modest pay of lieutenant.

In the memorable strikes of 1886, rather than command his soldiers to fire on the strikers, he, regardless of the fact that he had no means of livelihood, abandoned his officership and went to Brussels in search of a situation more congenial to his ideas.

After the death of his mother he left to his sister the largest share of the maternal heritage, hence his means were very small.

Failing to secure a situation at Brussels, with three of his comrades he formed the plan to go to Brazil and establish an anarchist colony. Sailing as a steerage passenger, he several times had narrow escapes of being thrown in chains for his vehement protests against the ill treatment to which emigrants were subjected.

Arrived in Brazil, chattel slavery being yet in existence, he might have realized a large fortune by availing himself of the opportunity offered in the line of exploitation of labor. But his soul revolted against the *exploitation of man by man*, and he preferred tilling the ground for his livelihood. As the negro sellers of bananas passed on the road, they would stop to listen to the spiritful notes of the *Carmagnole*, which Jules Moineau sang to relieve the hardship of digging under a temperature of 100 degrees

Two of his companions having become a prey to nostalgia, the little colony had to sell out to afford means to permit the sick men to return to Belgium.

Left alone, Moineau fell into indigence. For a time, he taught school at St. Paul. Later on, he was employed at loading ships at Santos. While so engaged one of his companions, who had remained in Brazil, happened to arrive and gave him money for his fare to Belgium.

On his return home, he obtained a situation in the Company of Wagons-lits. He gave entire satisfaction to his employers and his wages were to be raised from 1,800 francs to 2,400 when he felt himself obliged to throw up the position on account of orders from the employers to enforce severe measures and levy fines on the employees.

Going to Paris, he tried his hand at many trades, was employed as house painter, and afterwards occupied a position at the Exhibition of 1889.

Finally, he returned to Liege, where he was employed as clerk in the offices of Mr. Fonteyn. Next we find him sitting on the bank of the accused, charged with stealing explosives and an attempt to destroy property.

Such is the biography which reaches us of that remarkable and enthusiastic man. In his excessive love for the proletariat and his sanguine hope, he has come to a clash with society, and when the jury gazed on the culprit, on his lofty forehead and limpid eyes they detected *not a crime* but an *idea*, and throwing up their arms in hysterics they shouted:

"25 YEARS OF HARD LABOR!"

With this slight introduction to Jules Moineau, let us hear the few words he spoke before the Court:

"Gentlemen, all I have to say is strictly personal. *I* alone, then, bear the responsibility.

"I have stolen dynamite and I am the author of the attempt at explosion at Mr. Renson's. I vindicate loudly the acts I have committed; they were imposed upon me by my revolutionary convictions.

"As I have told you, my intention was to produce a moral effect in order to bring the Bourgeoisie to reflect upon the miserable condition of the wage workers, and to awaken the masses who are terrorized and brutalized by poverty and privations.

"I have never intended to take the life of anyone, and as I know that environment makes the man, I aim at the destruction of institutions,—by removing the *cause*, I suppress the *effect*.

"I never had any ill will, nor hatred and much less envy against anybody.

"I consider the regime of the *Bourgeoisie* as bad and fatal, and it is that regime which I seek to destroy... I am convinced that it is by the social revolution, by the use of force, that the problem must be solved, not to the profit of one class (hence lies the glory of Anarchy) but to the profit of all human beings indiscriminately.

"How did I become a revolutionist?

"When I look towards the past and glance at the pages of history—not that written by anarchists, but by *bourgeois*—I see that the *Bourgeoisie* have won its political liberties by force, that if the people has obtained any betterment to their conditions, such as the law of nine hours in England and twelve hours in France, and here, after 1886, the Commission on Labor and Industry, it has been done through force, through revolution, through social and economic agitations.

"Do not *Bourgeois* themselves recognize it? Does not Sismondi, a bourgeois historian say:—"France has conquered all her liberties by the sword"—Was it not Mr. Frere-Orban, Belgian Minister of State, who said:—'Force is the midwife of Society.'

"The revolution cannot be made in one day. Like all revolutions, it is preceded by partial outbreak. Taine reckons as many as three hundred of them previous to the Revolution of 1789.

"These partial revolutions are themselves preceeded by individual actions which, awaken the masses, that is to say, men of devotion, true vanguards—(like the thousands of Uhlans whom Moltke threw into France in 1870 and whom he considered as lost)—which take the mission to r[illegible] ses and prepare the revolution.

"Who then has suggested to me the idea of obtaining dynamite?

"Why the bourgeois revolutionists Maillard and Santerre, who captured the Paris arsenal, and took the arms and the powder. One is remembered as a member of the Convention, the other as general of the Commune of Paris. I have u[illegible] explosives, but the Bourgeois themselves have indicated to me these revolutionary means. Remember the conspiracy of powder in the beginning of the 17th century when the English Catholics attempted to blow up the royal family and the Parliament.

"Was it not Mr. Naquet, a French *bourgeois* republican who, in 1863, contemplated, in case of insurrection, to blow up houses in order to obstruct the advance of the troops?

