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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KID-GLOVED ANARCHISTS.

We cannot conceal the bad impression received from the letter of Comrade Holmes, which we print in another column. To one part of it we have, indeed, nothing to object, except that instead of being addressed to "SOLIDARITY," it ought to have been addressed to some German-Anarchist paper, where it could be read by those whom it concerns. We have tried since the very first number of SOLIDARITY to impress on our German and other comrades the necessity of helping support the American propaganda. We have tried to dispel from their minds the prejudices, which some of them entertain against Americans. We are glad to hear from Comrade H. that the moment is very favorable for an agitation among the English-speaking workmen, that such an agitation is already being carried on, and that it could be rendered much more effective. We submit this part of Comrade H.'s letter to the earnest consideration of all our readers. We may go a little farther in our agreement with Comrade H. SOLIDARITY has never indulged in abusive language of any kind. Our attitude has been neither boastful nor fearful, neither foolishly provoking nor meekly submissive. We have placed nobody in jeopardy of liberty or life. We have tried to behave as sensible men. Is this method of propaganda an "American" invention? We refuse to believe so. We refuse to believe that there are American, or German, or French methods, indeed that there is but one method of working for our cause, namely: to speak out the truth, the whole truth, and to act according to our convictions.

Here, however, our agreement with Comrade H. ends. What he proposes is to take the Anarchist movement from the workshop to the drawing-room, from the street to the church, from the saloon to the social gatherings of well-to-do people.

We are told, we shall conceal our end—the overthrowing of the capitalistic system—cease attempting to justify "crime" (by which word Comrade H., like the capitalistic penny-a-liner, understands resistance to oppression); we shall use "cunning" instead of plain-speaking, and find some legal quibble to retrench ourselves behind it.

We do not question for one moment Comrade H.'s motives: he is undoubtedly sincere; but we must refuse, absolutely refuse, to follow his advices. We think our cause may be promoted, nay it may *only* be promoted by "better" means.

It would be a poor cause, indeed, if, to win, we had to resort to cunning, dissimulation and other trickeries in vogue among politicians! Then, could we? We revolt against the present society because we hate its conventional lies and constitutional hypocrisy; and we are asked to follow in the same tracks, sink into the same moral abyss, and borrow our methods of warfare from the arsenal of our enemies.

Your "intelligent and big-hearted" people, dear Comrade H., are afraid to sit in a hall with dirty workingmen, "where the air is thick with tobacco-smoke, or where the temperature is at freezing point." They want a comfortable hall, well heated, well furnished, with arm-chairs, electric light and nice decorations. We know this kind of people. They are educated, too educated, and they little suspect that their education was rendered possible by the sweat of the brow of many and many working people. They wish to discuss anarchism as a fashionable pastime. But, as to take off their furs and go in the street to preach the gospel of social revolution to people who shiver in cold and have got no home of their own, and perhaps no bit of food in their stomach; as to enter those hated saloons, where the toiler is compelled to spend his evenings because he has got no fireside, and speak to the men, who are there, a language which they can understand, those people are too "well educated," too "honest," too "big-hearted" to do so. We tell you. We want no aristocratic, no arm-chair, no drawing-room anarchism. Our battle must be fought by workmen against parasites, by illiterate against learned people, by the ineducated masses against "respectability." Let those of the upper class, who really want to work for our great cause, come in our midst, live our life, make personal acquaintance with our sorrows and our feelings.

Comrade H. wants us to be good and reasonable, not to use bad language, not to abuse the capitalists. We are allowed, it seems, to speak of "the infamous system of greed"; but it must be understood that Mr. Vanderbilt and Mr. Carnegie and the late Mr. Gould (of whom, by the way, the capitalistic press has spoken in all but complimentary terms), and the other pillars of that system are good, honorable men. We must swear "eternal and relentless war" against that system; but, you know, this war must be waged "within the sanction of the law." Everybody knows, and Comrade H., both as an anarchist and as a law-student ought to know better than others, what a superfine fraud law is and how it may be strained to any purpose. It is our mission and our pride, to unveil that idol, before which so many people lay on their knees; yet Comrade H. recommends to us to actually bow to it.

He also wants us not "to attack individuals." The capitalists may send Pinkertons to shoot us down; yet we must not fight "individuals." Or we may fight the Pinkertons because they after all are cheap ware, five dollars apiece, but the capitalist who hires them and safely stays at home while they carry out his bloody orders shall remain unmolested.

What Comrade H. means by "attacking flags" we do not precisely see. We do not fight windmills, anyhow. We fight institutions; and the men who support them are our enemies, as well as we are enemies to them.

