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 CHICAGO MARTYRS.

ALBERT A. PARSONS,

a true American, born in June, 1848, in Montgomery, Ala., passed his early life on the Texas frontier, where he became an expert in the use of fire-arms, in riding and hunting. He learned the printing trade, joined as volunteer the rebel army in 1861 (though but thirteen years old), and was successively a compositor, a farmer, a journalist and a military man. He became interested in the Labor Question in 1874, through the efforts of the Chicago working people to compel the "Relief and Aid Society" to render an account of the several millions of dollars, contributed by the whole world to relieve the distress occasioned by the Chicago fire of 1871.

In 1876, Parsons joined the Workingmen's Party. He was nominated by the workingmen of Chicago three times for alderman, twice for county clerk, and once for Congress, and at the National Convention of the Socialistic Labor Party, in 1879, he was nominated as the labor candidate for President of the United States. He, however, soon realized the impossibility of solving the social question by tinkering with laws, and became an Anarchist. On October 1st, 1884, the International founded in Chicago a weekly newspaper called, *The Alarm* on which he was elected to the position of editor—a post held by him down to the date of the paper's suppression in May, 1886.

AUGUST VINCENT T. SPIES,

born December, 1855, at Friedwald, Kurhessen, Germany. His father was a Government official, and August received his early education from private tutors, and then attended for one year the Polytechnicum. The sudden death of his father broke the course of his studies, and now August came to this country, where he had relatives, and began his life-work as a farmer. But soon he found out that the small farmers, particularly the renters, were systematically robbed of the produce of their labor by the mortgage fiend, railroad and other sharks, and that they were made homeless and driven from the soil, which they had by hard labor transformed from prairie into cultivated acres. He returned to the city and engaged in the furniture business. In 1876 he became acquainted with Socialistic literature. The events of 1877 made him an avowed Socialist, and he was candidate on the Socialistic ticket in 1879 and 1880, but later his views regarding the practicability of "political action" changed, and he became an Anarchist. He was at the time of his arrest the editor of the *Arbeiter Zeitung*.

LOUIS LINGG,

born in Mannheim, Germany, in 1864. He had a happy childhood, untill, his father, a lumberman, suffered an accident which destroyed his health and reduced his working capacity. The mind of the young man was struck by the fact that the former employer of his father, the lumber-dealer, grew continually richer despite the extravagant life he and his family were leading, whilst, on the other hand his father, who had sacrificed his health in helping to create the fortune of his boss, was cast aside like a worn-out fool. Lingg learned, the trade of a carpenter, and traveled in Southern Germany and Switzerland, where he became an Anarchist. In 1885 he came to America. He did not wish to enter the military service in Germany, and consequently could no longer safely stay in Switzerland. In Chicago he was one of the most active organizer of his own, the carpenter's trade.

GEORGE ENGEL

was born in Cassel, Germany, in 1836. His father died when George was eighteen months old, and left a poor widow with four small children. When George was twelve years old his mother died also, and he was thrown entirely upon the mercy of the world. After much suffering, he crossed the path of a kind and good man, a painter, and stayed with him until he had learned his trade. When Germany went to war with Denmark about Schleswig-Holstien, George engaged voluntarily in the German army, thinking he accomplished a "patriotic" duty. He became afterwards a small merchant and strived to better his condition, when the growth of capitalism in Germany swept him away, with thousands and hundred of thousands of others. He then emigrated to this country.

In January 1873, he came to Philadelphia, where he worked at first in a sugar factory, then at his own trade. From Philadelphia he passed to Chicago, where for the first time in his life he heard something of Socialism, and entered the International Working People's Association.

ADOLPH FISHER,

from Bremen, a printer by trade, and at the time of his arrest a compositor in the office of the *Arbeiter Zeitung*. At the same time he was earnestly engaged in the agitations of the laboring classes, holding Anarchistic ideas. He was one of the most active and energetic among the Chicago apostles of the new doctrines, untiring in his efforts toward educating his fellow-workers, and consequently looked upon by the opposite side as a very dangerous man.

MICHAEL SCHWAB

was born in Kitzingen, Central Germany, in the year 1853. His father, a small tradesman, died when he was twelve years old. His mother had died already. Michel learned book-binding, lived a solitary life, binding and reading books; he became inflammed with Socialistic ideas, traveled Europe as an agitator, and in 1879 came to the United States. At the time of his arrest, he was engaged as assistant editor of the *Arbeiter Zeitung*. He is now in jail for life.

SAMUEL FIELDEN,

an Englishman from Todmorden, Lancashire. Son of a weaver, who was also a labor agitator, he spent his early life in a factory, a training, which combined with the teachings of his father, made him a Socialist and an Anarchist. At the Haymarket meeting at Chicago, May 4, 1886, he delivered a speech which cost him his life and those of his comrades.

