SOLIDARITY

A FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW

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

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THE WORKING OF THE YEAST.

England and Germany are the two countries in which, for the moment, the labor movement is receiving most attention at the hands of the capitalistic press, much having of late been written about the unemployed in the one and the Social Democratic Party and their rivals, the Independents, in the other.

In England the Fabians have published, under the title of "The Fabian Society: What it has done and how it has done it," a paper by G. Bernard Shaw, descriptive of the course they have pursued since 1883. Mr. Shaw reviews their evolution from the time when they were "content with nothing less than the prompt reconstruction of society in accordance with the highest moral possibilities," to their present tactics of "permeating" existing parties, with a view to the creation of a voting power to back their aspirations. While he gives us to understand that the Fabians, as an organization, have permanently renounced "Insurrectionism," and that, in his opinoin, they have acted wisely in so doing, he emphatically warns us that "Insurrectionism" will reappear at the next depression of trade as surely as the sun will rise tomorrow morning." The prediction gathers weight in coming from such a source, and, unless all signs fail, we shall soon have an opportunity of testing its correctness.

In truth, the situation in England has been growing steadily from worse to worse. In every branch of industry there has been a constant reduction of the working force; the docks are half deserted; the textile, the clothing, the printing, the shipbuilding and the engineering trades, are dull beyond all precedent; over and over again coroner's juries have been forced most unwillingly to bring in verdicts of "died form starvation," and a severe winter is all that is needed to fill the cup of misery to overflowing. The next few months will doubtless give us the true test of the value of the political propaganda work done by the Fabians and the Social Democratic Federation, and from the action of the proletariat we shall be able to judge whether or not the gain achieved in the dissemination of Socialistic thought has been counterbalanced by the enervating influence which ballot-talk usually carries with it.

In Germany the Social Democrats have suddenly changed their plans, the National Congress, that had been postponed indefinitely on account of the cholera, being now called for Nov. 14. The party, under Liebknecht's guidance, has been making praiseworthy attempts of late to spread the propaganda among the agricultural laborers, but Vollmar, with his patriotic chauvinism, continues to be a painful thorn in its side. In fact, setting aside the hostility of the Independents, it is evident that there are most threatening quarrels within the ranks of the party itself. This is said to be a source of immense sat on to the Emperor, which, if true, only prove at that young man is as short-sighted as Monarchs always are. For it is certain that, as quickly as the Social Democratic party goes to pieces, its place will be occupied by a far more radical, and therefore far more dangerous organization. Already the Independents have developed a power that seriously threatens the popularity of the regular party, and they are constantly augmenting their forces by the addition of those whose patience has been fairly exhausted by the conservatism of the parliamentarians. In Berlin, Magdeburg, Hamburg und Dortmund, they are said to be especially strong.

There can be no doubt that the situation in France is full of alarm for the plutocrats, and their political hangers-on. The head of the Rothschild house has been interviewed on the labor question by the *Figaro*, and has exhibited—this man, whose mighty brain is supposed to guide the finances of Europe—an ignorance, and childishness of argument that a petty grocer would blu*sh averted* closing. The situation at Carmaux is thus *of Nov.* in the European letter of the N. Y. *Sun*, of Oct. 17th; "The Government has nominally, at least, taken a position on the side of law and order. Not much can be said for its executive policy, however. The Socialistic deputies and their followers openly insult and defy the troops at Carmaux. Deputy Bandin, flaunting his deputy's scarf, twice yesterday forced his way, with his followers, through the lines of soldiers, where he was forbidden to go. To an officer, who was about to ride him down, he shouted: "I have my revolver, and the first man who touches me, I will blow out his brains."

In America there is one *most* significant fact, viz., that all the efforts of the politicians have as yet failed utterly in arousing public enthusiasm over what has always hitherto been a surely drawing card—the Presidental election. Equally significant is the fact that in Georgia, where the People's Party had great hopes of carrying both the State and congressional elections, the Democrats had a majority of 75,000, the largest in the history of the state! It is said, of course, that the fraud was practiced on the largest scale, and we ourselves have heard the bitterest "shot-gun" talk from enthusiastic People's Party men. We anticipate, however, that the farmers, for all the mass-meeting cheering they had indulged in, had mighty little faith in the milk and water reforms that their platform advocated.

As a pleasing contrast to this tale of poverty and woe we are happily able to gratify our readers with the information that Mr. Vanderbilt's Asheville "cottage" is to cost the modest sum of ten million dollars! The *Baker's Journal* brutally remarks that "it will make a fine sanitarium for the people of the coming commonwealth." Such is the ingratitude of the modern laborer to the master who so generously furnishes him with work!

