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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Several comrades in different Cities are co-operating in twos, threes and fours for the purpose of taking 50c. or $1 worth of each issue of SOLIDARITY for gratuitous distribution. This is real help for effective propaganda. The ideas are spread and many regular subscribers are thus secured. A number of individual friends are doing likewise. We should like very much to see this method more generally adopted. By this means trades unions, public meetings, etc., can be practically pamphleted. J. R.

EXTRACT FROM AN UNPUBLISHED POEM,

PATRIOTISM.

Of all the plagues with which the world is cursed,
The plague called patriotism is the worst;
Its barbarous symptoms are an itch for war
That proves contagious where barbarians are,
A blind devotion to the powers that be
Against all change arrayed eternally.
Says one, "This country 's good enough for me"—
Too good, no doubt, for all such fools as he!
Another boasts our land a paradise,
While fools applaud amid their miseries.

Is post or pension in the vote to-day?
His patriot services are yours for pay.
With men so blind 'tis needless to dispute
Who boast a love they live to prostitute;
The powers of Hell did ne'er a State devise,
But found supporters in the patriot guise.

Such patriotism was designed in Hell,
Lest men as brothers on the earth might dwell;
And all the fiends rejoiced aloud to find
A scheme so certain to divide mankind.

R. CUMMINGS.

ALEXANDER BERKMAN.

We have received the following letter from Alexander Berkman written in prison. As will be seen, he is not discouraged, and regards the future with serene confidence. However we may differ as to ways and means of propaganda—no one who reads this letter can doubt that the writer is an earnest who sacrificed himself for a principle—and few will doubt that as time goes on many more Americans will join in Iam's cry "Hurrah for the man who shot Frick!" There will be more Fricks and more Berkmans, and who can tell how many more Iams....

"Dear comrades of SOLIDARITY,

"The year 1892 is gone and 1893 is taking possession instead. But it is not to wish you the common "Happy New Year" that I write these lines, for there is no happiness for one of us in the sole consciousness of the fact that a "new year" is beginning, nor is there any probable, neither possible expectation that the year now beginning will be a happy. Happy! What does this grand and abused low word mean? Does it mean



ALEXANDER BERKMAN.

from the standpoint of a man of mind and soul to begin a year, a happy year, which shall bring more "profit," more happiness at the expense of the unhappiness of his fellow-man; for most people it is *this* wish they nourish always, and on New Year's eve especially; it is the wish to obtain possession of more means of happiness—of money—notwithstanding the fact that this can be obtained only by oppressing their fellow-creatures. "To be happy!" this is the (open and secret) cry of the majority in the present system; be happy at any cost. But who can be happy at a time when *power* (force) means right, and weakness—wrong? When it is a shame to be poor, because the poor is the weaker, and the weaker is always wrong. Who, I ask, can be happy while millions of human beings are poor, wretched and miserable, the same beings who constitute the healthy parts of the social body unit, while the happy, the rich are the sick organs, the pestilence, the danger for the whole social body? Only he can be happy who is ignorant, or is ignorant of his ignorance; the miserable pariah, and those who suck his blood. For us there is no happiness either in the old or in the new year. We shall be happy when there will be no oppressed, we cannot be happy as long as there is even *one* unhappy man in this world; so long as there are so much tears that the world is overflooded by them, so long as the earth remains but a hell for so many millions of men and women, so long we cannot and will not be happy. And in order to make *ourselves* happy (for I am an absolute egotist) I speak of a happiness which consists in the sight and consciousness of the happiness of our fellow-creatures, a happiness that cannot be disturbed by the sight of the unhappiness of others or by the consciousness of its existence; in order to bring about this happiness, we should exert in the new coming year more of our energies than in the past old one in behalf of the great fraternal festivity (*the union of peoples*), in short we should do all in our power to help the present system, which finds itself in a delicate state, to its birth.

"And it is only in this consciousness that we may—to a certain extent—be glad that one year more is gone to the depths of eternity, to be glad that the coming of our Messiah—the Messiah of the wronged—is a year nearer.