OSCAR NEEBE

now in Joliet prison, under a sentence of fifteen years, was born in Philadelphia, Pa. At the time of his arrest Neebe was not a wage-worker, but a well-to-do business man. Yet his heart always was with the toiling masses, and he did magnificent services as an organizer of trades-unions, and stanch supporter of socialistic and anarchistic ideas. He is now about fortyfour years old. He was happily married and has two children. His unfortunate wife, who adored him, died of a broken heart while he was imprisoned in the Chicago jail.

When you see a man dragged to prison or to the scaffold do not hasten to say, "He is a criminal, he has done harm to a fellow man, he has murdered, robbed or betrayed those who put confidence in him, and it is but right that he should be punished."

Perhaps he is a man who has dared to say the *truth* and now is persecuted by those who have interest to conceal it.

Perhaps he has refused to abet the crimes of the ruling class, and now they take revenge on him.

Perhaps he has committed no other crime than loving you and espousing your cause, and is now persecuted, tortured, killed, because of his being a noble soul, an enemy to your enemies.

The sufferings of the just are a lesson to the people. These eight men of Chicago were more than just—they were unselfish, generous. Nearly all of them could have made a nice living had they only cared for themselves.

They could all have saved their lives if they had only appealed for mercy. They cared for their convictions more than for their own persons.

A. Parsons had a wife and two children to whom he was dear, as they were dear to his loving heart. He was not in prison at the beginning of the trial and could easily have found refuge in a foreign country. He, however, preferred to share the doom of his comrades, to stand by them in the hour of danger.

These are the men whom the American Bourgoise murdered, after eighteen months of cruel suspense, on November 11, 1887.

And the crime which they had committed what was it?

Supposing the bomb was thrown by one of their friends. Did not the police assault a peaceble assemblage? Had not these men the right to defend themselves from unjust aggression?

Suppose they had entered into a conspiracy to arm themselves and resist the attacks of the police. Had they not a right to do so?

Is only the Government to be armed against the people? Have only the Pinkertons of all citizens the right to arm themselves? Have the people to remain at the mercy of its combined enemies?

Suppose they did issue the revenge circular. Should they have remained indifferent to the massacre of the workingmen by the police? Are those "good citizens" who stand by and see the blood of the people shed by the hired ruffians of the capitalists, without their hearts bleeding and sparks of indignation flashing through them?

The workingmen which the police had killed had committed no crime. They had stoned the Cormick's factory, but what is this stoning compared with the more effective means used by the capitalists to stone the people to death?

The workingmen asked for a shorter working day and those Anarchists stood by them. This was their real crime for which they were arraigned and sentenced, five to death and three to long terms of imprisonment.

Anarchism was put on trial and supposed to be killed, and with Anarchism the rights and the hopes of the working people.

Some people lay too much stress on the circumstances of the case. They take great pains to show how these men were victims of class prejudice, to challenge the evidences brought at the trial, the rulings of the Court, the decision of the Supreme Court. They recall how some witnesses were bribed, others were frightened away, how the jury was empanelled, how partisan was the conduct of Judge Gary, how the public judgment was led astray by the press, and with what effrontery the capitalists rewarded the instruments of their vengeance with hundreds of thousands of dollars—Judas money.

All true things, and which go to prove how many crimes are committed in the name of justice.—Yet, five murders more or less count very little.

The importance of the case does not lie in such details. It is in the fact that the crime was necessary. It was necessary that these men should be murdered, that the capitalists might feel secure in the enjoyment of their ill-gotten wealth.

These people were stirring up the working people against the capitalists. They had therefore to be suppressed. They may have been illegally convicted, but they were *morally* guilty, *i. e.*, morally responsible before the capitalistic class for whatever consciousness the workingmen had of their rights.

They did their utmost to draw upon themselves the hatred and vengeance of the capitalistic class. They deserved their fate, and it is because they fully deserved their fate that we honor and cherish their memory, and are proud of those our comrades.

"Their martyrdom, it is said, was in vain. They were not understood. They are not avenged. They rather injured by their untimely action their cause and put others in danger of being arrested."

Foolish talk of weak hearted and inconsistent men. No martyrdom was ever in vain. No martyr expected to be understood by his contemporaries, and none whatever either desired to be avenged.

Martyrdom brings its own reward. Poor revolutionists those who do not feel it—those who consider heroism as a capital which should yield a profit and interest, and before engaging in an act of revolt wish to be sure that their sacrifice will pay.

And yet, though not immediately, martyrdom brings its fruits. The idea for which it has been suffered must triumph and no force of Government can defeat the invisible power of an idea consecrated in the blood of noble men.