"Did not the syndicate of distillers in the United States intend to blow up the non-adhering establishments?

"The Nihilists are partly bourgeois, for their dreams go no further than our Belgian institutions. Did not the Fenians, the Roman catholic Irish, try to attract the attention of the world to their sufferings by blowing up monuments in London?

"Assuredly, violence is repugnant, but of two evils, we must chose the least. This terrible dilemma faces us:—either to use force to overthrow the cause of human sufferings, or to submit to the modern social conditions.

"My counsel, Mr. Royer told you in his admirable speech for which I thank him from the bottom of my heart, in the name of the "*idea*"—what those social conditions are: a general tendency to lower wages and scarcity of work. The uncertainty of to-morrow, and a general uneasiness which permeates all classes in society.

"Everything has been tried; education has been spread, but, unfortunately, the only result has been the perfectioning of the human machine.

"Mutualism has been attempted, even national workshops were inaugurated in 1848. But nothing has improved; the situation becomes daily more terrible; even the *Bourgeois* are attacked, for com-

petition and the improvement of machinery compel them to battle one against the other, and woe to the conquered, for they fall to the ranks of the proletariat!!

"My counsel has told you the remedy. He has pointed out to you the harmonious society of the future, based on justice and social equality. He has shown you the moral loftiness of a society where no poor, nor slave shall exist, and where all the needs, material, intellectual and moral, will be supplied.

"This, gentlemen, is our object. This is why we have used those means, brutal and repugnant at first sight when the motives which prompt them are ignored. But, after all, we have only followed the example of the bourgeoisie, and if, to-day, we are here, it is that we are vainquished.

"Remember how, in the revolution of 1830, Rogier captured the *grand'garde* du Palais Royal on the Place St. Lambert, took the muskets and marched on Brussels. Had he been unsuccessful, he who committed the same offense as ourselves, would have been dragged before the tribunal, and, like ourselves, been condemned as a malefactor, a brigand and a thief. But Rogier is honored by the Belgian *Bourgeois*, who erect monuments to his memory and name streets and public places after him. Therefore I am vainquished!

"Some have recanted the anarchist theories, but I am proud to be an adept in those principles so noble, so beautiful, and of a moral eminence unknown to modern society.

"I say with Blanqui that Anarchy is the future of Mankind, and with Cesar de Paepe, I express the fervent desire to see its reign soon dawn on earth, and with that learned sociologist I exclaim;

"Anarchy! may thou soon reign over us!"

New York, August, 1892. MARIE LOUISE.

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES.

We recognize in the conflicts now agitating the popular mind two divergent theories, which have received the respectives names of *Militancy* and *Industrialism*.

The first is of the past. Then, and now where surviving with somewhat of its original character, as in Turkey and Russia, all authority is centralized in one alone who, whether termed Tyrant or Father of his People, is absolute ruler without constitutional check. Its motto is Law and Order; that is, fixity of social conditions must determine and precede social order.

The second is of the future. It has scored its course through the ages by modifying Absolutism and imposing checks upon arbitrary power and military greed. Its motto is Progress and Order; that is, social order follows growth rather than fixity.

Militancy, founded by the sword, requires the sword to sustain its arrogant assumption. Its social order is dependent upon its authoritative law. With it "the grace of God" confers power and "the voice of the people" *nil*. Born of violence, its history is marked by rapine, war and blood. Its maintenance demands subjugation and determines the *law* preceding *order*.

Industrialism, founded by Labor, demands peace as its necessary condition. Where labor is most diversified, where the arts flourish and the products of skilled workmen are most sought, there the sword longest remains in the scabbard.

War ever centralizes, roots monopolies and entrenches privilege. It incites patriotism limited to boundary lines and inevitably tends to aggrandize central direction, disturbs industrial pursuits through insecurity, increases burdens and disrupts growing social fraternity.

Peace develops industry, offers security in mutual interest, incites incentive to exploit Nature rather than fellow-men, and renders mankind more social.

During this struggle of centuries we have seen the human mind overleap narrow provincialism, and to-day witness the fading of even patriotism into a broader internationalism. Solidarity results as a growth. We cannot "organize" *it*, for it overrules *us* and compels our submission to mutual will.

The Militant spirit is *conservative*. Its brigthest glory lies backward, its revival would be retrogression, and its survival unchanged would be stagnation.

The Industrial spirit is *progressive*. It is at war only with militant measures, impelled thereto in self-defense. It socializes mankind, gives the sympathies and emotions deeper root, broadens human relations, and substitutes independence for dependence.

Militancy is authoritarian. It commands, fosters subordination, dwarfs character, and ever tends to ordain the present into permanent conditions.

Industrialism is co-operative. It contracts, fosters manly self-reliance, develops character, and ever tends to mutual assistance to accomplish present needs.

Under the one system order is conservative, it clin what has been, and becomes a dam to arrest ress. Under the other, order develops by natu... growth. Progress ever socializes and mutual needs determine social order in accordance therewith.