Comrade H. boldly proclaims the maxim, that to gain our ends *all* means are justifiable. Yet, he would strike off the list of available means the most powerful and the most human ones, those which have always been employed against oppression and will ever be while oppression exists. He looks for the "safest" methods; he does not wish to shock people, nor to incense the authorities, nor to attract on our heads their ire.

Comrade H. recommends the use of "reason and persuasion," preaching from pulpits, lecturing to law-students and journalists, bowing to authorities, proclaiming Jay Gould and Mr. Frick great patriots and philanthropists, and speaking of them in the most obliging terms; shaking hands with the police, the judges, the ruffians who have murdered our best comrades and murder every day hundreds of workmen, and relegating Social Revolution to Jupiter, to some distant, very distant and dim future when people will become all educated, all reasonable, will smoke no more tobacco and all speak the choice language of a poet laureate.

We understand otherwise our duty. We must agitate and fight in the ranks of the toilers. We must be ready to give our life for the cause at any time, if we wish to succeeding of the government at all. All nice calculations about [illegible] constitution [illegible] minimum of success" are radically false. What do we know about the far-going effects of an individual action? What are the sufferings of a few individuals compared to the greatness of the end to be achieved?

FOR A BOOK.

The article which appeared in our last issue under the title "What Anarchy is," was an excerpt from Mr. Kelso's recent book "Government Analyzed."—We do not repeat a conventional lie when we say that the omission of the author's name at the end of the article is exclusively due to a compositor's carelessness.

The book in question is certainly not perfect. Very few books are. It is, however, permeated with an earnest spirit of investigation, and is original it its small way. The author does not do the whole thinking for his readers, but sets them thinking over questions of supreme importance and which are usually disposed of with absurd commonplaces. This book recalls to our minds a smaller one, which we discovered, as it were, in a little country library some time ago, and would gladly see reprinted,—Engländer's "Abolition of the State,"—a little volume containing a brilliant exposition of the theories which have sapped the foundations of the state.

It is little more than an essay; but the reader may get from the two hundred pages of this book more knowledge about self-government, direct legislation, federalism and anarchism, than from many a voluminous treaty. The two chapters on Proudhon would be specially instructive for individualist-anarchists.

To return to Kelso's book. We see it has upset the little individualist camp. Mr. Tucker, taking his editorial chair solemnly excommunicates Mr. Kelso, after which Mr. Yarros sets himself to the work of executing him and tearing him to pieces.

"Impudence—declares Mr. Tucker—attains its climax when such a work is offered to the public as an exposition of Anarchism." And Mr. Yarrows,

"The book is utterly worthless, the preface is nonsensical and ridiculous. Loose thinking, bad logic, lack of precision in thought and expression," are some of the complimentary terms in which Mr. Yarrows speaks of the book. After two columns of such language he condescends to disclose the cause of his anger.

It is that the description given by Kelso applies to *an* Anarchy, *i. e.*, to one certain *ideal* form of an Anarchist society, not to the form of Anarchy dear to Mr. Tucker and Mr. Yarrows. Kelso's Anarchy is not an Anarchy according to Tucker's gospel, or, to borrow an expression from a *Liberty's* correspondent, is not "Tuckerian Anarchy," hence, the ire of Tucker and Yarrows who have forgotten their little quarrel on the voting of the Democratic ticket, to fall together on poor Mr. Kelso's book.

As the world knows, a Tuckerian Anarchy is rather a queer thing, an Anarchy with laws, police and the wage-system, a contradiction in itself. Neither Proudhon nor Bakunine, the two fathers of Anarchy, would recognize in "Tuckerian Anarchy" their spiritual offspring. Never would they have dreamed of such a monster evolving out of their conceptions.

"Were Mr. Kelso (says Yarrows and he might have named Proudhon or Bakunine instead) now among us and reading this just criticism (and I regret that he is not), he would probably be shocked to learn that Anarchist society is not necessarily insured against hangmen, prisons, evictions, hovels, idlers, prostitution, and the rest of the blessings of modern civilization; he would be annoyed and perhaps pained to hear that it is possible to eject, imprison, and even hang people without doing the least violence to Anarchist *principles;* and he would be still more annoyed to find that he himself stands committed to these (to him) monstrous propositions. In declaring, as he does, that Anarchy is, "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 rights of any other person," he unwittingly contradicts his fanciful descriptions and [illegible] the propriety of imprisoning and hanging people follows as a logical deduction."