The progress may be slow; it may not be apparent, it may not reveal itself in the attendance at meetings nor in the number of "buyers of Anarchistic literature." It takes place, however, in the heart of the masses and will break forth when the time is due.

Revolutions are not governed by commercial principles. They are physiological phenomena, not mercantile transactions. They are worked up in the sentiments of the people and break forth and advance [illegible] looks calm and quiet and dead. They are generally preceded by a period of moral depression, by terror in the masses, defections of leaders, and a general discouragement. This period we are now passing through, but the revolution is at hand.

REMEMBRANCES.

"In the name of the people of Illinois I command the peace!"

Thus runs the inscription below the statue of the policeman in the Haymarket. The future generation, however, will read it differently: "In the name of the people, we the capitalists of the United States, command the murder of the Anarchists, that the capitalistic system may be maintained.

"Only one American," it was advertised the day of the hanging of these men. The future people of America will claim that these men were all Americans—all were consecrated Americans by the blood they shed for the people—and will boast of them.

How did these men become Anarchists? Here are a few anecdotes, besides the similar facts which we have mentioned in our short biographical sketches, showing how these men became Socialists.

George Engel, when in Philadelphia, for the first time in his life heard something about serious labor troubles. The militia marched along the streets. They came from the coal mines, where they had "subjugated some troublesome, starving miners." "I watched them," he says in his Autobiography, "when a bystander said to me: 'These scoundrels ought to be hung on the spot.' That remark surprised me, for, at that time, being an 'ignorant foreigner,' I sang the praises of this 'free and glorious' country. I told him anybody could earn good wages if he wanted to, and save money besides; in short, I reiterated the well-known trash of the capitalistic newspapers. I earned what was called good wages, and laid by a little for a rainy day. The rainy days came soon enough."

Adolph Fisher was the son of a Bremen socialist. The boy one day having heard his teacher in the class uttering derogatory remarks about the Socialists, went home to question his father whether his political friends were really such an awful bad, lazy and thieving lot as the teacher described them to be. "Much to my surprise, my dear father laughed aloud and embraced me very affectionately. 'Dear Adolph, he said, if Socialism is what your teacher explained it to be; why, then the very same institutions which prevail now would be Socialistic!' And my father went on to show me how, in fact, there were so many idlers and indolent people under the now existing form of society, who were residing in palatial houses and living luxuriously at the expense of the sober and industrious people, and that Socialism had the mission to abolish such unjust division. After this day I accompanied my father to Socialistic gatherings, and soon became convinced of the truth of what he said."

This is how these men became Socialists. But it was not all. No sooner had the Socialists engaged in political, *i. e.*, electoral action, than dissensions followed throughout their ranks. On the other hand laws were enacted in different States disarming the wage-workers and otherwise trying to check the progress of the movement. Parsons and his friends saw the almost hopeless task of accomplishing political reformation. When in 1878, '78 and '80 ballot box stuffing and other outrages upon the liberties of the people became the order of the day, all faith in the potency of moral means to insure justice, left the minds and failed to touch the hearts of workingmen. Our comrades then turned their backs to politics and became Anarchists, *i. e.*, remained faithful to the spirit of Socialism, forsaking the wrong tactics inherited from the present system.

The views of our comrades on the mutual relations between Socialism and Anarchism are thus expressed in the following passage of Spies Autobiography. It will be seen that they are identical with those often expressed in the present paper.

"While an Anarchist in my general conceptions," said Spies, "I am practically and more specifically a Socialist. Socialism teaches that the machines, the means of transportation and communication are the result of the combined efforts of society, past and present, and that they are, therefore, rightfully the indivisible property of society, just the same as the soil and the mines and all natural gifts should be. This declaration implies that those who have appropriated this wealth wrongfully, shall be expropriated by society. The expropriation of the masses by the monopolists has reached such a degree that the expropriation of the expropriators has become an imperative necessity, an act of social self-preservation. Society will reclaim its own, even though you erect a gibbet on every street corner. And Anarchism! this terrible 'ism' deduces that under a co-operative organization of society, under economic equality and individual independence, the 'State,'—the political State—will pass into barbaric antiquity. In a society where all are free, where there are no longer masters and servants, where intellect stands for brute force, there will no longer be any use for the policemen or militia to preserve the so-called 'peace and order,' the order that the Russian general speaks of when he telegraphed to the Czar after he had massacred half of Warsaw, 'Order reigns in Warsaw.' Anarchism does not mean bloodshed; does not mean robbery, arson, etc. These monstrosities are on the contrary the characteristic features of Capitalism. Anarchism means peace and happiness to all. Anarchism, or Socialism, means the reorganization of society upon scientific principles and the abolition of causes which produce vice and crime. Capitalism first produces these social diseases and then seeks to cure them by punishment."