The industrial spirit has wrested from militancy control over belief, secured for conscience toleration, gained for the people some voice in public affairs, and now seeks the extension of the principle of voluntary contract to economic relations.

Legatee of the past struggles it is the heir to coming victories. But in economic relations the spirit of militancy is still regnant.

As the artisan of the Middle ages was often compelled to drop his tools to take up weapons for defence against aggressive knights, so the toilers of to-day are obliged through organization to present a compact front to the same enemy clothed in new uniforms. Strikes are the protests of those facing futureward against the survival of past militant measures. While temporary in character and expedient in defence, the *Industrial Ideal* already foreshadows an era of voluntary co-operation wherein free-contract will supplant them.

By trade organization and federation Industrialism is advanced. In this work we build wiser than we know, and in my belief the day is drawing near when through industrial organization, and the socialization and education it entails, the union of workers—already international—will step from the negative position of defence in a strike to the positive policy of undertaking their own contracts and ignoring their militant employers.

In short, the present condition looks back to the fixity of Law for its Order. Industrialism, on the contrary, seeks it by looking forward to the fluidity of Progress.

To further this aim our duty is plain. Not for us to demand *institution*, but *abolition*. Our watchword should be—FREEDOM.

Freedom in the interchange of products, without burdening some to subsidize others.

Freedom in the capitalization of our own resources, without forced tribute to the money-lords.

Freedom to organize exchange upon an industrial basis to meet mutual interests.

Freedom to the resources of life, without which toil becomes a badge of servitude.

In a word—ABOLITION. Though statesmen ignore it, MAN is ever wiser than men.

DYER D. LUM.

OUR CHICAGO LETTER.

Agitation in Chicago, during the hot midsummer weather, is practically at a stand-still. The Secular Union Sunday evening meetings, which have offered good ground for Anarchist seed, are discontinued during July and August, but will again resume in September. Various classes in economics have likewise tenporarily postponed operations. Public mass meetings are held only on occasions of great importance, the last one being under the auspices of the United radical societies, to denounce the invasion of Homestead by the Pinkerton thugs. The Peoples' Debating Club, comprising an arena for agitation for radicals of all schools and Nationalities, meets every Sunday evening, and discusses (in the English language) nearly every phase of the social question. W. H. Von Ornum, once active single-tax advocate, now anarchist of anarchists, is at present delivering a course of four lectures on "The Evolution of Liberty." The second address of the course, given Sunday evening, August 14, was attentively listened to by a good sized and appreciative audience, most of the brainy men and women comprising the English speaking movement of Chicago being present. The speaker made an urgent plea for harmony between all schools of socialism, claiming that the agitation pursued by State Socialists must inevitably lead to community of property without government, the idea of anarchic communism.

The movement for the amnesty of our comrades imprisoned in Joliet—recently put in active operation—waxes strong, and presents many features of encouragement. At the request of the imprisoned men it has been decided to postpone the circulation of petitions, etc., until after the November elections; this for political reasons. At the last meeting of the committee, William Penn Nixon, editor in chief and part proprietor of the Chicago *Inter-Ocean*, was made president of the Association. This gives strength to the movement for amnesty from a new direction.

A few days since I visited our comrades in the penitentiary. All are looking and feeling physically well. Hope, the bright mixture of desire and joy anticipating their release from a livinghell, buoys them up and gives them continuous courage to endure. They know that friends are working unceasingly in their interest; they feel that public sympathy for them is broadening and deepening, and they try to forget the misery of the present in anticipation of freedom. W. HOLMES.

No politics of any kind! Therefore, also, above all, no boodle or swindle-politics! Whoever attempts, under any pretence whatever, to force the central body, or any individual Labor organization, into a political role, ought to be at once put where he can do no harm. If the economic organization is to be a permanent fact it must not be converted into a political, that is to say, a money-making power.—SERGIUS SHEWITSCH.

We are about to import the following pamphlets:

ANARCHIST COMMUNISM, ITS BASIS AND PRINCIPLES, by P. Kropotkin.

THE COMMUNE OF PARIS, by P. Kropotkin.

THE WAGE SYSTEM, by P. Kropotkin.

A TALK ABOUT ANARCHIST COMMUNISM, by Enrico Malatesta.

Orders for any quantity solicited.

Holders of subscription blanks 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 24, 25, 26 *and* 27 *will please return same.*

Lack of space prevents us from publishing many interesting and valuable contributions.

Subscriptions to the defense fund for Henry Bauer and Karl Nold should be sent to B. Kupfenberg, 711 Carson St., Pittsburg, Pa.

Quarterly subscribers are urgently requested to send in funds for renewals at once.

The receipt of a sample copy should be regarded as an invitation to subscribe.

Comrade S. Merlino, who has edited so far SOLIDARITY, is now on a tour throughout the States, with a view to widen the circulation of the paper and to promote the formation of groups for the propaganda of the principles it advocates, among the English-speaking workmen. Any communication on the subject of his tour may be made to comrade Merlino at the address of SOLIDARITY.

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 class-spirit, rivalries and interests, is 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.