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CEASE TO VOTE! CEASE TO BE SLAVES!

AN ANTI-ELECTORAL MANIFESTO.

You, the proletarians of the United States, are now called upon to join with your enemies, the capitalists and the millionaires, in nominating your legislators and rulers.

However much you may dislike the company, you cannot avoid it. You must vote side by side with the capitalists, and we are afraid, somewhat under their watch. You will not indeed, be left without advice or assistance in such a momentous juncture! You will be approached by professional politicians, and cajoled, and cheated, and bought, and debased as freely as it becomes a republican country. Some of you will be kept prisoners for a few days or hours before the election; others will be packed in blocks of five or ten and led to the ballot by a patrolman; others will be made drunk for the occasion..... In fact, you the "sovereign people" of this Empire-State, will be first paraded in the streets, then dragged to the polls like sheep to the slaughter-house. This seems to be the summit of political liberty in the present century. You "free" citizens of a "free" country are the most helpless slaves that ever existed on the globe. You are mere tools of the politicians. You cannot get out of their clutches. You may vote for one or another of two parties, or perhaps, for a third or fourth party, you cannot vote for yourselves. Never. You cannot compete in wealth with the capitalists nor in shrewdness with the politicians. You who have to work from sun to sun, and from year to year; what can you, poor, harmless workman do against the power of those gold-divinities who live in your midst in this most free and democratic republic? Are you not aware of your ridiculous impotence? Those men have money enough to buy you, and all the politicians in and out of Congress. They may well afford to sacrifice a small part of the wealth they have extorted from your labor to be guaranteed in the possession and multiplication of the remainder. While you may pocket one dollar, they pocket millions. They ask for grants, subsidies, bounties, monopolies, Government contracts and other substantial thing, while you only look for palliatives. They are now planning, in their secret councils, the laws which must be enacted next year; they are now apportioning the offices and dividing beforehand the spoils. The dirty services rendered them by Governors and Judges are now rewarded by capitalistic assistance in their reelection. May be, at this very time, that you are asked to vote for them, your employers, Governors and Judges, are sitting together and agreeing on the punishment by which the victims of Carnegie and Frick must be visited, as well as on the ways and means by which organized and unorganized labor must be crushed.

They let you believe that it is the great question of Protection or Free Trade that will be decided at this election. Your wages, your employment, your lives, they say, are at stake in this contest. You rush to the ballot, believing you defend your homes and families; you get excited and might fall at the throats of each other. Poor deceived! you only fight for your masters, to promote their interests, to placate their ambition. Protection or Free Trade, it is all the same for you. The only issue is, who must get the spoils of the Government, who must rob you; who must fatten on you,

to whom the one billion dollars of yearly expenditure of the United States must be appropriated.

When a band of robbers, like the Dalton boys, break into a city and undertake to plunder a bank or the houses, the citizens arm themselves and rush to the defense of their houses and wealth. When a gang of politicians combine together to plunder the big bank, the Government, and the homes of the people, their very victims are asked to assist them to legitimate beforehand their robberies by voting for them, and to address them as their "honorable representatives." There is no party which cares for the people.

There is a "People's Party," composed mostly of farmers, who want to pay off the mortgages on their lands by cheap money, and then become landlords and exploit their laborers and the workmen at large. The party is not yet born, and it has already sold itself to the old boodle-parties. There is a Socialist Party, which promises to turn 62,000,000 of people into legislators, the country into a big Congress, and to make the workmen busy from morning to night with discussing laws and revising the action of public officials. Neither of those parties has the least chance of success. You are split in different classes, unionists against scabs, organization against organization; and no sooner organized than sold by your leaders.

Do you think you will ever succeed in sending to Congress your chosen representatives? And if you should succeed, do you believe that they will remain faithful unto you? And if they should be as true as steel, would they have any power to help you?

What could they do? Could they pass laws against the Senate, the President, the money lords, the military men and all your combined enemies? Then, what is the use of having new laws for the protection of the workmen when those which now exist are not executed?

Even the best laws become a scourge for the people in the hands of their enemies. You may elect the judges and public officers; the capitalists turn them into their private employees and hired assassins. The police blackmail the people which they are charged to protect. The militia itself is handled by the capitalists, not because of any law, but because the present social organization is so bad that it renders men enemies of each other and the cause of them any sense of their real interests.

The remedy lies not *inside* but *outside* this system. So long as there will be capitalists, *i. e.* owners of all the instruments of production and exchange, the workmen *must* struggle against poverty, *must* tremble for their lives and employment, and *must* be politically oppressed. The present capitalistic system cannot be stopped in its vertiginous run by laws or by-laws. In vain is the attempt to remedy the effects of economical inequalities, so long as we do not strike at the *cause*.