Now it is true that Kelso adopts this Spencerian principle, which is the negation of all social bonds and implies the thorough justification of all the injustices and inequalities of the present day; but, Mr. Kelso qualifies this principle by demanding the people to act, in all their relations with one another, upon the self-evident truth or principle, that all men are created equal, that "they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness," the free use of all they severely need of air, water, land, etc., etc.

This qualification is a very significant one. It implies that men will agree upon a social organization where the liberty of the individual will be made to harmonize with the common welfare.

What is the use of having an Anarchist society if it is not to be insured against hangmen, prisons, evictions, hovels, idlers and prostitution?

Individualist Anarchists practically say: give us liberty and let the world go to the dogs.

We reply:

If the world goes to the dogs, you will not *keep* even liberty. If you have hangmen, prisons, evictions, idlers and the wage-system, you will have no practical liberty. Let us, therefore, have a social organization *including* liberty, but based on solidarity.

We can quote in this regard the opinion of a man, who is neither an Individualist nor a Socialist-Anarchist, an impartial and thoughtful mind. Prof. Ingram, in the concluding chapter of his masterly work on the History of Political Economy, says:

"The mere conflict of private interests will never produce a well-ordered commonwealth of labor. *Freiheit ist keine Lösung.* Freedom is for society as for the individual, the necessary condition precedent of the solution of practical problems, both as allowing natural forces to develop themselves and as exhibiting their spontaneous tendencies, *but it is not in itself the solution.*"—

DOCTRINE OF ANARCHISM.

We gladly reprint the following article from the Erie *People* as a proof of the spread of the Socialist-Anarchist principles.