"But when we look back to 1892 we must admit that we had many disappointments; disappointments that ought to be attributed to the blind and unreasonable belief in persons, for persons must and will always betray their believers. I advise all revolutionary comrades not to become disappointed, not to lose their individuality by a blind belief and hope in persons.

"My regards to all revolutionaries.

"Long live individuality.

"ALEXANDER BERKMAN.

"7 o'clock morning, 5th January 1893,
Western Penitentiary,
Alleghany City, Pa."

THE WORKING OF THE YEA[illegible] as there are [illegible] asses down

The Bourgeois press is now engaged in minimizing the Panama explosion. We are told that even if all the representatives of the "People" should be proven to be corrupt, the principles of Representative Government would be no less sacred. But the masses are beginning to question the sacredness of a system that produces such results—in fact, the masses are far more disgusted with Politics and Politicians than most so-called Radicals are inclined to believe. It is, in fact, just this disgust that prevents the Social Democrats from attaining the power they aspire to. When our good brethren, the Socialists, appeal to the masses to emancipate themselves by voting the Socialist leaders into office, the answer is: "Oh, you would be just like the others if you had the power." The masses are revolutionary when they act spontaneously; the leaders are reactionary. Still, in spite of all attempts to stifle the rising spirit of discontent or to divert it into the peaceful channels of peaceful agitation, governmentalism in France has received a deadly blow. Rouvier's words—"Government costs money, and as the Deputies did not provide enough, I had to get it where I could, and if I had not acted as I did, you Deputies who now interrupt me would not be sitting where you are"—have not yet had their full effect, and before Rouvier goes to prison he will speak many more such words. Our French comrades are doing their full duty. "*La Revolte*" especially is making hay while the sun shines.

Italy seems about to develop a scandal that can be no less far reaching than the Panama outbreak.

ITALIAN BANK SCANDAL.

MONZILLI SAYS IF HE GOES TO JAIL, MANY OTHERS WILL GO WITH HIM.

ROME, Jan. 30.—Signor A. Monzilli, director of the Bureau of Industry and Commerce, who was arrested on Friday afternoon for complicity in the bank scandals, gave an interview to a reporter on [illegible]or Friday morning.

"If I am arrested," he said, "others of high standing will be arrested, too. I can assure you I shall have Cabinet Ministers and ex-Ministers to keep me company in jail. In 1889, I inspected the books of the banks now involved in the scandals, and I found serious irregularities in the book-keeping both of the National Bank and the Bank of Rome. I warned the Government that the National Bank would collapse sooner or later, unless drastic reforms were undertaken at once. My official superiors, however, compelled me to make a report exactly contradicting the facts as I had found them and stated them."

Signor Monzilli acknowledged that in the case of the Bank of Rome his prophecies had not yet proved true, although future developments, he said, would justify them. The persistence of the reports that Signor Lacava, Minister of Industry and commerce, who managed the last elections for the Government, is implicated in the scandals, has led everybody to expect that he will resign soon, and his resignation, Signor Monzilli said, would be followed by startling exposures.

Monzilli also asserted that Rattazzi, Minister of the Royal Household, some time ago borrowed 1,375,000 francs from the Bank of Rome, which he subsequently repaid. This statement has been confirmed from several sources.

Signor Monzilli gave the reporter a list of Ministers and ex-Ministers who had been bribed or subsidized in various ways by the banks now in trouble, and earnestly requested that, in case he be arrested, the list be published at once.