"Some time before the Haymarket affair, during a railroad strike, five or six men were shot down in cold blood at St. Louis for doing nothing, but merely standing about. Without any justification the hired ruffians of the railroad emptied their Winchester rifles into the crowd. There was nothing done about that. Later, in Chicago, some Pinkerton fellows fired into a crowd, killing one or two men. In the winter of 1885 one of Pinkerton's men shot a boy while walking along the street on an errand on which he had been sent by his mother. Nothing was done about that. Since then the same has happened over and over and over again. Now, what does it all mean? At St. Louis, Chicago and in New Jersey—at Homestead, Buffalo and Tennessee—the murders committed were all in the interest of the other side in this struggle. The throwing of the bomb at Chicago—and recently the shooting of Frick—were supposed to be in the interests of the laboring men.

"When any violence or murder is committed against the workmen the law is winked at; and whenever they are accused of crime the law is pushed to its extremity to punish them!"

"Thirty-five years ago a colored man was arrested as a fugitive slave in Boston. The commonwealth of Massachusetts had refused to let its jails be used for the incarceration of the victims of the man stealers, and consequently the man was put into a room in the United States court house. A meeting was called, and it was addressed by two men whose names are now honored by every American, Theodore Parker and Wendell Phillips. When the speaking was finished and the meeting adjourned, the crowd from the meeting rushed to Court square. An attack was made almost at once on the court house for the purpose of rescuing the fugitive from the hands of the men stealers. In that attack one man was killed, a man who was hired by the marshal to be one of his posse. If Theodore Parker and Wendell Phillips had been immediately arrested and, in six weeks, tried and condemned to death for being responsible for the killing of that man Batchelder, it would have been a parallel to the Chicago case."

The kind of death we have to die of is matter of indifference. Important is *what we die for*—and what better may we die for than the emancipation of the wage-slaves? Never was there a nobler cause in the history of mankind.

OUR CHICAGO LETTER.

THE WORLD'S FAIR.

The working people of Chicago, during the last two weeks, have had excellent opportunities to learn many valuable lessons. During the excitement and turmoil attendant upon the displays, parades, banquets, etc., incidents have occurred which point conclusively to the constantly widening chasm which separates manly independence from servile toadyism, ill-requited toil from bloated parasitism, freedom of thought from religious intolerance, the poor from the rich, the people from their bosses. We have witnessed the influx of half a million visitors, including officials, soldiers and prominent citizens from every State and Territory of the Union. Governors, with their brilliant retinues; the United States Supreme Court, from which there is no appeal; vice-presidents and ex-presidents; millionaire senators; pompous congressmen; titled diplomats; in brief, the rank, fashion, wealth of the country; and all here for one purpose, viz., the inauguration of the exhibition of the achievement of four centuries of labor!

Out in Jackson Park has arisen, within an incredible short time, a veritable city of palaces. From ten to fifteen thousand men have dug in the mud, worked with trowel, wrench and hammer, to erect these beautiful buildings. Labor of hands, united with labor of brain, and the result well deserves to be called a wonder of the world. In the erection of those magnificent structures thousands of men toiled in all kinds of weather, in water and mud, enduring the piercing cold and the scorching heat. Hundreds of dead and thousands of mangled limbs and broken bones attest the fearful sacrifice upon the altar of this modern Moloch. This city of palaces is the product of labor; it has been consecrated to exhibit other products of labor by the sweat and blood of laborers. The sound of the hammer and other tools of industry was its real dedication.

But during the week just passed, another and very different dedication took place. For a brief season this wondrous product of man's skill and intelligence was turned over to pompous officials, flattering courtiers, servile retinues; despoilers of labor, and those who fatten like leeches upon the body politic. It was the season of the masters, and right royally, and with consistent services, was it inaugurated. Music, speeches, feasting, dancing, royal show of pomp and magnificence of war, lavish display of costly laces and gems, eloquent tributes to dead monarchs and piratical adventurers, equally eloquent panegyrics to living ex-

plotters of labor. The splendors of wealth, the achievements of warriors, statesmen and politicians, the glory of the nation, even the *creations* of labor were lauded to the skies. Artists, sculptors and the "captains of industry" were not forgotten, but not one word was said of the thousands who toiled as mere laborers and artizans; never a mention of the mangled corpses which have been carted away to desolate homes, nor of the maimed men who have been turned adrift upon the forgetful world to struggle as best they can. The woman who has made a name in the production of the Columbian ode said not one word to the glory of the men who furnished her the means to display her talent. Labor, common labor, was utterly ignored in all the exercises on this memorable occasion. What an opportunity for the working people to learn the rudiments of their relations with their rulers!