....I am fully aware that it is useless to try to get justice at the courts in this country (or any other for that matter), because the courts, as a part of the government, are run in the interest of the capitalist and plutocrats in general; because government, no matter what kind it is, is simply a machine, a contrivance, to protect the slaveholder and not the slave. I use the word slave because all of us working people, all of us who either work for wages or work as we think on our own hook, are more or less under the control of those who own—no, not own, but, who control, who have in a legal, legitimate, but not just, right and honest way, acquired the control over the opportunities to labor, to create wealth, to make a living, and backed up by the government; by the church; by the press, by the supporters of the plutes, and last, but not least, by a great number of our own men, who either join the militia or are too ignorant, of such a slavish disposition, that they always ride with the blood-sucking capitalist, who cannot imagine a state of society where there would not be an employer, to give them work, as they say. Backed up by all of these they force us to accept such terms as they see fit. *Political freedom without economical freedom* or equality is a glittering generality, as J. C. Calhoun said about our declaration of principles. The slaves of old, the black slaves of the south, were forced by the whip and paddle, (a piece of board with holes in it, which sucks up the skin when applied unmercifully on the back), but the slaves of the latter-day, the white slaves, the free American citizens and any other citizen, the men who were born free and equal, but of whom the greatest part live and die in bondage, these men are forced by a more insidious means to obey the dictates of their master, and that is by *hunger*. Having, with the aid of the government, cornered most of the valuable lands, and having accumulated untold wealth by making us produce all wealth and then paying us just enough back to exist on, and not even that much voluntarily. They use this to make improvements, to buy machinery, to employ or hire more slaves, to make them still richer, until they roll in wealth. In ancient mythology a place is described called the Valley of Despair where men suffer from hunger and thirst amidst plenty: whenever they went to drink out of the river at their feet, the water receded from them as a mirage on the plains, whenever they went to pluck the ripe fruit hanging over their head, the bough receded. That was an ancient picture of hell. But do we not see the same thing of to-day; whenever a workingman wants to take what justly belongs to him, the law, the government, steps in to punish him for an infraction on somebody else's property. The rights of property must be respected, no matter how many human lives are destroyed by it. Property! What is it? What we have produced with my labor? no, that does not amount to anything, being compelled to give the employer two-thirds and have the other third eaten up, taken from us by the government in form of taxes and tariffs, to support a whole army of men and women in idleness, as figureheads; it is taken from us by the railroads, who take all they can get; by the trusts and combinations, who fix the price to producer as well as consumer; by all these are we being robbed, and then when we dare to assert our manhood, when we dare say what is right and what is wrong, we are being hung like the anarchists in Chicago; when we dare to say to set force against force, we are being shot down, imprisoned like so many sheep, tried and convicted of murder, for having dared to defend our lives against a lot of hired assassins. An example will be set by our masters, like it was in Chicago, many of our men will suffer death at the hands of the plutes, but as that puritan said who was burned at the stake in England, this torch will set the whole of England afire. So will it be with these men—our brothers; they will be like the stones thrown in the placid pool of suffering humanity; their fate will set the whole mass in motion, and when once in motion they will rise up and annihilate their oppressors, and take possession of what rightfully belongs to them. Many years ago in Louisiana, a negro said to me, while looking at a magnificent sugar plantation: "See", he said, "all of this belongs by right to our people, (meaning the colored); we have cleared the swamps, built the houses, planted the cane, and never get more than a bare living." And so it is it with us; we have produced all the wealth and never had more than a bare living, and not always that, and we are going to take what belongs to us. It is our property; the mine, the factory, the furnace, the iron mill, is the result of our combined effort, therefore does it belong to us, and not to a private individual; the land belongs to us, because the earth was here before we came and will be here after we go. The land to those who use it, the tools to the toilers, the product to the producers. These three sentences are the mere declaration of economical independence, and after we have that we are actually free and equal; we do not need any government, a voluntary agreement between the workers is sufficient. When all men will have an equal opportunity to gain a good living, there will not be any need of laws, because law is the expression of the profit system, of the system of private ownership of the means of production, creates crime, makes criminals. What must we do, then, to be saved? Shall we engage in politics, as many tell us? No, because politics, the use of the ballot, is a plaything for children, to keep them in good humor; but whenever they do not use it to suit their parents, or our master, it will be taken away from us or simply not counted. Political strife uses up the energies of the people, is a sort of safety valve for the plutes. You cannot fight an enemy with a weapon he himself has given to you; it will break in your hands. It is not reform we need, but a complete change. We must cut loose the chains of wage-slavery and be free; a land of brothers congregating for their common good. But if we shall not vote, what shall we do. We cannot get up and fight right now; no, but we can circulate radical liberature, instruct your fellow laborers, prepare more generally for the coming struggle. The rebellion must be general in order to be effective. It is not the scab, not the boss, but the infernal system, the root which produces both, which must be annihilated. It is not a question of wages, but of retaining *all* we make, of being free. In the next fight, let the miner take possession of the mine, the steel-worker of the mill, the factory hands of the factory, the tenant farmer of the land, and hold it in common, but under the control of those who use it. Let the railroad men control the railroads, the post office employees the post office, the telegraphers the telegraph, abolish the whole government with everything belonging to it, exchange your products as you see fit, have a common storehouse, or fix it any other way, as the occasion will demand, abolish money, the root of all evil, and then you'll be free; you'll be able then to follow your inclinations, to surround yourself with the comforts of life, be happy, be brotherly, you'll not be compelled to fight your fellow laborer, because there will be plenty for all—national boundaries and race prejudices will fall away and the whole world will be a land of brothers, because this coming revolution will be all over the world almost simultaneously. Everywhere the oppressed will rise up, and armed with this new weapon, this friend and defender of the poor and lowly, this modern minerva dynamite, we will shatter the strongholds of our robber kings; their militia, regular army and Pinkertons, with their costly arms, will be of no avail. They may flee to the uttermost ends of the earth, but their accusers will be there also; capital is international, labor more so. If a man does not work, neither shall he eat; the time will have passed forever where a few will be able to hold the many through many cunning devices in subjection. Therefore, brothers and comrades, be of good cheer, as the coming storm, of which we have heard the first rumbling, will sweep away all the dead and rotten leaves. As the prairie fire, which absorbs the dead grass, to make room for the new, so will this revolution make room for a greater and better society, the true brotherhood of humanity.

These, my friends, are the theories of Anarchists, and if you ever had any prejudice against them I hope you will lay them aside, after candidly reading this very long letter.

CHAS. DOERING.

The Paterson "Solidarity" Group has made arrangements for a mass-meeting on Thursday, Dec. 22, on "Restriction of Immigration and the Labor Problem." The group meets every Sunday afternoon at 429 Grand street, Paterson, N. J.

SMALL HINTS.

ON THE IMMIGRATION QUESTION.

Several labor papers have an article on the immigration question by Jos. A. Buchanan. The scheme to restrict immigration is there called a shek trick of politics and party organs, a trick to befuddle the working classes by the cry of foreign labor. The causes which keep the American workingman poor are not in the Trans-Atlantic Steamers' Stearage, but in the monopoly of land and machinery. We regret that our space will not allow us to reproduce at least some passages of this excellent article. We notice an article in the same sense in the *Journal of the Knights of Labor*.

A CONTRAST.

The Topeka *Lucifer*, commenting on an article which appeared in the columns of SOLIDARITY, says we have yet to learn "that employers are not regarded as enemies by laborers, but rather as indispensable benefactors." *Lucifer* may be right; but then it has yet to learn that the majority of women and men consider the institution of marriage as sacred and are greatly disinclined to have it altered or abolished. Why is it, then, that *Lucifer* carries on an obstinate propaganda against sex-slavery, and M. Harman and others defy the law and suffer imprisonment for it? Please, explain.