The same cause produces the same effects in politics and in economics. Wealth creates power in economics: it also creates power in politics. Poverty is allied with slavery in both fields. Economic competition results in the victory of the stronger, so also political freedom. The workman cannot defend himself against the combine of politicians, just as he cannot defend himself against the combine of capitalists.

The man, who is master at the factory, is also master at the poll. He is the ruler of the rulers. Power, like wealth, tends to accumulate in a few hands. The wealth of the capitalists increases while the workmen become poorer and more numerous; the power and strength of the Government increase for the same reasons. The capitalist buys the labor; the politician buys the vote of the workmen: both make money out of the bargain. The workman may become a politician, as he may become a capitalist; but in both cases he ceases to be a workman and he must live on the exploitation and corruption of his former friends. He gets out of his class, becomes a transfuge and an enemy.

We have seen in this country all reform movements burst at election-time. Many "friends of the People" have been lost in the gulf of politics. It is not by exciting the meanest passions and appetites in men's hearts, that mankind may be made to progress. It is not by creeping at the feet of our masters that we can get justice and true liberty.

Workmen, strike against voting. Abstain. Prepare to fight, to destroy the present political and economical institutions, and to establish a true society, not of masters and slaves, but of free united workingmen.

ELECTORAL PLATFORMS.

The best proof that running candidates is not a good policy for a party fighting for principles, not for interests, is afforded by the Platforms of the Socialistic Labor Party and of the People's Party—two platforms more absurd and insignificant than of which cannot be found.

Let us begin with the Platform of the Socialist Labor Party. There is not a single paragraph in this Platform which may be maintained when submitted to the judgment of common sense. What does "the reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the progress of production" mean? Who can establish such a proportion? Is the progress of production uniform in all industries—or must there be different measures of a laboring day for different work? Is the reduction to be carried on by law or by the efforts of organized workmen? No answer is given in the "Platform" to such important questions, and as the silence cannot be due to ignorance of the difficulties, it must be considered as a tacit avowal of the impracticability of reform No. 1.

We pass over to paragraph No. 2:

"The United States shall obtain possession of the railroads, canals, telegraphs, telephones, and all other means of public transportation and communication."

Another reticence is remarkable here: it is not stated whether compensation shall be given to the companies for what will be taken out of their hands. Evidently the authors of the "Platform" were equally afraid of saying that compensation shall be given, or that it shall be refused. Neither declaration would have brought votes to the party. Vague, meaningless phrases are all that is needed in an Electoral manifesto. So, the United States shall obtain possession of the railroads, etc., and manage them. This seems a daring innovation, almost a revolution in industrial concerns. It is, however, nothing of the kind. If railroads, telegraphs and the like should come under the management of the Government, the present Directors and Managers of railroad and other companies would become public officials, their shareholders would become bondholders, and everything else would remain just as it is now.

The eight-hour system would not necessarily apply to them, because employes, as is assumed in the "People's Platform," and the cost of transportation would not be reduced to a minimum, as the Government would have to pay interest on the acquired capital of the companies, and the waste of money in useless expenditures and salaries would be greater at its hand than at those of private capitalists. By incorporating railroads, telegraphs, etc., the Government would become a much bigger concern than it now is; the boodle of election would be greater; the favors and privileges (preferential rates, etc.) which the Government, or the Party being the Government *pro tem.*, could bestow on its supporters, would be more extensive and substantial than they are now, and the United States would be blessed with a Government more despotic and more corrupt than any other ever known.

These evils would certainly not be diminished by the fact that, as claimed at No. 3, "the municipalities would obtain possession of the local railroads, ferries, water works, gas works, electric plants, and all industries requiring municipal franchises."

Remark that Carnegie's mill would not come under this description, nor would mines and factories in general. The miner, the laborer and the factory-hand would remain the slaves of capital, and the fact that railroads and gas works would be controlled by the State or the township would not assist them in any way to get better conditions from their employers. Private property in land would not be abolished. "The People's Party" demands that "alien ownership of land be prohibited"—as if it did matter whether Mr. Astor or lord Scully owns the soil of this country. All ownership of land is an "alien" ownership; because all landlords do not till the soil, nor sow nor harvest themselves, but merely live on the labor of the tenant-farmer and the laborer. Therefore all ownership of land ought to be abolished. This is the fundamental principle of Socialism: yet there is no trace of this principle in the Socialistic Platform. Only "public lands to be declared inalienable." But then they would be let, perhaps for long terms, and the consequences would be the same.

"Revocation of all land grants to corporations or individuals, the conditions of which have not been complied with."—What a boon for lawyers! And how ingenuous to demand such a thing!