And, it would seem that, from one cause or another, the working people on this occasion have benefited by past experience, for amid the thousands who paraded through Chicago's streets organized labor had no place. Civic societies, military organizations, political clubs were there, but no labor unions.

Nor was this non-attendance on the part of labor the result of negligence. The authorities, always with an eye to the main chance, early issued invitations to the local labor unions, but by an overwhelming vote the central organizations refused to sanction, by their participation, an event in the preparation of which their own rights and wishes had been so signally ignored.

The World's Colombian Exposition has been inaugurated by flowery speeches, poetical effusions d grand music; all breathing peace, progress d good will to men. But more than 30,000 solers, hired slayers of their kind, with the accouniments of war, "graced" the occasion with their esence! As this was a demonstration of and by ie rulers, it was fittingly accompanied by the paraphernalia of rulership.

It was essentially a show for the classes; a spectacle in which (aside from the street parade) the masses had no part. Invitations were issued to the favored ones; the aristocrats were escorted to the fair grounds by their retainers; the gates of the grounds were locked and guarded against the common people; several carloads of bread and meat were taken to the grounds and distributed gratis among the invited guests. The citizens were placated by promises of another bauble, one very much coveted by the bourgeois — a military parade the next day — promises which are not and were never meant to be fulfilled.

Describing the grand dinner at Kingley's by the Fellowship Club, on the 20th, given in honor of the titled and aristocratic representatives of foreign potentates and Vice-President Morton, the *Evening Post* of this city told of a fountain in the sumptuous dining hall which had been arranged on a plan similar to that contemplated in the sculptured work at the fair grounds. "Through the current stem of this fountain," said the *Post*, "played all the evening streams, not of water, but of perfumery, violet, rose and other odors softly and pleasantly, sensible to the banqueters." It is to be hoped that the poor devils who had their bones broken on the fair buildings appreciated their pork and potatoes all the more after reading of this high toned affair.

The inaugural ball (to which, it is needless to say, no working people were invited) was a marvel of magnificence. One daily paper placed the value of the jewels worn, in a conservative estimate, at $1,300,000. Most of the dresses of the women were "creations" of Worth, and cost hundreds of dollars each. How many of the women who read SOLIDARITY can boast of $25 gowns?

The city has for a week been draped in terra cotta, the color of labor's garb. The "terra cotta" which adorns the city hall is nothing more nor less than red, exactly the same color as the flag which the city authorities forcibly stole from the radical union taking part in the labor parade on the first of last May, and which at the time, because it was dark red, was deemed particularly obnoxious and anarchistic.

Just before the commencement of festivities the daily press gravely announced that the police authorities of the city had "arranged" with the judges to suspend the writ of habeas corpus during the week. This announcement came from the police authorities and was a pure fabrication which the judges individually repudiated. It produced partially the desired effect, however. Many "suspects" were locked up, and their friends, seeing the announcement and not doubting its truth, neglected to procure their release. This is one of the straws which shows the tremendous power of the police.

Well, the pomp and show of the inaugural is over. The officials and bosses will resume their laborious occupation of drawing large salaries and putting up jobs to fleece the public. Ten thousand dollars per annum offices are said to be plentiful, and more favorites are constantly being let in "on the ground floor." The real laborers will resume operations at the fair grounds, the breaking of necks and limbs will continue, and all will go merrily until the opening of the Exposition, when there will be another season of feasting and giving thanks by the owners of the World Columbian Exposition.

WM. HOLMES.

PHILADELPHIA LETTER.

THE TACTICS OF ANARCHISM.

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 29. — The four comrades who were last year sentenced for public speaking, have been unexpectedly released from prison. As an offset, two social-democrats have been arrested for the very same offense. The freedom enjoyed in this city is such that people do not dare to stop a few moments to converse with friends in the streets, lest they be arrested. At the close of an anarchist meeting, recently held, we overheard a policeman say that, had he known of our meeting, he would have dissolved it.

The meeting referred to was one in which comrade Brenner, one of the released, explained his new views on the principles and tactics of Anarchism. Starting from Marx's motto (proletarians of the world unite) and from the idea of the struggle between classes — which he considered as fondamental in the matter — Brenner claimed that anarchists and social-democrats ought to work in the Unions, and find there the basis, if not of a conciliation, at least of a compromise. The anarchists, in order not to cause a split in the Unions, ought to refrain from opposing the social-democrats, nay sometimes they might advise the workmen to vote for social-democratic candidates, whenever any good might be expected from Congressional action. Of course, the social-democrats need not to fight anarchists of so kind a disposition towards them, so the compromise would result in pure loss for anarchists; every compromise, indeed, between two parties is unavoidably made at the expense of the more radical one.