In Germany the socialists have as usual assisted the Government in establishing "order." The Saar strike has been quelled, the revolting slaves been driven back to their tasks, and the Social Democrats who pronounced it a hopeless and foolish project from the beginning are now quite content. These people who only a few months ago solemnly declared themselves to be revolutionary socialists, and who illustrate their revolutionary character by denouncing and berating every revolutionary movement of the people, are digging their own graves. Actions speak louder than words, and the masses will judge them by their actions. Even in Germany the real revolutionists are active, and the social Democratic leaders will not escape intelligent d hundred criticism.

od cause of England, comrade Merlino writes: "The the movement here is in much better shape than I had hoped for." The masses in England still starve in silence. But thanks to a few men mainly of the Social Democratic Federation a small number have been aroused to that degree that they make their miseries public: At a recent meeting, a comrade urged his hearers not to pay rent, such propaganda tells. The yeast is working. In this country the surface is quiet, but it is an ominous quiet. Everywhere the fear of serious labor troubles next summer is expressed, and it is almost certain that we are on the eve of a great conflict on the old lines of trades unionism. This conflict will be fought with a clear understanding of its true aspect on the part of the capitalists; blindly and stupidly on the part of the laborers. It will teach laborers what is obvious to all clear sighted observers now—that a strike is virtually an act of rebellion against the Government. Free contract is still the theoretical basis of our industrial system. As a matter of fact, the laborers have repudiated it, and insist on contract between the capitalist and the labor organization, denying the right of the individual workingman to underbid his fellows. The capitalists who are the Government here more exclusively than anywhere else have taken advantage of this fact to manipulate the Courts so that to-day Labor Organizations are legally criminal conspiracies. But Judicial decisions, although very handy things in a country where the superstition of Law is still supreme, do not execute themselves, and the capitalists have provided the necessary force. Our militia, carefully organized and disciplined for this purpose, is to-day the real foundation of our industrial system. The workingmen are beginning to suspect this; next summer will probably convince them, for if, as now seems likely, there should be a series of great strikes during the progress of the world's fair, the military will be employed not only to suppress disorder but to keep the great railroads running. Pinkertonism was destroyed as soon as the people of Homestead met them in actual combat. The militia is really as powerless as the Pinkertons; their real strength is in the superstitious romance for Law and a Government which now enslaves the masses. It is possible that next summer may witness a fight between the people and the soldiers; if there is, no laboring man will remain in the militia without being stigmatized as a traitor to his class. This would be a great advance; it would be, in fact, the assurance of victory. Let every anarchist and every honest socialist preach resistance to armed force as a duty, and the year '93 may yet be a memorable one in our annuals.

OUR CHICAGO LETTER.

What will the Governor of Illinois do with reference to the three victims of class hatred confined in the penitentiary? A few weeks since it was reported and quite generally believed, that Governor Fifer would grant a "pardon" to Neebe a day or two before Thanksgiving Day; but the day passed, and the Governor did nothing; he was interviewed by representatives of Chicago papers, but gave no sign either of approval or disapproval. The probable truth is that the few millionaires, at whose command our friends were incarcerated and have since been confined in the living tomb, as I verily believe, had not given full consent for Neebe's liberation. What avails the long lists of names petitioning Executive clemency while the few real masters continue to withold their assent?

* * *

But now there is another rumor that Fifer will seek to win enduring fame by granting a free pardon to Neebe and a commutation of sentence to Fielden. On the 10th of January, 1893, Altgeld was inaugurated Governor, and it may be that some sort of an arrangement has been effected between him and Fifer and the never-to-be-ignored millionaire dictators, by which Oscar Neebe will be tardily restored to liberty. But this is as much as we can look for at present, and even this will be deemed so much of a concession by the ruling class that we will be expected to almost bow the knee in gratitude. Governor-Elect Altgeld, however, although rich, is very much of a man, and from him we may sometimes look for tardy justice.

