SOLIDARITY

A FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW

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

[Entered at the New York Post Office as Second-class Matter.]

No. 12. NEW YORK, DECEMBER 3, 1892. PRICE, 3 CENTS.

All Letters, Subscriptions, etc., should be addressed to

SOLIDARITY,
P. O. Box 2818.
NEW YORK.

Subscriptions: Yearly, $1.00; Six Months, 50 Cents; Three Months, 25 Cents.

Make Money Orders payable to JEFFERSON RAY, Sec'ry. Postage Stamps are accepted.

ALL FOR THE CAUSE.

BY WILLIAM MORRIS.

Hear a word, a word in season, for the day is drawing nigh,
When the Cause shall call upon us, some to live, and some to die!
He that dies shall not die lonely, many a one hath gone before,
He that lives shall bear no burden heavier than the life they bore.
Nothing ancient is their story, e'en but yesterday they bled,
Youngest they of earth's beloved, last of all the valiant dead.
E'en the tidings we are telling was the tale they had to tell,
E'en the hope that our hearts cherish was the hope for which they fell.
In the graves where tyrants thrust them lies their labor and their pain,
But undying from their sorrow springeth up the hope again.
Mourn not, therefore, nor lament it, that the world outlives their life;
Voice and vision yet they give us, making strong our hands for strife.
Some had name, and fame, and honor, learn'd they were, and wise and strong;
Some were nameless, poor, unlettered, weak in all but grief and wrong.
Named and nameless all live in us; one and all they lead us yet
Every pain to count for nothing, every sorrow to forget.
Hearken how they cry. "O happy, happy ye that ye were born
"In the sad, slow night's departing, in the rising of the morn.
"Fair the crown the Cause hath for you, well to die or well to live,
"Through the battle, through the tangle, peace to gain or peace to give."
Ah, it may be! Oft me seemeth, in the days that yet shall be,
When no slave of gold abideth twixt the breadth of sea to sea.
Oft, when men and maids are merry, ere the sunlight leave the earth,
And they bless the day beloved, all too short for all their mirth,
Some shall stop awhile and ponder on the bitter days of old,
Ere the toil of strife and battle overthrew the curse of gold;
Then twixt lips of loved and lover solemn thoughts of us shall rise;
We who once were fools and dreamers, then shall be the brave and wise.
There amidst the world new-builded shall our earthly deeds abide,
Though our names be all forgotten, and the tale of how we died.
Life or death then, who shall heed it, what we gain or what we lose?
Fair flies life amid the struggle, and the Cause for each shall choose.
Hear a word, a word in season, for the day is drawing nigh,
When the Cause shall call upon us, some to live and some to die!

WHAT ANARCHY IS.

Anarchy is a society in which there are no masters, bosses, chiefs, kings, or other rulers over the people — in which there are no privileged — no official persons or classes of any kind — in which, there are no slaves, serfs, subjects, or political inferiors of any kind—in which, with regard to their rights, all men are recognized by one another as "created equal", and as "endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness," marriage, parentage, the free use of all they severally need of air, sunlight, land, water and the other bounties of nature, the full proceeds severally of their own labor, the free exercise severally of all their bodily functions, mental faculties, etc.—in short, a society in which every person is permitted to exercise his natural and inalienable right "to do whatsoever he wills, provided that, in the doing thereof, he infringes not on the equal right of any other person." In other words, an anarchy is simply the realization in practice of the theory, never otherwise realized, of a true democracy or a true republic.