Moreover, the proposed combination could not work. The co-existence of two diametrically opposed influences in the Unions, instead of increasing the strength of the latter, would be a cause of continual discord and most decidedly weaken them. Another objection to Brenner's proposal (we discuss it at some length because it is symptomatic of a widespread tendency) is that labor organizations do not cover the whole ground of the labor movement; are subject to the vicissitudes of industrial competition, and are penetrated by class spirit and by the spirit of protection as against those of the workmen who are not and *cannot* be organized.

For all these reasons we cannot make them our basis of operation. The tendency of the Unions is more to adapt themselves under present conditions, than to revolt against them. And it must be so. No organization will be allowed to exist whose aim and purpose would be the overthrow of the present system. The social revolution will not be the outcome of larger and larger organizations, but of disorganization.

In conclusion, we may say that Brenner takes Marx's motto too literally, as advocating material union of all workmen under the roof of a great organization, instead of a moral union of sentiments and aspirations; that he supposes the present society neatly cut and divided in two classes only, while it is really composed of several classes in continual struggle one against the other, and that his conception of revolution, as a war between two classes, to be fought by the ordinary methods of warfare, great armies, discipline, etc., is a mistaken one. Brenner's proposal, if adopted, would bring us back to the times of the old Gubernatorial, when the differences between socialism and anarchism were not yet developped, and unionism was the only watchword of the labor movement. We recognize the necessity of more active work with the masses in and out the Unions. We admit even existence of the many drawbacks of the tactics so far pursued. But we look for a remedy from the development and improvement, not from the curtailment or concealment of our anarchistic-socialistic programme.

THE SPY-SCARE.

To be in watch against spies is certainly a good thing, but to look at every person as if he were a spy and to remain inactive for fear of spies, is to play into the hands of the police. Those who constantly throw suspicion on others are almost as harmful as spies and morally worse. A spy injures a few individuals; the calumniator may paralyze a whole party. Like the soldiers of old, who mingled in the ranks of the enemy to spread panic and prepare its defeat, there are now people who sow both distrust and discord in our ranks. Some men, when intoxicated with liquor or with rage, are capable of murdering their best friends; others calumniate those who fail to agree with them. The latter are morally worse than the former, for to many people life is less valuable than the esteem of their comrades, and it is easier for us to defend our life than our sincerity.

DAVID EDELSTAAT

ANARCHIST AND POET.

When our enemies abuse us and represent us almost as monsters, we feel gratified in being able to point to some of the best men in our ranks — like Moineau, like Cañero, — like Edelstaat. David Edelstaat was not only an active agitator, not only a gifted poet, but he was, above all, one of those exceptionally good men, whose whole soul is permeated with the spirit of justice and goodness. He felt the sufferings of the poor so deeply that they became his own, and when he sang them, [illegible] was literally rended. — His poems are [illegible] the production of his brain; they are shreds [illegible] life. He sang, sang, sang until broken down he contracted the illness which has brought him (in the flower of his youth) to the grave. Then his verses assumed a tragic aspect: the sorrows of the oppressed workmen were blended with his own, and an inexpressible cry of woe came from his lyre. Yet he never tired to sing and to work for the Cause. He remained active and faithful to the last. His death occurred on October 13, in Denver, Col. He, is as true a martyr of our Cause as the men who five years ago lost their lives on the scaffold at Chicago.

HOW ELECTIONS ARE WORKED.

"As I write — says Mr. Jeremiah W. Jenks, in the October *Century* — I have before me some pages from the poll-books and check-books of one of the county committees in the State of New York. Before registration day a thorough canvas is made of each election district. The names of all of the voters are arranged in these poll-books alphabetically. After the column of names, comes a serid of columns headed, respectively, Republican, Democrat, Prohibition, Doubtful, post-Office address, occupation and remarks. Each voter's address is taken, and opposite his name is placed a mark, in the proper column, showing whether he is a regular Republican, a Democrat, or a Prohibition voter, or whether he is to be considered a "doubtful." After registration day, each man who registers has his name checked in the poll-book, so that the committees of both parties have a complete list of all those entitled to vote in each district. From this book, then, a check-book is prepared. In this second book, if I take as an example the check-book of the Republican party, on each page will be arranged, in the first place, alphabetically, the names of all the Republicans in the district; then in a column below or on another page, all those that are considered doubtful, that is, those whose politics are not known, and those whose votes it is thought possible to bring to the Republican party either by persuasion or by purchase. The Demo-

cratic committees have books similarly arranged, with the names of all the sound Democrats and of the doubtfuls.