* * *

I stood on the platform of the Elevated railway, waiting for a train. Thirty feet below me a large number of laborers were working upon the foundation of what was soon to be an imposing edifice. Rough, coarse looking fellows, and roughly dressed they were. Here and there they moved about, some digging, others wheeling dirt, still others manipulating heavy steel beams and rails, all guided and directed by the hoarse commands of several fur-capped, warmly clad superintendents and foremen. On the street, overlooking the excavation, stood a fine equipage. The driver, with his high hat and cape-overcoat, the stylish brougham, the sleek horses all indicated the private turn-out of people of wealth. Near the carraige stood a small group of well dressed men, earnestly conversing together, and evidently very much interested in the operations going on below them. Across the street from the spot where the building was to be erected stood a large brick edifice. A high board fence surrounded it, broken only by a large double gate under a wide arch, the curve of which was lettered with an inscription which owing to the distance, I could not make out. In the center of the building, facing the street, and high above the ground was a deep nich, in which stood the stone figure of a woman. Then I knew that the great building was a convent. And gazing thus upon the scene in the bright December sunshine, I fell to musing.

Involuntarily I formed a connection in my mind between the laborers, the rich men watching them, and the nunnery opposite. The poor workingmen were, no doubt, devout catholics. Their cunning spiritual guides had little difficulty in persuading them that their souls' salvation depended upon their liberality toward "Mother Church," and while they thus robbed their poor dupes in the name of religion, they taught them humility, subservience and submission to the rich and powerful. Numbed and cowed by the baleful influence of their priests and their religion they became easy, unsuspecting victims of soulless corporations and greedy capitalists, to whom they voluntarily gave their strenght and their skill in return for a few scraps.

And as I continued to gaze upon the scene, the problem of how to rid these poor ignorant focis of their superstition, how they could be brought to see the gigantic fraud and robbery daily practiced upon them, how to teach them to claim their own and to secure it. This mighty problem seemed to grow and expand until I fancied myself a little speck in a vast ocean of perplexity. And with a heavy heart I boarded the train for my destination.

* * *

The other evening, while on my way home, I shared my seat on the train with a fat, pudgy little man with a very red face and white cravat. He had a bundle of small leaflets and tracts in his hand, and politely handed me one with the remark that he thought I might want something to read. Perhaps, as a consistent Anarchist, I ought to have indignantly torn that tract in pieces, thrown it on the floor, and informed the giver that I had something better to do than waste time reading such trash. But I did nothing of the kind. Instead I used cunning and a certain amount of dissimulation. I thanked the gentleman, carefully read the tract through—it was an exhortation for sinners to repent and enjoy the blessings of a heavenly paradise—and turning to him I said: "I suppose, sir, you firmly believe in this beautiful place of rest and peace." "Oh yes," he replied; "Our Lord has said: "He that believeth in me shall have everlasting life." "Well," I said musingly, "it is a comforting thing to believe th after all the suffering and misery here, some of us m reasonably hope for compensation hereafter; a I suppose you really believe the good will enj perfect immunity there from sickness, povert crime, and the inhumanity of man?" "Certainly, he rejoined. "The Scriptures assure us that i heaven there are no alms-houses, no jails, no courts, no judges or juries, no police, soldiers or guardians of the law; that, in fact, there is no law, no legislators, no governments of any kind; that private property is not recognized; that in fact there are no property rights; that each man is a law unto himself, and the aim of each is to do good to his fellows; am I correct?" I looked squarely at my companion. He was evidently somewhat puzzled to make me out, but replied, "Yes, you are undoubtedly correct; we are promised——" "Yes, it is a glorious picture," I interrupted, "but why make its realization in the dim, uncertain future, in a place which we do not really know to exist?" "Now," I continued, I obliged you by reading your tract, it is only fair you should read mine;" and I took from my pocket Malatesta's pamphlet on "Anarchy." "This is my doctrine," I said as I handed it to him, "and I can assure you I take as much comfort in that as you do in your religion. Read that pamphlet; it will teach you that all the good conditions which you ascribe to your heaven in the vague future are possible right here on earth and now. We Anarchists do not believe in poverty or crime, or war, or policemen, or Government; we believe they can be abolished on earth, and will be; we want a heaven here without waiting until after we die." He was amazed. He looked curiously at the book and then at me. Finally he said, "But upon what do you base your assumption of such a condition? We have the Bible and——" "My dear sir," I broke in, "we base our assumption upon the teaching of history, philosophy and science. We study human nature; we learn the motives of human conduct and the aim of human existence. We believe with Irving that men, under proper conditions, if left to themselves would rather do right than wrong; with Emerson that Government is an evil, to be abolished as rapidly as possible. Our system of philosophy is based upon reason and research, your religion upon faith and blind belief. We aim to enlighten——"; but here the train stopped at the stranger's station, and with a hurried hand-shake we parted.