We pass over the "legal incorporation by the States of local Trade Unions which have no national organization, a measure which would subject Unions to the dictatorship of State authorities and political caucuses), and arrive at "the exclusive right to issue money" to be vested in the United States.

Another vague sentence, which means nothing and everything. If it is a question of legal tender, official money, the right to issue it already belongs exclusively to the State; but the State itself cannot issue money without guarantee of *specie* payment, and therefore it can only issue money in behalf of those who own the metallic species and in partnership with them.

On the other hand the greatest part of business is nowadays transacted without the use of money; and the State cannot prohibit the use of fiduciary money or credit.

The People's Party, as it is well known, demand "the free and unlimited coinage of silver," and assume, 1. that it would result in giving thousands employment; 2. that it would tend to prevent the control of the volume of money by the money power; 3. that it would increase our exports.

None of these assumptions has the least foundation. The capitalists of the world control already the silver-mines, and the bankers would have no difficulty in controlling the whole currency of the country, even if increased, as they wish, to $50 per head. But there is no means *to retain in this* country an amount of money superior to the exigencies of trade. If the capitalists of this country can manage to do their business, *i. e.*, to pay wages and such balance in trade as must be necessarily paid in money, with $6 per capita, there is no power in the world, no law, no government which may force them to use ten times that amount. The consequence of a larger amount of money would be an inflation of prices and the curtailing, not the increase of exports. There would not be employment for more workmen: it is an old fallacy that money gives employment. Money is a means of exchange of commodities; the fact that only a certain quantity of commodities is produced, not more, does not depend on the quantity of circulating medium. It is not for lack of money that the Pennsylvania Coal Companies do not cause more anthracite coal to be produced; they restrict production and keep down the consumption of coal by the workmen, that they may earn greater dividends.

The same People Party demands, with extraordinary ingenuousness, the reduction of the rate of interest to 2 per cent., and Governmental loans at that rate. But no rate of interest can be fixed by law, no more than a rate of wages or of prices. The Government cannot lend money except on unmovable property; and by lending money to landowners only at the rate of 2 per cent., it would not do away with usury, but only enable the landowners to sub-lend, at higher interest, the money received from the Government.

But, could really the Government lend money (real money, not bonds or other paper having a fluctuating value) on all real properties and commercial enterprises? Certainly not! the quantity of money to be put in circulation being, according to the People's Party itself, necessarily limited. To this circumstance we must add the fact that the values of land is variable, that before lending money the Government ought to have the mortgaged property duly appraised, that it would incur losses or sell off properties whose value would sink down, that the farmers would care more for speculation in money than for good harvests, and crisis and ruin would follow out of the very measure, from which so much good is expected. Shylock's vocation would *not* be at an end, even if the money holder would invest his money in what are called "productive enterprises." What is the difference between the man who, by lending to another his money, gets 10 or 20 per cent. and the other who gets the same or a greater profit by exploiting and squeezing down the workmen?

We return from the People's Party to the Socialist Labor Party. No. 7 of the latter's Platform provides "for the scientific management of forest and waterways through Congressional legislation"—another case of that political superstition which credits Congresses with universal knowledge and good will for the welfare of the community.

No. 9 demands "inventions to be free to all; the inventors to be remunerated by the nation." So, the capitalists would get inventions free of charge: the "nation" would pay the bill. We would soon have considerable additions to our pension list, a new boom for politicians and their friends.

"Progressive income tax and tax on inheritances." Taxes are all progressive—but in direct ratio to poverty. It is strange to see "socialists" cry for "more taxes." We think it is high time to raise the cry for the abolition of taxation altogether.

Now comes "School education of all children..., meals, clothing, books, etc." The quality of the education, imparted in the schools is not touched upon. The State may be anything, except a good Educator.

"Repeal of all pauper, conspiracy and sumptuary laws." Well, those and other laws might be repealed; there would remain laws enough by which to terrorize and murder, if necessary, the workman.

Paragraph 11 ends with claiming: "unabridged *right* of combination." The capitalists have something more than the mere *right:* they have also the *might*, as workmen must be well aware.

"No. 1. Official statistics concerning the condition of lab r" (all lies). Prohibition of the employment of children.... etc., of the convict labor contract system."

What is the use of having such laws, when they are never observed? The whole program ignores this little difficulty, *i. e.*, that the execution of laws is confided to the very enemies of the people, and that every individual elected to a public office or to Congress becomes necessarily an enemy of the working people.

"No. 13. All wages to be paid in lawful money of the United States. Equalization of women's wages with those of men, where equal service is performed."