In an anarchy, as in the Christian's fabled and yet hoped-for "heaven," there are no government officials—no government-created and government-supported monopolies of any kind, to rob the people of their inalienable right to the free use of so much air, sunlight, land, etc., as they severally need. There are none there to rob the people, in the form of taxes, tariffs, rents, profits, interest, etc., of any of their hard-earned means of subsistence. There are no policemen there, with clubs, revolvers and other deadly weapons, to kill and to maim helpless and inoffensive men, women and children, to break up their peaceable meetings, to plunder their houses and private drawers, to strip their persons, and to otherwise invade with impunity all of their inalienable rights. There are no Pinkerton thugs there, in the pay of great monopolies, to deliberately shoot down, like so many hogs in a slaughter pen, such of the poor, unarmed and helpless toilers, men, women, and children, as refuse to meekly bow their servile necks to the galling yoke of slavery placed upon them by their heartless capitalistic masters. There are no Comstocks there—no Vice Societies authorized by government to drag the grandest of the teachers of the people to dungeons and to rob them of their property for teaching the most valuable of scientific truths. There are no kings there—no Presidents to order the toilers out to shoot one another down like beasts, and to be themselves thus shot down, because of some quarrel, some jealousy, some difference of opinion between two of these rulers. There are no hangmen there to strangle the bravest and best of men for having dared to exercise their inalienable right of free speech. There are no dungeons there—no whipping posts, no stocks, no stakes, no gallows, no crosses, no gibbets, no pillories, no racks, no wheels, no thumb-screws, no pinchers for pulling out men's nails and tearing their flesh, no chains for their limbs, no augers for boring out their eyes, no melted lead to pour into their ears and their eyeless sockets, no pits filled with serpents in which to throw them, no knives with which to cut off their ears, cut out their tongues, cut off the breasts of the women, emasculate the men, and flay both men and women alive. These things are done—these horrible instruments of torture, and a thousand others like them, used only by governments, and there is no government there. Idlers, too, are unknown there. All labor equally according to the ability of each. None overwork. There are no beggars—no tramps there. All enjoy equally according to the capacity of each. There are no hovels—no tenement houses there. All have good homes of their own. There is no poverty-enforced destroying of unborn infants there. All parents are able to support families. There is very little prostitution all. Having good homes and no [illegible] governments, nearly all the [illegible] false. What virtuous lives. There are no ejectments there, no foreclosing of mortgages, no broken homes and broken hearts. Under conditions so favorable, there is but little ignorance, but little crime, but little sickness, but little sorrow. For advocating such a state of society as this, the famous reformer, Jesus of Nazareth was put to death nearly 2,000 years ago. He taught the people that the "kingdom of heaven—the kingdom of God, was just such a state of society as I have just described—an Anarchistic state—a state in which no man ruled over his fellowman—a state in which tax-collectors, policemen, hangmen, and other governmental robbers and torturers are unknown—a state in which dungeons, racks, stakes, gallows and other instruments of governmental tortures are never heard of—a state in which love and justice pre-dominate, in which all are permitted to be happy, and in which, consequently, all are good. He taught the people when praying to say: "Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven." But the coming of this kingdom, the establishment of this heavenly state of society upon earth would have overturned the present condition of things. It would have destroyed the trades of the tax-gatherer, the dungeon builder, the maker of crosses, racks, wheels and other instruments of torture, the crucifier, the hangman, the burner, the cutter-out of tongues, the borer-out of eyes, the flayer, the emasculator and other government officials. No wonder, then, that the archists of that time—the "law and order" people hastened to put Jesus to death. And no wonder that these same classes of persons of the present time—the ghouls that prey upon their fellowmen hurried Spies, Parsons, Engle, Fischer and Lingg to death by torture for advocating this same state of society.

Bring SOLIDARITY to all public meetings, debating clubs, single-tax rooms, etc., and ask people to read it. Send it also to local unions and insist that the members should take cognizance of it.

Half-yearly subscribers are reminded to send funds for renewals to insure continued receipt of the paper.

THE CRITCHLOW CASE.

Revenge is what want the Capitalists.—The Judges and Commissioners panelling a Jury to secure conviction.—Three cheers for American institutions.

Is Mr. Frick an institution? This question occurs to our mind, when we consider the proceedings before the Pittsburgh Court. Sylvester Critchlow is the first Homestead man tried for murder on account of the part he took in the defeat of the Pinkertons.

According to the counsel for the defence, the way in which the jurors were drawn is this: The slips, or rolls of paper, containing the names of the jury, were not uniform, those deposited by Judge Slagel being of different size and differently folded from those deposited in the box by the jury commissioners, those deposited by Judge Slagel being turned down at one corner, and those deposited by the commissioners being turned down at the corners, so that it was an easy matter to discriminate. Of the 24 grand jurors, 12 were those whose names were deposited by Judge Slagel; and of the 60 of the panel of the petit jurors, 26 were of those whose names were deposited by Judge Slagel.

The counsel for the defence remonstrated against such trickeries and moved to quash the indictment. But his request was not granted, and the trial proceeds.

The theory of the prosecution is that there was a riot, and that the men who defended themselves against the invasion of the Pinkertons, are guilty of high treason and felony. They have conspired to throw off the yoke of Frick, which is tantamount to overthrowing the institutions of this country.

The counsel for the defence says that the prosecution wish to shut out the truth from the jury, to hide the cowardly, tyrannical and unscrupulous conduct of Carnegie and Frick, and expect the court to act as Pontius Pilate.

"Never since the days of Herod"—he adds—"has there been such a hard-hearted, cold-blooded man as this man Frick. This brutal tyrant dared to bring into the borders of this State an armed body of men for his own private purposes. It is the most disgraceful thing to note that while this yeoman community [illegible] worker (Critchlow) is here on Anarchism. [illegible] Frick who caused all this [illegible] with the heads of our government."