"In some places the prices that are paid from year to year are entered, usually perhaps, as in the case of an acquaintance of mine in Michigan, by a private mark. Such entries depend upon the care and skill of the individual "worker." They are not very common, and really seem unnecessary. The memories of the "workers" will serve as long as it is necessary; and they do not care to keep historical records, interesting and valuable as such records would be.

"On election day, then, it is an easy matter for the poll-book holder, standing by the polls, to check the name of every reliable party man as he comes to vote, and near the end of the day to find out how many men of his own party have not yet voted. He can then readily send a messenger to bring in any late or careless voters, the character of whose votes is not doubtful. The workers of each party, having thus a complete list of all doubtful or purchasable voters, will know how to handle them.

"These doubtful voters will not be divided carelessly into "blocks of five and each block put into the hands of a trusty man," but each doubtful voter being known, with his habits, his work and his associates, is considered individually. If he is one whose vote can be affected by honest persuasion(!), the man in the party who would be likely to have the most influence with him is selected to work with him, and to influence his vote by fair means, if possible. If he is a man whose vote must be purchased, he will be assigned to the worker who can purchase him to the best advantage. If the number of "floaters" or "commercials" as they are variously called, is relatively large to the number of workers, it may well be that they will have to be purchased in blocks of fives or blocks of tens; or again, owing to social reasons, they at times can best be bought in groups, or clubs, or trades; but in all cases where the best work is done, each individual "floater," whether bought singly or as one of a group, is looked after personally by the man best competent to handle him.

"....In many cases voters who can be bought beforehand are kept in custody for a day or two and [illegible] election, then taken to the polls and voted. They are, in Indiana, a man kept a half-idiot [illegible] as working for him shut up in his cellar for some days before an election, to prevent the opposing party from capturing and treating him in the same way. Then, on election morning, with a man on each side to guard him, he was marched to the poles with a prepared ticket in his hand, and voted.

"In 1888, in another county of the same State, six "floaters" were kept under guard in an upstairs office over night, the next morning taken down, marched to the polls under guard, voted, brought back to the office, and $96 paid to their leader—$16 a piece. How the money was divided among them only the leader knew.

"In another Western State, the night before election, the Democrats had several "floaters" coralled in a small hotel and plentifully supplied with whisky. During the night the building was set on fire; and as the "floaters" escaped from the flames, most of them were captured by Republican "workers," run in for the night, and voted as Republicans the next day. Two theories as to the origin of the fire have been offered: one that the stove was upset by the drunken "floaters;" the other that the building was set on fire by the Republican "workers."

It has been ascertained that the doors of the Hartford Almshouse were thrown wide open early in the morning of every election day, and that the inmates returned in the evening quite uniformly intoxicated—a mystery the mysteriousness of which was not diminished by the facts that such inmates were supposed to be impecunious and that drinking places were closed by the law on election days.

According to an investigation made by Mr. J. J. Maclook, and extending over several thousand voters taken not far from equality from city and country, 113 out of every thousand were venal. But this figure is manifestly too low. Mr. Jenks emphasizes the fact that almost each voter wants to be paid, even those who vote for what they call "their party." In one town, according to the *Providence Journal*, all but ten of the total registered voters were set down as purchasable. In another township in eastern New York, containing about four hundred voters, it is said that not more than thirty voters are entirely beyond reach of the money influence.

Bribery is carried on openly by all parties. We have read in the Democratic papers, the other day, the circular addressed by the Republican managers to the most "faithful and trustworthy" individual workers, asking them to draw a list of purchasable Democrats known to them. On the other hand, we read of the Democratic party that Mr. Cleveland has met with his chief supporters, and they have agreed on the division of the spoils. Everybody knows that capitalists, individuals and Companies, contribute largely to campaign funds, on the understanding that they have to get their reward after the election.

The parliamentary system is a huge system of corruption. No law can prevent that. Such laws as have been enacted in some states on the matter are ignored by both parties. Nay, crimes which in ordinary circumstances are punished as forgery, the forced confinement of a person, etc., are excused when committed in connection with an election. Public opinion is rather for than against the use of money for electoral purposes. Every man feels *that the ballot is cast for the benefit of the candidate, not for the benefit of the country: and so it is.* No law can persuade the people to the contrary.

PITTSBURGH MANIFESTO.