This means that the Government ought to fix wages, both for men and women, and enforce their payment. Then a step further would be required, and the Government ought to fix the prices of commodities; and finally ought to carry on the industrial enterprises in case the capitalists would refuse to go on and provide work for the unemployed.

The Socialistic State-mania is really alarming. These people think to solve all problems of social organization by a word: the State; just as our fathers used to solve all cosmical problems by the word: God. Those people know that laws are effects not causes, that the ruling class will not order itself out of existence, that Congress is but *one* ring in the chain of the capitalistic system, that its laws when they hurt the interests or the feelings of the capitalists are simply thrown aside, declared unconstitutional or ignored by their appointed executors, and that the attempt to remedy the present evils by clamoring for more laws is not more reasonable than it was to expect the recovery of sick persons from prayers and exorcisms. Yet these people ask for laws, and laws, and laws—"laws for the protection of life and limb in all occupations, and an *efficient* employers' liability law!"

But it will be said that, according to the same platform, "the people will have the right to propose laws, and to vote upon all measures of importance, according to the Referendum principle," and "all public officials will be subject to recall by their respective constituencies.

If these proposals were to be carried out, *Congress would be practically abolished;* for the measures of importance would be proposed and voted for by the people, and other measures, mostly matter of details, could be left to the administrators, or people possessing technical knowledge in the different branches of the administration.

But then, why not say that *Congress ought to be abolished?*

We assign to this reticence two reasons; one is that the idea of abolishing the huge mass of parliamentary centralization and corruption is too radical for an Electoral Manifesto; the other reason is that the authors of the *Platform* don't believe it is possible to give the people all the rights above stated. It is a mere delusion for the workmen.

It is folly to pretend that the workmen may vote all laws, and propose some laws, and control all public officials. They would be obliged to attend to political affairs the whole day, and even then would not possess the necessary knowledge for all kinds of affairs. In fact they would, become, in almost every case, the dupes of professional politicians and leaders, and their situation would be as helpless as it now is. The first thing to do is to abolish all centralization: no more laws made for a whole nation, without regard to particular interests. The people are no more possessed with universal knowledge than its presumed representatives are in the present system. Each section of the community, each group, each association manages its own affairs—and only for very few such affairs which require a large cooperation, *agreements* should be resorted to by the associations concerned.

The Socialistic Platform demands the abolition of the Presidency and Vice-Presidency (yet, there is a Socialistic candidate for President and Sénate of the United States. This would leave only the House of Representatives with an Executive Board, *i. e.*, a Government by a Party or Caucus.

Municipal self-government is not possible, except in small places—or it means government by a Ring. Direct and secret ballot is no remedy; minority representation is just what we have.

"Free justice" means justice paid by taxations levied on the workmen. And then, while claiming "free" justice, are we sure we may get "justice" at all at the hands of our masters and oppressors?

So the Socialistic Platform is a tissue of fallacies, of worthless tips, and in fact a master-piece of charlatanism. We would not have commented on it, were if not for the effrontery with which this Program is propounded. The following passage from the "*People*" is a good illustration of the unscrupulousness with which the electoral campaign is carried on by the Socialists.

"About a year ago," when it was announced with great éclat that Carnegie's works had beaten the record for the quantity of steel rails made anywhere in the world within twenty-four hours, we observed: "It is not the record alone that is beaten. In beating it Carnegie's wage slaves have beaten themselves. They may now look with pride upon their achievement; they will look with dismay upon a further reduction of their scanty earnings." Did this prove true? Nay: did any of our predictions ever prove false? The Socialists, to be sure, do not claim the gift of prophecy; but they walk with their eyes open and see the drift of events. We now predict for next year, a year of extermination against organized labor, an increase of the military forces, State and National, a general reduction of wages all along the line, and measures looking to the disfranchisement of a large portion of the American proletariat,

"And yet all these calamities could be averted by a solid vote of the wage workers on the 8th of November for the ticket of the Socialistic Labor party."

THE AFFAIR OF JULES MOINEAU.

(Continued from No. 7)

"The collectivists want the State to exploit all the wealth. The State would exploit the capital and the land; it would become the great and general owner and enterpriser.

The exploitation of railroads by the State is collectivism, the redemption of mines, as some favor, would also be collectivism.

The collectivist wants the State to manage all concerns; everyone would work for and be an official of the State.

Collectivism; then, preserves government and order such as we ourselves conceive it; nay, it even consolidates authority. But whilst it gives satisfaction to the human tendency towards equality, it overlooks the historical human tendency towards liberty.

What!—so many struggles sustained by the magical power of that glorious word *liberty*, would culminate in that monotonous thing; *Every one a functionary!*

Officialism is a cancer on our social organization, and the collectivist would extend the infection to all parts of the body social.