Disgraceful, yes, but also most natural! Why, Mr. Frick represents capitalism, the spirit of capitalism and the interests of thousands of his fellow-capitalists. And the heads and tails of the Government have never been known to hobnob except with the people of their own kin.

ON PROHIBITION OF IMMIGRATION.

The Protection humbug having been exploded, what might be substituted as a bait to catch the people and lead them astray? This question the bosses in council must have put to themselves, and the answer has been: Prohibition of Immigration.

Master Powderly has opened the campaign, in his latest address to the general Assembly of the K. of L., by pleading for the total exclusion of all immigrants who are not self-sustaining on landing in this country. He would fix a term of years—ten would be long enough — during which time no immigrant should be permitted to land, with a view of remaining, unless he would prove that he had sufficient means to sustain himself and those depending on him for one year.

Now, this plan is simply absurd. It would not be possible to demand from any passenger of an ocean steamer to bring in his pocket, say, five hundred or a thousand dollars cash.

There are so many different kinds of people moving from one country to another for some reason or another — that such a condition would be considered by the whole world as intolerable. There are people who travel for pleasure; others, for instruction; and others for some loftier motives, to look after a friend, to run to the death-bed of a relative, etc. Now to raise around a continent or half a continent such a Chinese wall, as it is proposed, and to prohibit anybody to enter it without having given satisfactory proof to be in possession of one year's income, would be sheer act of folly, not to say of savagery! It will be replied that the proposal does but affect those who come here with a view of remaining. But how could be ascertained the existence or non-existence of such a view? Suppose a laborer, coming here in search of work, would say he only wished to visit the country, or to see a friend. Would he be believed, or would an investigation be instituted into the real motive or motives of his voyage? Suppose you grant him the permission to land, on the understanding that his visit has to be a short one, will you deny to him to get an employment, and how will you know what he is doing in the country, unless you watch and dog all his steps?

In some European countries, like Belgium, the foreigners are bound to give notice of their arrival in the country, and cannot settle without a permit by the police authority. But, then, Belgium has a very small territory, about one threehundredth part of the area of the United States, and all the inhabitants have their names and addresses inscribed in a police-registry, and must account for every change of residence, and for every visitor or lodger, and the police keep a strict watch on every house and on every individual of such a model State.

Will we introduce the same system in "free" America? Will we institute a coast police and a frontier-police to keep off travellers trying to evade the immigrant law? Will we submit to an investigation, and try before a special Court-at-law every foreigner manifesting the intention to set foot on this territory? Will we trust to the police the duty and the right to search every house, where a would-be breaker of the Immigrant law might have found a shelter?

He who invents law, invents fraud—says a proverb popular in Italy; or, in other words, every restrictive law puts a premium on fraud. In the little island of Malta a law exists which requires any foreigner settling in the island to find two citizens who will be a guarantee for him. The law was enacted with a view to keeping off runaways, professional thieves and such like people. Now it happens that there are in Malta people who make a business of guaranteeing or procuring guarantees for strangers, entirely unknown to them. Hence the effect of the law is to enable those people to extort money from the new comers, and to open the door to every description of unscrupulous men and shut it before *bonafide* people. Just the same would happen in this country, were the proposed law enacted. The bankers, bosses and contractors would import laborers afterwards as nowadays, only they would charge their victims with some premium for the nominal guarantee they would have to lend for them or for the trouble they would have to take to evade the law. The only people who would suffer from the law would be, as it already happens under the existing regulations, the *bonafide* workingman.

Then, just think of the expenses of the coast-police, of the expenses of the investigations necessary in every case, of the expenses for the police-watch on land and of the money which would be earned by lawyers, judges, etc. All such expenses would come out of the pockets of the people, and these losses would more than out-do the problematic advantages of the law to the American workman. Hence it appears that the law under no circumstances could be enforced in an effective way. But, were it executed, we maintain that, far from being being advantageous to the workmen, it would be greatly injurious to them.

It is a great mistake to suppose that the immigrant lowers the wages of the native workman. The bulk of the immigrants perform work that the American workman would never do. The Italian laborers, for instance, are employed in digging canals, draining swamps and other highway works, which no man, except reduced to the verge of starvation, would undertake.