BERKMAN'S PARDON.

The Erie *People* shows an inclination to circulate a petition for Berkman's pardon. "Thankfully declined" would be the answer of Berkman himself, if asked. And we can say no better.

A STEP IN THE DIRECTION OF "TUCKERIAN" ANARCHY.

An organization has been formed in Erie which is known as the P. S. of E. C., or, Protective Society of Erie County, the object of which is to protect all men and women lawfully engaged in the traffic of liquors, wine, beer, etc., such as saloon keepers, beer bottlers, brewers and wholesale liquor dealers, when they are known to have carefully lived up to the license laws of Pennsylvania, and punish those who willfully violate such laws, and also to do away with gamblers' dens, houses of prostitution and street walkers."

It does not appear that they propose to go so far as the famous Vigilance Committee of San Francisco did preserve the morals of the town by the administration of lynch law. They merely want to carry out detective operations on a large scale and with the assistance of a number of subordinates; set them to work at spying about their neighborhoods to find out whether anything wrong is going on. Of course they will discover what they are after, even if they have to get up the wickedness themselves. Their curiosity will be stimulated, and the competition among them to gain distinction as detectives will be eager.

FROM HARRISON'S MESSAGE.

Statistics furnished by the Interstate Commerce Commission show that during the year ending June 30, 1891, there were 47 different styles of car couplers reported to be in use, and that during the same period there were 2,660 employees killed and 20,140 injured. Nearly 16 per cent. of the deaths occurred in the coupling and uncoupling of cars and over 36 per cent. of the injuries had the same origin.

CELLAR BAKERIES.

A committee from the Central Labor Federation of New York has been investigating the condition of the pretzel bakers of the east side and has found a state of affairs almost past belief. Nearly all the places visited were cellar bakeries, where the workers, it is alleged, are paid so little that they have to sleep in the bakehouses and inhale the carbonic acid gas set free during the working of the yeast. The death rate among them is said to be startlingly large, the average duration of life among people who work there being thirty years. The majority of them die of consumption, owing to their ills. The busy season is the summer, after which most of the men are discharged, and if they get work again their wages are sometimes only three dollars or four dollars a week, and seldom more than seven dollars. The bakehouses are described as filthy and swarming with vermin.

PAY NO RENT.

The unemployed agitation in London is taking a serious turn. The latest development is a no-rent campaign. Henry Waite, the agent of the Social Democratic federation, at a meeting the other day declared that any one who paid a farthing in rent, when his family did not have sufficient food would be a cur. This statement was received enthusiastically. He further said, "Emergency committees have been formed in every district to assist tenants who resist their landlords. If the property owners succeed in distraining their tenants it will cost broken heads. Then the distrained, together with their wives and children, will go to St. Stephen's and camp out before the houses of parliament. This plan of campaign will pain thousands of dirty landlords." It seems that this is really being carried into effect so that a great number of cases are occurring in the poorer districts where the landlords are afraid to evict tenants.

A "FABIANITE" ON THE VALUE OF EDUCATION.

Men are not much better by reading and writing alone. Nor is it possible for a man, however little book learning he may have, to live long in the world without being in some way educated. The life a man leads will educate him—that is, it will educe his dormant powers of muscle and brain. A man may be ignorant in books and wise in life, or "deep read in books and shallow in himself." A knowledge of all the "ologies" won't make a fool observe and think, nor will it make a knave any better. Men learn by years and experience, not by books, and, in order that they may learn wisdom and not merely clever foolishness, it is needful, above all things, that the conditions of their life should be clean healthy and wisely restful. As long as the individual may defile our air with smoke, may build jerry houses and work his men fifteen or sixteen hours at a stretch, none of these three essentials can exist.

From the *Newcastle Chronicle*.

METHODS OF PROPAGANDA.

I am glad that my comments upon methods of propaganda, and my advice to exercise more prudence, in No. 8 of SOLIDARITY, has evoked criticism, as it gives me an opportunity to say that which I have long felt ought to be said. The purpose of this article, then, is two-fold; first, to show wherein past and present methods are faulty, and, second, to answer the query "What sort of caution?" in my judgment, should be used. Comrade Edelmann himself partly outlines the answer to his own question, as shown in the following excerpts from his letter in SOLIDARITY:

"Make your meetings open, and speak in the English language wherever possible. Speak boldly, do not disguise your meaning at all, but speak in general terms. Do not urge specific acts against specific people." * * * * "And when a man or woman has determined on a desperate deed no advice is necessary. The individual propaganda of action must be left to individual initiative, and as to a general revolt, that must be a spontaneous action and can neither be created or controlled by conspiracy or agreement."