We all know what anything official is worth—official bureaus, academies, literature, science, art. Does a radiant flower of art happen to bloom somewhere, it is in a corner unknown, forgotton, in the warm sun of independence and liberty! It is to the honor Anarchy, that, as says the poet, it bends neither its neck nor its wings, and has for all riches but one word—*Liberty*. And it is because Anarchy gives satisfaction to the human tendency towards liberty, that the future belongs to it.

But Anarchy, says Mr. Prudhomme is disorder, and we meet this Mr. Prudhomme so often. That argument of terminology is the first regularly brought out against Anarchy. This objection being one of terminology, gentlemen, let us open Larousse's Dictionary. To the word *Anarchy* we read the following: 'Proudhon has given the name of Anarchism to a social theory which reposes on the idea of contract as a substitute to that of authority.'

Under that name, the illustrious thinker presents us an organization of society where politic is absorbed into social economy, and the government into an administrative system; where *commutative* justice, extending to all social actions and producing all their consequences, realize order through liberty itself and completely replaces the regime, fendal governmental and military, which is the expression of *distributive* justice.

Formerly, the libertarian-communists wrote anarchy in two words, connected with a hyphen to emphasize that the word does not mean disorder, but an absence of government.

Later on, the expression became popular, and Anarchy was written in one word. The libertarian-communists accepted the denomination of *Anarchists* as of old, some of our revolutionists accepted that of *gueux* which, at first, had been given them by contempt.

No, gentlemen! Anarchy is not disorder!—Anarchists mean to realize order by a free interchange and a free federation from the simple to the complex! Free interchange between individuals; between communes; between nations!

I know well, that for us who are imbued with governmental prejudices, it is difficult to conceive of an anarchist society.

On that subject Krapotkine who, after Proudhon, is called the father of Anarchism, has just published a very interesting book: *The Conquest of Bread.*

As I do not know which *Anarchist indicator* the *Procureur Général* has ordered to be filed in the pièces of accusation, I would request that his Honor kindly add that book of Krapotkine.

"I do not pretend," says Krapotkine in his *Conquest of Bread*, "to trace the plan of the coming revolution. It is certain that on the day of the revolution a spontaneous organization will arise, more perfect than any we may now conceive."

But as we ever repeat that an anarchist society is impossible, Krapotkine shows us, not what that society *shall*, but what it *could* be.

First in order, on the morrow of the expropriation, it will be necessary to assure the means of living to all citizens.

Krapotkine examines that question with regard to lodging, feeding and clothing.

Legarding things that are abundant, they will be used wholesale and freely as we do to-day in the case of the most abundant and most necessary of commodities, water.

With things not so abundant that they may be used freely, we shall have to use a system of rations. That system shall not be organized by an official bureau, but by free initiative.

In each quarter, men of good will will make the inventory of the victuals and clothing at disposal, and will decide what amount may be given to each individual.

"But,"—it will be said,—"there will be endless fighting, every one will try to get more than his neighbor."

No, this is not to be feared. Krapotkine recalls the two sieges of Paris; the long line of famished people at the door of the bakeries. The last arrived knew that perhaps they would not get their ration, and would have to fast until the next day. But all were patient and resigned.

Krapotkine also recalls how marvellously the distribution of rations is carried out among workingmen in times of strike.

In the hours of suffering and danger, the instinct of sociability and solidarity reappears in men, as, moreover, it exists in the majority of animals, a fact which Krapotkine demonstrates in one of his works recently published in the *Société Nouvelle*, a review which in our national indifference is, alas! but seldom read, but which, in foreign lands, sustains our honor, scientific and literary.

But, side by side with consumption, the production of wealth must be organized. Statistics prove that, were all to work five hours a day, men could produce all that is necessary for their sustenance. The balance of their time might be devoted to arts, literature, science, in accordance with their tastes and opportunities.

Exchange would be organized by free agreement. The farmer would bring his wheat to the city and take in exchange agricultural implements which at the present time, he is unable to procure,

because one portion of his harvest goes to keep idle landlords, and another portion is absorbed by taxes.

The production of wealth would receive a new impetus. To-day, the capitalist has in view only his own agrandisement, whereas, under Anarchy, all would work for the benefit of the whole of humanity. Personal property having disappeared, the vices which it creates—egoism and cupidity—would also disappear.

THE ANARCHISTIC MORALITY IS THE MOST BEAUTIFUL OF ALL!

Christians give charity with a view of gaining superterrestrial rewards. Under Anarchy, charity would be practiced for its own sake and impelled by human instinct.