Were the immigration of those laborers stopped, many works would be stopped, many countries which, thanks to the labor of those despised "pauper immigrants," are opened to civilization, would remain unsettled, and the American workman, who comes after the Italian laborer and finds employment at some well-remunerated trade, would miss the opportunity. In fact, the check on immigration would result in a check on the development of the country, and much work which is now made here would be transferred to Europe. This might be a desirable end, as it might induce the American workmen to combine and fight in order to take from their masters and millionaires the monopoly of the industries of this country, — just as Mr. Powderly charitably wants the European workmen to stay at home and redeem their fellow-men from the yoke of landlordism and kingcraft, — so that the ultimate result of the proposed law might be to bring about a Social Revolution both in this country and in Europe. But we hardly believe that the way of progress runs through such torturous paths, and we think that the influx of European workmen into this country, the common experience which both immigrants and natives have of the evils of the capitalistic system, and the growing solidarity between them will bring a Social Revolution, on both sides of the Atlantic, much sooner and much more certainly than the policy of enmity and rivalry which is recommended to them might do.

Master Powderly foresees great danger not alone to labor, but to the whole country (*i. e.*, to the capitalistic class) if the immigration question is not *heroically* handled in the near future. — Why not deal "heroically" with Capitalism, instead of with Immigration? Why not prohibit and punish the trade in immigrants, which is carried on by contractors, bosses and steamship Companies? Why not punish the fact of hiring a man for less than what is necessary for a human existence? Why not punish, at least, the common robberies which are committed against the poor laborers? There have been dreadful tales in the papers about the cruelties to which common-laborers are subjected, the ways and means how they are preyed upon by the contractors and bosses, and the practical slavery in which they are kept. No effort has ever been made to cope with these evils. And yet by putting a check to these evils, the interest which the capitalists have in bringing over here European workmen would be greatly diminished. This would prove by far the most effective way of checking the harmful immigration. Next to this, it would be very advantageous to prohibit the immigration, not of the laborious workman, but of the people, who come here with five hundred or a thousand dollars in their pockets, not to work and produce, but to prey on the labor of their fellowmen. Were it possible to keep off all contractors, bosses, bankers, lodging-house and saloon-keepers, this would be by far the most beneficial measure for the workingmen of this country. Were it possible to expel our own landlords, our own capitalists, our millionaires and send them to some distant planet, where they might bring their gold and safes with them, and live upon such things and enjoy each other's company; why! that would secure our well-being and happiness forever!

But, this cannot be done without a Social Revolution: and we must be glad of the influx of European workmen, who come here to swell our ranks and help us in suppressing, in this very country of ours, "the institutions of greed."

OFFICIAL CRIMES.

A few nights ago an honest, peaceble workingman was walking along a street in Chicago, going toward his home. Surrounded as he was by all the evidences of civilization including expensive governmental protection, he felt safe in doing so; had he lived sixty years earlier and had cause to traverse that same ground he might have deemed it necessary to carry a gun and keep his senses on the alert and there would have been no one to disarm him or brand him as a criminal for carrying weapons. But here, and in this age where so much has been sacrificed to secure the benefits of law and order he had every reason to suppose his life was safe, unarmed though he was.

But one of the guardians of the law got his eye on him. He "imagined" that the man was a burglar — his imagination seemed to be his only guide and only check — and he charged upon him bravely with tongue and club. The man who was badly frightened and did not understand the English language, naturally started to run. The officer gave chase, fired at him several times and finally killed him. An innocent life sacrificed—that was all.

The policeman has been held over to the grand jury, but doubt is expressed as to whether he will ever be brought to trial. Some of his superior officers contend that the shooting was excusable and that he was not exceeding his duty.

It seems then it cannot be determined by any process of judicial reasoning, what the powers and privileges of a police officer are; any man or woman who happens to be belated on the streets of Chicago is in danger of losing his life; any

citizen who happens to stand in the way of an irate policeman in the day-time stands a chance of having his brains clubbed out; any playful child acting out its buoyant nature is liable to be locked up with hardened criminals. By the events of the past it would seem that a policeman's powers and privileges are limited only by the strength of his arm, the brutality of his nature, the weight of his club and the carrying power of his revolver. The sickening list of official shootings, clubbings, murders, in the past few years, reads like a record of casualities from the seat of war. The procession of the maimed, crippled, the imprisoned, the broken in health, those driven toward crime from positions of helpless misfortune — are a blot upon the history of a boastful city.

Imagine the sensations such deeds would create, were all the actors, citizens on a common footing! Fancy one ordinary man shooting another because he "imagined" the other might be a burglar! Think of common every-day people, going up unprovoked to other common people, and knocking them down with clubs and locking them up in cold, dirty cells! Would not the people resent and resist to some purpose such violent invasion of personal rights?

But we endure it because these men of violent invasion are clothed in the trappings of government and wear its signs of authority.

As the Homestead men bravely defended themselves against a band of hired individuals but yielded homage and obedience to the soldiers wearing insignia of the State, so we who would resist to the death a private individual coming to us with a club or a pair of handcuffs, will yield a patient submission if the intruder wears the badge of established authority.