It is conceded by many comrades, both in this and other cities, that errors have been committed in methods of propaganda; errors of conduct and errors of speech. While in Pittsburg recently, I was glad to note a decided inclination to try other and, I believe, better methods, and I hope the comrades everywhere, who have become convinced of a necessity for reform in this particular, will agitate the question in their meetings and be governed by reason and good judgment. I hope that no comrade will impute to me any but pure motives in making this criticism. I make no reflection upon the motives or conduct of any person. Everyone is liable, at times, to err in judgment. We simply do what we consider at the time is the best thing to be done, and very often, upon a better understanding and wider experience, we come to the conclusion that a different course of conduct would probably have given better results. Besides, it is a fundamental principle, with anarchists, that customs and forms which are proper at one period become insufficient and improper at a later period; this doctrine will apply as well to methods of propaganda as to other usages. Even if we concede, therefore, that the best results attainable by any means have been attained by those we have employed, there is still no reason why we should not adopt a different course, provided we can show that a change in tactics will produce better results in the future. I believe that there is a changed condition of public feeling, a development in all the forces of society which render it absolutely necessary, if we wish success, to alter our methods of propaganda. There is a general feeling of unrest, of inquiry, of anxiety. Thousands of big hearted people are eagerly, earnestly looking for a solution of the vexing social problems. They are ready, yes, eager, now to hear us. This is what we have been looking forward to for a long time—the opportunity to get before intelligent people with our views. The opportunity now is ours; let us not drive them from us by foolish, unreasonable conduct.

Now, what is the measure of a successful movement? Is it not the number and kind of adherents brought to its support? It follows, then, that what we social agitators have to do is to gain converts, and not merely to win over large numbers, but to win the best people; and by "best" I mean intelligent, sympathetic, honest and square people; those who will make good anarchists, good agitators and good revolutionists. Whatever method, therefore, will add most to our numbers, and of the kind of people I have described, is the true method and the one to be adopted in place of all others.

There seems to be no reason why, after so many years of incessant agitation, such tremendous sacrifices and suffering, the scientific doctrines of Anarchist-Socialism should be so little understood. Take this city for example. The organized movement here is confined to the German and European nationalities. Anarchism is alluded to as a "foreign movement," with which Americans have little or nothing to do. And yet I have found by experience that when the principles of Anarchy are rationally explained to intelligent Americans they accept them in preference to the doctrines of the State Socialists. Americans are naturally a liberty loving, independent people. They want to be free; the only difficulty with them is that they believe they are already free; they have not been made to see the monstrosity of the systems and institutions which they regard as nearly perfect. Said one American to me recently, after I had given him a brief history of the founding of the government, and the bitter fight over the constitution: "If the American people could have these truths of history taught to them in the right spirit they would soon revolt against the tyranny of a government founded upon privilege;" and this is true. The American people never learned, while at school, how the wants of the common people were ignored in the organization of their government; nor how their beloved Washington, by his great influence, determined the question whether the people should be free or the dupes of a horde of petty tyrants, in favor of the latter; nor how their almost equally beloved Patrick Henry refused to sanction the government or the constitution. The school text books, having been written by members of the privileged class, ignore these significant events.

When Herbert Spencer visited this country a few years since, and publicly warned the American people that they were in danger of losing their liberties, he created a profound impression. Much of this, it is true, was due to the personality of the man, but more, I think, to his manner of saying the unpleasant truth. Had he called the American people fools, their politicians scoundrels, and their institutions vile, in so many words, he would simply have aroused their antagonism; he would have received abuse in return, and even the weight which people naturally attach to the words of a great philosopher would have been completely nullified by such conduct. Americans will not stand harsh criticism, expressed in harsh, vituperative language from foreigners, but I have generally found them amenable to reason when approached in the right way.

This brings me to the criticism, which I have to make, that we radicals are too often prone to use abusive language, especially toward individuals. I fully agree with my critic that we should speak boldly, without disguising our meaning, but to do this it is hardly necessary that we should refer to certain capitalists as scoundrels, dirty dogs, blood sucking vampires, hyenas in human form, and, naming certain individuals, denounce them as not fit to live. It is not necessary that we should make threats, darkly hint at conspiracies to overthrow the capitalistic system, enter into details as to contemplated acts of destruction and the manner

of conducting the social revolution, shout our defiance of the authorities, make an attempt to justify murder, or extoll the excellence of dynamite as a factor in the coming crisis. Much of this kind of agitation we have had in the past. And what have been its legitimate fruits? The scorn and hatred of the very class (the working people) whom we most desire to win; the bitter enmity and persecution of the authorities; the contempt of the capitalists, and the antagonism of all classes.