Do not believe, gentlemen, that, as some have dared to assert here, anarchists aim at the abolition of the family. They mean to substitute a free union, based on love and matrimonial duties, to that union which, in our present society, is but too often, a union of dowries.

I exaggerate nothing, gentlemen. In a *bourgeois* paper *Le Soir*, I have lately read a *chronique* where the establishment of official matrimonial agencies was seriously recommended. This is what bourgeois morality has come to! (Laughter.)

I ignore whether the anarchist ideal shall ever be completely realized. But it will doubtless have a considerable influence on the future reorganization of society.

The Jacobin, authoritarian ideal of 1789 is not any more that of the revolutionists of our time. For, in our modern society, a tendency libertarian—communistic, becomes daily more accentuated. Bridges become free and barriers are getting more and more rare. We have free schools, and children are beginning to take their meals in common. Museums, libraries and parks are more and more open to the public, and king Leopold II. has acted in a spirit of communism by opening his Park of Laeken and his domain of Clergnon for the benefit of all his co-citizens. (Laughter). He has understood that so much splendor cannot be for the enjoyment of a single individual. Anarchist ideas permeate our society.

Anarchists assails governmental authority and lo! politicians of all parties preach decentralization and advocate liberty and communal autonomy. Look in history, the communes of the Middle-Ages, the organization of which was nearest to anarchistic ideas, appear to us more and more glorious!

Anarchists war against Parliamentarism, and behold! Parliamentarism falls in discredit to such an extent that an adventurer, by attacking it, has come near capturing the government of France!

Discredit is also gnawing at another symbol of authority which Anarchists besiege—I mean *the prisons*.

The *Journal des Tribunaux*, our judicial organ which Messrs the Assessors and Mr. the *Procureur Général* read twice a day—in the issue of July 7th last, regarding the Congress of Justices of the Peace called by the Minister of Justice—published the following:

"The hydra which crawled as an avenger over the prisons and jails, punishing for the sake of punishment itself, and which struck in the name of a so-called legitimate defense giving raise to harvest of revenge against and hatred for society, has in its turn, been wounded to the heart! Jurists denounce it as a nurse of crime, and the prisons as a pestilential abode of misdeeds. The Penal Code—that engine of war which unnecessary massacres have befouled, and whose joints and beams groan from attrition and caducity, is impotent, shattered, oldish!"

Society, therefore, is permeated unawares by the Anarchist ideal. But what every one knows is a social question; a social problem; and all men of feeling seek their solution. MARIE LOUISE.

(To be Continued.)

"Cease to Vote," printed in this issue will be published in a handy pamphlet for agitative distribution, and will be furnished from SOLIDARITY office at 40 c. per 100.

The anniversary of the 11th of November will be observed by our Pittsburgh comrades at Lafayette Hall in that city, on the 12th. The program will be varied, and will include addresses by comrades W. Holmes of Chicago, in English, and John Most of New York in German, besides concert, tableaux, etc.

CORRESPONDENCE.

The Chicago letter appearing in our last number has caused many comrades to write, expressing disapproval of the advice given therein. Lack of space prevents us publishing more than one letter.

Caution.

FOREST HILLS, N. J., Oct. 15th.

Comrade Holmes, in the last number of "SOLIDARITY," commenting on the revelations of the detective who was employed by the Mayor of Chicago to discover an Anarchist conspiracy, *i. e.*, to make one, concludes that it will be necessary for the comrades to be more cautious in their propaganda hereafter. Very well, but what sort of caution. There are two kinds of propaganda, that of education by speaking and writing, and that of deed. Now as to the first, it is obvious that we cannot propagate our ideas unless we express them clearly, vague phrases are current enough now. Labor leaders of the Gompers-Powderly stripe, are perpetually flowing reservoirs of resounding mouth filling words, every politician and every preacher will talk of Brotherhood, of Reform, of the dignity of Labor with a capital L. In mere talk we can not compete with this multitude. To be of any use at all, we must make our ideas clear, we must learn to express them in simple words that cannot be misunderstood, and we must take the responsibility of our position. We desire the complete overthrow of the present social order and are of, necessity, intellectually at least, traitors and outlaws, and the frauds and beneficiaries of the present order understand this very well.

Now, what does prudence require of us as agitators? In the first place, while our first duty is to speak clearly and plainly, it is evident that we are bound to make the most of our energies and abilities, we are bound to economize our forces and to expend them in the best way, and to use the limited liberty that we enjoy to the utmost. How can this be done? I have come to this conclusion. Make your meetings open, and speak in the English language wherever possible. Speak boldly, do not disguise your meaning at all, but speak in general terms. Do not urge specific acts against specific people.