It is a myth, a superstitution that binds the people—but in its name what horrors are wrought! What torture, wrongs, murders, are perpetrated by its baleful spell! How are scaffolds, arms, prisons, instruments of torture brought up on suffering humanity by the pronounciation of its dread name!

When will the hideous charm be broken and the people learn that naturally, and without it, they are free!

LIZZIE M. HOLMES.

Compare the wanton cruelty of this champion of law and order with the cowardice of one of his big colleagues, who on coming out of the back door of a saloon, wiping the froth off his moustache, was confronted by the masked and mounted highwayman, who operates in the vicinity of Chicago!

"Disgorge", sarcastically said the horseman. "See how it feels to be levied on yourself. Be quick about it, for if I get nervous this revolver may go off."

The policeman confessed that he had only $2 about him and said he needed it, but the robber (who a few moments before had refused to take the gold watch and chain from a baggage-master) overruled all objections and after storing the money away in his wallet, said "beware" and rode away.

"As soon as he had disappeared" — says textually a despatch from Chicago to the daily press—"the bewildered policeman drew his revolver, clubbed an inoffensive tramp and gave the alarm!"

What a wonderful picture of a policeman! a picture taken from real life!

As to the highwayman, a mile away he met two tramps and tossed them the policeman's dollars.

S. M.

LIBERTY VS. CO-OPERATION.

[To the Editor of SOLIDARITY.*]*

John Beverley Robinson writes:

"You ask how the "Liberty" school of Anarchists (if you will permit the name), can be called Socialists. In this way.

"All Anarchists will admit, I think, that what we need is liberty — more liberty than we have now, — perfect liberty; and will agree with Mr. Tucker in holding that our sufferings are caused by lack of liberty. This admitted, it is reasonable to inquire what liberties we lack. Most people are under the impression that we have liberty in this country; and, in the work of education, it becomes essential to point out exactly what liberty we have not, and precisely how obtaining certain liberty would relieve the present distress. This is what Mr. Tucker attempts to do. His efforts are open to criticism but that such efforts should be made it seems to me no Anarchist can dispute.

"As to the wage-system, if liberty is obtained all is obtained. Let those who want co-operation co-operate: let those work for wages who prefer. It is not compatible with a demand for liberty to lay down at the same time any form of the future society as an essential faith. Give us but liberty to do what seems to us for our advantage and we will organize such societies as seem best, or if we prefer we will not organize at all.

"I call myself an Anarchist, and I am willing that you shall do as you please, if you will grant liberty to me to do as I please; can you as an Anarchist ask more?

"That is Socialism which demands for the producer the whole of his product. He, who believes that liberty alone will accomplish this, is well called an Anarchist Socialist; while he who regards some particular form of organization as a further condition denies the power of liberty, and can only obtain his demand by instituting some form of authority.

"Look into it and you will find that liberty alone will suffice."

JOHN BEVERLEY ROBINSON.

OUR REPLY.

Our correspondent seems to us to argue in a very objectionable way. Liberty, he says, is what we need. Therefore, I do not care whether we have co-operation or.... free-slavery (the wage-system). If slavery be free, it will do no harm, because we are persuaded that all our distress comes from lack of liberty. It is true that we do not precisely know, nor do I (Robinson) presume to state here what really liberty consists in, the less so as I use indifferently the expressions "liberty," "more liberty than we now have" and "perfect liberty." But so much I know, that when we get liberty we get all, "all is obtained when liberty is obtained." Therefore let us be merry: three cheers for liberty! Above all, forbear from investigating what the future organization of society may be or ought to be; I even deny there will be an organization at all. At any rate it matters very little whether there will be co-operation or the wage-system. Liberty can do wonders, even convert slavery into itself. Put your faith in liberty. Give us but liberty. Liberty alone will suffice!... Oh! Holy Liberty!

We have no intention of slighting our correspondent's utterances. Quite the contrary, we esteem them very remarkable. They betray a state of mind very akin to mysticism. Those Individualist Anarchists believe in Liberty, like Christians believe in God; and as the Christian explains every event or accident by the will of God and puts in God all his hopes and fears, just the same the Individualists do in regard to Liberty.

Yet, Liberty, like God, is but a word, and a very elastic and ambiguous word too. It may mean nothing and everything. In the negative sense, Liberty means absence of coercion, not, indeed, of all kinds of coercion, of the coercion which the forces of nature and the co-existence of other men bring to bear on every individual, but the absence of a certain kind of physical coercion by fellow-men, and of a certain portion of the legal coercion of to-day, which is admitted to be wrong and harmful. This conception of liberty is a very poor and limited one; yet it is the only practical and definite conception which we have of liberty at the present time. There is another, the positive, sense of liberty, meaning the full development of the faculties of the individual, as served by the necessary means, natural and accumulated by preceding human efforts; not an abstract, platonic liberty, but a liberty realized in the enjoyment of life and through such social relations as shall secure that full development of the faculties not to one or to a few individuals only, but to all; and this kind of liberty —the true, positive liberty we aim at—can only be the outcome of certain social arrangements, at which men arrive, not by haphazard, but consciously, having in view not their individual pleasure, but the common interest and the common welfare. Liberty, in this second sense, is the daughter, not the mother of order and good social institutions.