Our German comrades in this city are, in the main, enthusiastic, devoted and persistent. Their time and money are given freely to the cause. They are unceasing in their agitation. Yet I regret to say they have generally pursued a policy of propaganda which, so far as the American people are concerned, has been nearly barren of the desired results. If Anarchism is regarded here as a distinctively "foreign" movement, I am afraid it is in a great degree owing to the fact that Americans and American methods have both been ignored. Public mass meetings have been held at which several speeches were made in German and other foreign tongues and only one in the English language. During the past summer an American was invited to address a large public meeting in Chicago. He notified his American friends, and a number of persons, understanding no other tongue than the English, were present at the meeting. No English speaking chairman was elected; several speeches were made in German, one in Bohemian, and the above mentioned American was introduced to the audience by the German chairman in the German language. Not one word in the English language, except the speech of the American comrade, was spoken during the entire meeting. No advertisement was placed in any American newspaper. Rarely are meetings so advertised, and still more rarely are handbills printed in English. Songs are sung, speeches made, recitations and plays given, inscriptions made on decorations, invariably in a foreign language. Nothing is apparently done to cater to the needs or prejudices of English speaking friends of the movement; everything, apparently, to arouse their antagonism. Scarcely any means are taken to reach intelligent Americans; all methods employed estrange them. It is impossible to induce many Americans, and especially American women, to attend meetings held in or over saloons, to sit in a hall where the air is thick with tobacco smoke, or where the temperature is at the freezing point, or where the speeches and other exercises are in a language not understood. These are not American methods, and intelligent, educated Americans will not countenance them. Several sympathizers and efficient workers among the American women in this city are made sick by inhaling tobacco smoke, and are averse to entering a saloon; hence they are estranged.

It may be offered as an excuse for ignoring American methods that experience has shown that Americans are but little help to the radical movement; that they lack enthusiasm, devotion, and all those qualities essential to agitators and workers in a great cause. I know that many of our German comrades entertain this idea, but I believe it is an erroneous one, growing out of a lack of appreciation and the consequence of ignoring American prejudices, and American methods. It is a fact that, entirely apart from the movement conducted by our German comrades, and as one of the natural results of their estrangement, some of the English-speaking comrades of this city have carried on an active propaganda, not in concert but individually, and that a result of their activity is apparent in their increasing opportunities to address intelligent audiences. Thus, one good comrade addressed, by invitation, a conference of Unitarian ministers outside the city and as a result has been asked to expound the doctrine of anarchy from the pulpit of a Unitarian church. He has also written a book, directly attacking government, which I predict will cause a sensation. Another comrade frequently addresses meetings composed of law students and journalists. Another recently addressed an audience of over two thousand Americans at a popular concert. And so on.

Our meetings, our speeches and our writings have been too often characterized by language and conduct which has rendered us and our movement odious. We have been successful in arousing popular prejudice and antagonism, in incensing the authorities against us, and in making ourselves victims of their persecution. We have been often foolish where we should have used reason and judgment. Even as revolutionists we have ignored or failed to apply the cardinal doctrine of a good revolutionist—surely taught us by our enemies— that to gain our ends *all* means are justifiable. So far we have interpreted the phrase "relentless, revolutionary warfare" too narrowly. We have openly advocated a forcible revolution and the propaganda by deed. We have employed means which, while they have not perceptibly crippled the enemy, have injured ourselves. We have used bravado where we should have used cunning; we have strained our legal rights where we might have fortified ourselves behind them. We have been butting our heads against the strong wall of authority; *we should have undermined it.* Obstinately, yet conscientiously and heroically we have persisted in a course which has resulted in a maximum of physical and mental suffering and a minimum of success to the cause of human emancipation. Is it not about time to inquire if there are not safer and surer methods of propaganda?

It is far from my purpose to say that nothing has been accomplished by this mode of agitation and action. The many have laughed at and ridiculed us; some have pitied us; others have condemned our judgment; a few have admired and joined us. The martyrdom of our best and bravest will yet bring about better results. But so far the amount of good accomplished has scarcely been commensurate with the degree of suffering entailed.

I believe there is a better way than any of those heretofore pursued which I have criticised. A way in which we can reach thinking, educated men and women without antagonizing them or placing ourselves in jeopardy of liberty or life. What is the gain to our movement when our meetings are broken up by the police? How do we further the cause by inviting social ostracism and the contempt of the people? Where is the necessity to do either?