It is, after all, the honest conviction of the average American that we have perfect freedom of speech here, and even the most bigoted judge and the most prejudiced jury would hesitate to condemn a man for proclaiming general principles no matter how radical. The real reason why meetings of foreign-born people speaking a foreign language have so often led to arrests and persecutions, is that they can here more easily manufacture the kind of evidence needed for conviction. Of course our written propaganda should be governed by the same rules, boldness of expression, clearness in statement as to our principles, and no recommendations or appeals for specific deeds. I at least will never advise any action which I am afraid to perform myself. And when a man or woman has determined on a desperate deed no advice is neccessary. The individual propoganda of action must be left to individual initiative, and as to a general revolt, that must be a spontaneous action and can neither be created or controlled by conspiracy or agreement. But that spontaneous action is the result of two underlying causes. Social conditions that injure and enrage the people, and social sentiments that are in direct conflict with the social conditions in existence.

Our friends the enemy can be depended on to supply the oppression, they are good and untiring propagandists in this respect. Let us labor unceasingly to supply the spirit of revolt, the sentiments of freedom, that is ever at war with slavery. The results will follow. And finally, conduct every meeting on the theory that a spy is present, see that he has such a report to make as you would care to make yourself.

JOHN H. EDELMANN.

ST. LOUIS, MO., Oct. 13.

After a lecture which was delivered last Thursday at the Trades and Labor Union, it was decided to start a People's Debating Club for the discussion of social questions. Many persons present gave their names as members of the club. At the preliminary meeting held yesterday, it was decided to have the first of a series of lectures on Sunday, Oct. 23.

The necessity of bringing the working people to study social questions is manifest. There is no economical heresy, no "hobby," which they do not believe in and pursue until they are undeceived. The unwillingness of Unionists to have anything to do with what they call "politics" is entirely a matter of ignorance and selfishness. They are not against electoral politics; for, they vote. They are against opening their eyes and seeing where lies the root of the evil. In this town the local trades belonging to the Federation of Labor have met and adopted a resolution by which they disclaimed any intention to take part in the electoral contests, and by the way, invited the workmen to prevent the government from employing militia in strikes etc. All this looks very nice and radical; but it appears that it was only a move to conceal the real intention of the leaders of the Unions, and the result of this move will be that the Unions will vote for one of the "boodle" parties.

I witnessed the other day a meeting of Italian electors under the management of the Democratic party. It was one of the most distressing views I ever had. These ignorant men are told extravagant lies, are frightened into voting, as the people used to be frightened into giving alms to the church by the description of hell. If you don't vote, an Italian political contractor said to them, you will be driven out of this country as sure as the Austrians were driven out of Italy in 1859. You will not be admitted into the Unions, and you cannot complain to the Mayor (*sic!*) that he may force the Unions to receive you. You will be every day insulted and assaulted by loafers in the streets, and nobody will interfere in your behalf," and so on. At the end of his speech, this Italian political slave-trader promised to pay 25 cents to every one who would bring him a new elector. Now, I said to an American journalist who was close by me, these people are ignorant, but they understand that they are sold and bought by the piece. What do you think their impression of American civilization is likely to be? In landing in this country, they met with no friendly assistance; they were left to the mercy of bosses and contractors. Nobody cared to approach them, to help them find work, to educate them. The first American people they come in contact with are these disgusting politicians; and they are told that they cannot get in this country even the most elementary justice without selling themselves and their votes to these same scoundrels. S. M.

Comrade S. Merlino, who has so far edited 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 GROUP will meet Monday, October 24, at 8 P. M., at 28 Suffolk Street., bet. Grand and Hester Streets. A very important proposition is pending, so all comrades interested are urged to attend.

NOTE.—All communications and remittances must be sent to Post Office Box 2618, New York.

Organize SOLIDARITY Groups in your vicinity and help spread its circulation.

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

The Communist Manifesto will be republished. Quantity orders of not less than 100 at 2c. per copy received by SOLIDARITY.

Quarterly subscribers are reminded to send funds for renewals to insure continued receipt of the paper.

Send subscriptions for the defense fund of Henry Bauer and Karl Nold to B. Kupfenberg, 711 Carson street, Pittsburg, Pa.

A Raffle for a Repeating Rifle will be held, for the benefit of SOLIDARITY, at Stutzmans Hall, Varet and Morrell Streets, Brooklyn, on Saturday evening, November 26, 1892. Tickets 25 cents.

Lack of space necessitates the ommission of many valuable articles and features which we hold in readiness.

"SOLIDARITY" may be had at Cor. 5th and South Sts. and Cor. 3d and Market Sts., Philadelphia.