The question is then, is the wage-system compatible with liberty, or what are the best social arrangements to obtain that kind of positive liberty, which (if we may be allowed to say so) is more than pure, abstract, liberty and is something else than absolute liberty? We cannot be debarred from investigating into the effects of different arrangements. Just as we see and say that capitalistic system is the negation of liberty, so we are entitled, nay we are bound to say that any wage-system would destroy that liberty for which we fight, and introduce, in a very short delay, as many inequalities and as much injustice and oppression in society as there is now.

"Let those who want co-operation co-operate," says our correspondent. This looks pretty much like saying: let those who want to live live, and the others commit suicide. Suicide, however, will never become a rule with mankind, and all our efforts must be directed to suppress the causes which prompt suicides. The same with the wage-system. It is contrary to the very nature and essence of human society. Human society is founded on co-operation. Co-operation is no matter of choice, cannot be left to local option. It is the fundamental fact of social existence. People co-operate, as Mr. Jourdain spoke in prose, without knowing it. Co-operation exists even under the wage-system of to-day, but it works, under this system, chiefly to the benefit of the exploiter. The reason is that it is partial co-operation in labor only, not in the use of means of production and in the use of the produces to the best advantage of all. We must integrate co-operation. We must build, on the ruin of the competitive system, a system of conscious, organized, thorough-going co-operation.

Our correspondent seems to believe that the question is one of personal liking or disliking, that there are two natures of men, those who come to this world with a weakness for co operation, and those who "prefer" to hire themselves to a master. This, however, is not so. People ressort to wage-slavery, because they have no chance of working in co-operation. Establish such social conditions as afford opportunities for co-operation, and the wage-system will find no more victims. But we must, in forming the new social arrangements, have in view the necessity of co-operation. We must preach it. We must show the people the evils of the wage-system, the loss of liberty which it entails—this is the task of Socialist-anarchists, not to preach "liberty alone," and the devil takes the hindmost.

According to our correspondent's definition of Socialist-Anorchism, the French, "economists" and A. Smith were Socialist-Anarchically false. What do really believed that liberty, free competition, free chances and opportunities, would give to each man not indeed "the whole product of his labor," because no product is the result of the labor of one individual, but his due share in the product of labor. We have labored, this century along, under this illusion. It is high time we should dismiss it.

Individualist-Anarchists may say that liberty was never realized within the present society, and that indeed it was incompatible with capitalism. But we contend that the same will happen in any society, where there will be men hiring themselves for wages to other men. The question is, not to get liberty that we may arrange our social relations as we please; but to agree on some equitable system of society, that we may live in liberty.

We hope to have made clear the point at issue between Individualist-Anarchists and Socialist-Anarchists. If necessary, we will return to the subject.

THE PANAMA AFFAIR.

There is a scandal again in France. "Baron" Reinach, the associate of Mr. Lesseps in the enterprise for the construction of an interoceanic waterway at Panama, has committed suicide, on learning that some documents proving the use which has been made by the Company of the immense amount of money extorted from the poorest classes of the population, had fallen to his enemies. A large number of members of both Houses, the ex-Premier himself, are said to be implicated in the affair, and although men of the character of the editor of the New York *Tribune* affect to believe that the assertion is untrue, because it has been made at the House by an ex-boulangist member, Mr. Delahaye (Mr. Delahaye was a delegate of the French Government, together with Jules Simon, to the Berlin Conference on the Social Question, therefore he cannot be a very objectionable person), yet everybody knows that it is true, everybody knows that the money which Mr. Lesseps and his accomplices succeeded, by the meanest lies and

...es, to squeeze out of the simple farmers and ...dows and orphans, was not employed in the works of the Channel, but was thrown into the hands of bankers, journalists and politicians, high and low, and of the directors and managers of the Company. Mr. Drumont, who is now in jail in Paris, has written a book almost entirely on the Panama affair. There the fraud is exposed in all its details. The reader may think of hundred such like affairs, which have been carried on in all countries, the United States included, and see whether the accumulation of wealth in the hands of the few is due to labor, or to robbery.

FROM DENVER, COL.

Novemeber 16th, 1892.