Against the infamous system of greed we wage an eternal and relentless warfare, but let us remember, my friends, that even as revolutionists we can accomplish little by language and conduct which simply place us at the mercy of our enemies. It is not necessary to shock people by arousing their prejudices. It is not necessary to attack individuals or flags. It is not necessary to urge violence. All these measures repel the very people whom we desire to reach. To gain converts to anarchism we must use reason and persuasion. To win Americans we must adopt American methods, and such methods (none the less effective) may be found within the sanction of the law.

WM. HOLMES.

Chicago, Dec. 1892.

MEETINGS.

The meeting in Clarendon Hall, on December 4th, was not so well attended as could be expected, owing to a mistake in the date printed in the handbills (December 3d) and to another mistake in the number of the hall. Therefore the audience was largely of the members of the Anarchist groups. Comrades Edelman, E. Goldman, Esteve and Merlino spoke in their respective languages. The anti-immigration scheme was denounced as a fraud. It would, if carried out, prevent the *bonafide* immigration and increase the import of laborers by contractors, who would furnish their victims with a sham — *chéque* for $100 or any other sum. Even supposing immigration entirely stopped, the American workingmen would compete with each other, instead of with the immigrants; and those who would take the place of the foreign laborers, would receive the same starvation wages; for, it is a law in the capitalistic system that the harder the work, the less must be the wages.— Immigration, like machinery, is not a bad thing in itself; spontaneous, natural immigration of the workman to the place where his labor is more productive, is beneficial to the community. But there is no such immigration nowadays, there is an artificial immigration, or rather an import of the ware—laborer by capitalists, contractors, steamship agencies etc. The capitalists huddle men together in crowded cities, to increase rent: they huddle them in big factories to increase profits; they huddle them in some corner of the world to squeeze them to the wall. The cry of the workmen must not be: down with the immigrants, but down with the capitalist! The capitalists and speculators of this country first reduced to starvation the European peasant and then imported him as laborer in this country. It is not the laborer who enriches himself and sends money home, but the contractor, the boss and the banker. American millionaires spend whole months and years in Paris and Nice, where they squander the wealth extorted from the workingmen of this country. One beneficial result of European immigration is that with this influx of labor comes from Europe a wind of revolt. Every ship brings new soldiers to the army of Social Revolution. On this land the workmen of the world unite. Here the great decisive battle will be fought. The capitalists are becoming aware of the danger and trying to avert it. Workmen of all nationalities mingle your ranks and fight your aggressors.

On January 4th, 1893, a great mass-meeting on the same subject will take place in Cooper Institute, under the auspices of the "Socialist League" of New York.

Mr. Lorenz Groenlund, author of the "Co-operative Commonwealth" and other valuable works on the social problem, is lecturing at the Socialist League Rooms, in 54 Union Square and Cooper Institute. His first lecture dealing with the broad principles of Socialism, was on the whole satisfactory and impressed very favorably the audience especially as the lecturer emphasized the moral aspect of the Socialistic movement. But his second lecture, dealing with practical proposals, has been for many of us, we regret to say, a perfect delusion. Mr. Groenlund, like many other people of the same turn of mind, wants to reform society by gradual steps, advocates petty schemes of municipalisation and nationalisation, falls back from socialism to nationalism, from nationalism to populism, and from populism to "trustism," if we may be allowed to coin the word. A large part of his second lecture was devoted to showing how the capitalistic system is to a large extent socialistic. If that be true, then we must emphatically say we ought to bid *adieu* to Socialism. Mr. Groenlund is rather fond of historical arguments; we may therefore be permitted to remind him of what Mommsen says of the Romans at the time of the Republic: "while they did not stop the evil at its source, it was to little purpose that the better disposed listened with anxiety to the dull murmur of the swelling flood and worked at ditches and dams." It seems to us that Mr. Groenlund and his like work at ditches and dams and do not try and stop the evil at the source.

Received $5.00 from the Philadelhpia "Solidarity" group. $1.00 from the Paterson group. $1.00 from the French group of New York. $16.00 from the Brooklyn "Solidarity" group (including four quarterly subscriptions). $1.00 from O. Hermann. $0.50 from R. E. la Petra. $1.00, J. Lindall Swan. $1.00, A. Starcke. $1.00, A. Raven. $0.50, J. R. $0.50, Sah. $0.25, J. P. $8.25, Ambos. $0.50, Romm. $5.00 from Sieboid.

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

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

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. 6th and South Sts. and Cor. 3d and Market Sts., Philadelphia.