FELLOW-WORKERS! BROTHERS!—Five years ago, the ruling class of America—the same heartless robbers who hire the most degraded wretches to kill the working people when they become too loud in their demand for bread and butter, this band of legalized looters sent two noble champions of Labor's Great Cause to penal servitude for life, one to fifteen years imprisonment, and on the same day brutally and cowardly murdered five of the purest and noblest men that ever lived, and the most devoted and self-sacrificing men the Labor movement ever produced. We are well aware of the fact that the monied class of America, which can and *does* wax fat from the toiler's ignorance and submission, have a very, very vital interest in preventing them from learning what these judicially murdered Anarchists taught; for when the poor and oppressed once *know* that the Anarchists are their truest and best friends, and that Communistic-Anarchy—which teaches the *causes* of the poverty, misery, oppression, injustice and wrongs of existing society—is the *only* solution of the vexed social question, the robber career of the capitalists, in fact each and every exploitation of the working class would come to an abrupt end. All enemies of labor fear the spread of Anarchistic principles, therefore they cry "Anarchy must be stamped out at any cost," and having control of the daily press, which is also a capitalistic institution, but often falsely termed public opinion, they abuse, misrepresent and ridicule the Anarchists, and make them appear in the eyes of the misinformed working people as a set of lazy, ignorant and bloodthirsty loafers.

Now, we as workingmen, as your brothers, appeal to your honesty and integrity as American toilers to think for yourselves upon this theory of Anarchism, whose object is the abolition of the economic conditions which are the cause of the wrongs and evils of the present society and the reconstruction of societary arrangements, so that justice, equity and liberty will be living realities, and not, as at present, mere mockeries. We ask you to consider the subject fairly and impartially, and do not let yourselves be deceived by the vile attacks of the boodler press.

Our Chicago brothers were not sentenced to death and judicially murdered on November the 11th, 1887, *because* they were conspirators or criminals, but *because they were Anarchists.* The State's-Attorney, Grinnell, in his closing speech to the jury, demanded a sentence of death on the plea that they were Anarchists. Yelled he to the jury: "Don't try, gentlemen, to shirk the issue. *Anarchy is on trial! These men are Anarchists, are leaders, hang them,* and society is saved!" During his speech he often bestowed such nice epithets upon the defendants as "loathsome murderers," "assassins" and "wretches," all for the purpose of arousing the prejudices, passions and fears of the jury. In refusing a new trial, the judge also admitted that the defendants were sentenced to die because they were Anarchists, and not because they were criminals. That foul sentence of death and dastardly murder was condemned and protested against by tens of thousands of intelligent workingmen and women in all parts of the civilized world. Immense mass-meetings were held in London, Paris, in Spain, and in all the principal cities of the United States; from which mighty protests went forth against the carrying out of the death sentence. But all without avail. By teaching the working people the truth, by tearing the masks from the faces of the legalized thieves, and by showing the downtrodden masses the only way to get rid of their parasites, and by pointing out to the wage-slaves the right road out of their servitude, they incurred the wrath of the entire exploiting horde of non-producers. They were branded by the infamous capitalistic press as enemies of society, of order, and of peace. Intellectual prostitutes of the daily press blackened their character, who were not fit to blacken their boots. And all this for daring to have convictions and having the temerity to preach them in a Republic where it is claimed there is free speech and a free press! Hang men for expressing their opinions! Is it possible! Yes, brothers, it was done on November 11th, 1887.

Now, fellow-workingmen, since we have permitted our best friends to be murdered for speaking the truth, let us at least, commemorate their heroic martyrdom by assembling in mass-meetings and proclaiming the noble and grand truths for which they gave their lives. Let us prove that their silence is more powerful than their speech ever could be.

Let us shout to our ennemies and oppressors:

"You murdered these noble men that Anarchism might not triumph in this country; and Anarchism will triumph *because you did murder these noble men!*"

November, 1892,

THE COMMUNIST-ANARCHISTS.

Meeting in Pittsburg, at Lafayette Hall, on November the 12th. Addresses in English, German, Concert, Tableaux, etc. English speaker W. Holmes from Chicago.

Victor Yarros has recommended to the Individualist Anarchist to vote for the Democrats.—Yet Individualist Anarchist, remains, according to Mr. Tucker, the Great Uncrushed in the United States.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 10, AT 8 P. M.

An extraordinary meeting of the SOLIDARITY GROUP will take place at 26 Delancey Street. Comrade S. Merlino will report on the PROSPECT OF ANARCHISM IN THE UNITED STATES. Besides the members of the Group, all persons interested in the English propaganda are invited.

We proposed to have in this number the portraits of our Chicago martyrs. As, however, they are not yet ready, we will print them separately and include the paper in our next issue.

SOLIDARITY PAMPHLET, No. 1. Facts and Figures for Workingmen, 32 pages. S. Merlino.—Five cents per copy. $2.50 per 100 copies. $20.00 per 1,000.

Received $5 from Group Maspeth; 50 c. from Brooklyn Solidarity Group, $18 from Cincinnati, $20 from Pittsburgh; $10 from Chicago and $8 from Cleveland, besides individual subscriptions.

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

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

Parson's book on Anarchism, Spies' Autobiography and the Speeches of our Comrades before the Court may be had through SOLIDARITY.

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