The 6th annual memorial services in commemoration of our murdered comrades took place here on Sunday November, 13th. The Hall was nearly filled, about 500 persons were present. The stage was decorated in red, in the centre stood the pictures of the martyred, covered with flowers. After the orchestra rendered the dead march, O. Shove the chairman made the opening speech, following him Mrs. J. H. Joch rendered Parson's last song, "Annie Laurie". Resolutions were passed and unanimously adopted, demanding the release of our three imprisoned comrades. The speaker of the evening was W. B. Bell of California, who after explaining the infamous deeds of the hirelings who brought five innocent men to the gallows, spoke on the subject of Government. Among other things that touched the patriotic strings of the press in the next days reports, was his inexcusable uttering, that the Declaration of Independence contained flattering sophistries, and glittering generalities. Also that men had no rights which Government did not take away from them. Anarchistic literature was distributed among the audience. The meeting closed with the rendition of the Marseillaise.

EMILE EDELSTAT.

POLITICAL ELECTIONS IN ITALY.

(From a Correspondent.)

ABSTENTION FROM VOTING A MOST EFFECTIVE ...NS OF PROPAGANDA.

...enda writes:

We have had, in Italy, a general election of members of the House of Representatives, on November 6. The main features of this eventful election are: 1) the growth of corruption and corrupt practices; 2) the defeat of the most prominent leaders of the radical and of the social-democratic parties; 3) the success of the propaganda of abstention which has been carried on by anarchists.

On the first point I wish only to give an instance which might prove useful and suggestive even to United States politicians. On the eve of the election the electors, who had promised to sell their votes, received one half of a banknote of one or two dollars, and a slip of blotting paper. The other half of the banknote remained in the hands of the electoral agent. The elector was bound to vote the candidate who had bought him, (the elections being made on one candidate in each electoral district) to dry up his writing with the blotting paper, and then to present the blotting paper to the agent who, having been satisfied that the elector had complied with his engagement, would deliver him the second half of the banknote, which by means of gummed paper could be reunited and could be expended. By this and other devices the secrecy of the ballot was violated.

The insuccess of the leaders of the radical and of the social-democratic party has been very conspicuous. Cavalloti and M. Imbriani, (the latter the *enfant terrible* of the Parliament), Mr. Fratti, formerly a revolutionary republican, M. Maffi, the first labor representative, M. Costa, a socialist member since 1882, and Mr. Turati, the new social-democratic leader, have all failed. Their defeat is the more significant as it proves that the people have got tired of waiting for legal reforms and are looking for some more radical solution of the social question. Mr. Costa was obliged to confess, in his electoral address, that laws are never enacted in the interest of the working-classes, and even if enacted they remain a dead letter, either because they meet with the secret opposition of the Government and of the different officials entrusted with their application, or because they meet with the even greater obstacle of the ignorance and misery of the people themselves. He quoted the law on free education, the factory laws and many other laws from which great benefit was expected to the working classes, but which are entirely forgotten. The logical conclusion from Mr. Costa's admission was drawn by his electors who really failed to see what was, after his own words, the use of sending him to Parliament.

It is most noteworthy that the social-democratic candidates have failed in those very parts of Italy where they were stronger and the futileness of their parliamentary work had been proved by experience. The greatest discomfitures have been suffered by them in Romagna and Mailand, the two strongholds of Social-Democracy. On the contrary, several new social-democrats or radical candidates have been elected in those parts of the peninsula which are rather behind in the labor movement, especially in Sicily.

The same remark holds good on the subject of Abstention. Abstention from voting has been comparativeiy insignificant in the less progressed provinces, in the provinces where there is the largest number of illiterates, and where there is very little of a labor movement and of a socialistic movement. The abstention, in other provinces, has been simply astounding for its magnitude. In two electoral wards—(Carrara and Borgo San Domino)—it was impossible to form even a *bureau* to receive votes. In others the number of voters has been insignificant. In one of the wards of Genoa, for instance, no more than 639 electors have voted out of 6,890 who were registered. In Rome, in Florence, in Turin fully two-thirds or three-fourths of the registered electors have abstained.

The motives of abstention were made known through handbills and manifestoes posted on the walls or freely distributed.

"Workingmen and peasants!" it was said in one of those anarchistic manifestoes, "the Government wants you to elect the members of the House. Don't care to do so. To-day those infamous politicians promise you everything, if elected they will do nothing for you. A thirty-two year's experience must have teached to you at least this much that you cannot expect any good from your enemies. Let us trust no more those scoundrels but look to other means to better our condition. We are men, not beasts, and wish to live like men. We produce everything: we build roads, houses, machinery, we manufacture and produce all what is necessary for our existence, and much more which is squandered by our exploiters. We can live without masters. Those politicians fatten on our labor. They have good dinners and revel, while we are on the verge of starvation. Let us turn our backs to them. Let us declare war to the Government. War, nothing but war. Only on condition that our masters return to us the wealth they have usurpated, that they give up the land to the peasant, the machinery to the artisan, and set themselves to work like we do, only on this condition there may be peace and we may become brothers again."

Thousands of such like manifestoes have been distributed in towns and villages and in every corner of the peninsula, and have caused the greatest sensation in all the classes of the population and even in the circles of the Government. The workingmen have responded to the appeal by abstaining *in masse* from voting and before this fact all other incidents of the latest election campaign have sunk into insignificance. Italy is on the eve of a social revolution.

BOOKS.

Government Analyzed,—By John R. Kelso,, A. M. Published by the widow of the author, Etta Dunbar Kelso, Longmont, Colorado, 1892.

An excellent work, being, as indicated by the title, an analysis to the core. The author by some process has discovered that labor creates all wealth, and with this central thought in mind gives a clear, simple exposition of his subject, touching upon the various forms of government; general principles of government; functions of government; origin of government; the declaration of independence; articles of American Confederation; defects of the Confederation; formation of the Constitution of the United States; taxation; tariff and protection, money, and what in his opinion government should be. The derivations and definitions of political terms in his first chapter are alone worth the price of the book, which should find a place in every library of advanced radical thought.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

Lack of space has prevented us from reporting some of the best meetings, held under the auspices of this body, every Wednesday evening, at Cooper Union No. 24, and every Sunday evening at 54 Union Square. Last Sunday (Nov. 27th) comrade Edelman spoke on Socialism in England. The discussion which followed, turned over the question, whether in our propaganda we ought to appeal more to sentiment, or to reason. There seems to be a certain tendency to separate sentiment from reason, and to distinguish emotional socialists (or anarchists, as the case may be) from the "intellectual" or "philosophical," or "scientific" Socialists. Some people believe emotion to be a lower part of human nature than "reason": and speak with contempt of those socialists who are all the time sobbing and crying on the "sweating system" and the horrors of the tenement-houses... They would indulge in no kind of sentimentalism, but speak coldly, deal flegmatically with the social evils, analyse their causes with mathematical exactitude, and formulate the remedy in a scientific way. They seem to think there is a science, a ready-made science, which gives the reply to all question put to it by suffering mankind, and a ready-made solution for every social problem. Supposing that infaillible science to exist, they believe men are automatical creatures, and all we have to do (we the teachers, we who have the secrets of that science) is to open the mind of the people and put in it our specific, our solution, and leave it there to be assimilated. After a while it will be seen that the medicine will produce its effect, and the people, now bowing under the yoke of capitalism, will calmly rise up, and without any effort, or emotion (which, according to an Italian poet, Giusti, injures our health) put down capitalism and arrange some new society in strict compliance with the teaching of that ominous science.

It may be that we have gone a little too far in representing the views of so-called "intellectual" socialists or anarchists. But the fact is that their faith in intellectual propaganda, in intellectual means and in a science which does not exist, but will be created by future experience (like all sciences have been), is almost childish.

MEETINGS.

Sunday, December 4th, at 2 p. m. an International meeting will be held in the Clarendon Hall (114 East 13th street) on the Immigration Question. English, German, Spanish, Italian and French speakers are secured. Admission free.

Paterson, N J. We have received from this town a letter notifying us of the constitution of a group of English-speaking Anarchists, and giving us the address of the group. We ask the comrades to kindly send us again the address of the group—as we have lost it.

RECEIVED.

From H. B., Allegheny Co., $10.

A. L., Buffalo, $15 for a leaflet, balance to go to "Solidarity".

From "Solidarity" Group in Brooklyn $1.00.

From Bernardin, Spring Valley, $2.50.

Subscriptions: $1.00 from Alden S. Huting; $1.00 from J. H. Schultze; $1.00 from John Beverley Robinson; 50 cents from Ed. Rosenberg; 50 cents from A. L. Ballon etc.

We have not received $1.00 from G. Janson, Los Angeles.

Subscripers ought to address invariably to Post Office, New York, Box 2618.

SMALL NOTES.

Seven Chicago Aldermen are under indictment for receiving bribes. Out of 64 Councilmen of that city, but 4 are known to be honest; 12 are disposed to be honest, but can be "seen"; 10 put through all the schemes and secure nearly all the plunder, while the remaining 36 can be bought for a suit of clothes, or even a drink.

One would expect to see, says the *Cleveland Citizen*, the Standard Oil Company, capitalized at $90,000,000, valued at a neat sum, but it escapes with $412,980.

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