WM. HOLMES.

LETTER FROM ENGLAND.

THE SCOTCH ANARCHISTS' CONFERENCE.

On Monday, 2nd January, in the Argyle Coffee Rooms, Dundee, the Scotch Anarchists held a Conference. Delegates to the number of 25 were present from Dundee, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Haddington and Aberdeen. The meeting discussed the advisability of issuing an Anarchist paper for Scotland, but although it was considered that Anarchy had got a firm footing and was progressing rapidly in Scotland, it was not yet strong enough to support a paper of its own. It was agreed therefo to support *Freedom* more vigorously than a to suggest to Freedom Group that *Freedo*

be issued as early in the month as possible. Comrade Burgoyne (Glasgow) suggested that the Scotch Anarchists should take a more active interest in the paper and occasionally contribute articles to its pages. Campbell (Edinburgh) thought that *Freedom* might pay a little more attention to revolutionary methods of realising our ideal. McFarlane (Aberdeen) also suggested that *Freedom* should be asked to allow a column for "Scotch notes." It was agreed to get as many lecturers from the South as possible, among the names mentioned being Kropotkin, Carpenter and Agnes Henry. A common fund was started for the purpose of making an exchange of speakers more easily brought about, the Secretaries agreeing to get a list of the names of those speakers and send them to the various groups. It was also agreed to start a fund to issue leaflets on the Anarchist position, the first of which to be a leaflet demanding the release of the Walsall Anarchists. It was decided to question M.P.'s on the same subject, and to hold Demonstrations in the spring, for the purpose of forcing the injustice done to our comrades on the notice of the public. Regarding the Trade Union movement it was recommended that all Anarchists who at present were not T. U.'s shall at once become so, and take an active interest in their unions, at the same time endeavoring to propagate our ideal among the Unionists. In view of the fact that as yet the Anarchist movement in Great Britian was young and its work was of an educational character, it was thought best to entirely ignore the political Socialists. With reference to the Anarchist Dynamitards some discussion took place, several comrades thinking that these actions were not only justifiable but beneficial to the movement, others the reverse; but all were agreed that Society itself was responsible for its "wild beasts." It was decided to hold another Conference next year in Edinburgh. The whole proceedings were marked by the utmost unanimity, although of course there was no chairman to tell the comrades what was right and what was wrong.... The Conference lasted about five hours, and little time was wasted in discussing abstract problems—all the subjects under discussion being of an eminently practical character, and were dealt with, as will be seen by the foregoing report in a practical fashion. Considerable excitement was created at the Tay Bridge Station previous to the delegates leaving Dundee. Comrade Librau, surrounded by the boys, sang the Carmagnole in French, and quickly gathered a large crowd. He was stopped in the middle of singing the Song of the workers by the Railway officers. However, the Glasgow boys, who seemed to be adepts at getting up crowds, went into their carriage and then Librau again sang the Carmagnole, this time with a liberty cap on his head. When he finished, comrade Joe Burgoyne appeared at the carriage window and addresed the crowd in rare style. He told them about the object of the Conference and said that the Anarchists were working for the time when the workers would be relieved of the burdens of Landlordism and Capitalism. Cheers were again and again given with great force by the comrades for Anarchy and the Revolution. The Conference has created quite a sensation, almost every paper reporting it and making comments on it.

In London the Anarchist movement is in full swing. The Anarchists have made themselves very conspicuous in the agitation of the unemployed. They have published and distributed by thousands a manifesto, *What is to be done?* and have held and are holding a large number of meetings. The Commonweal group, is holding weekly meetings, on Wednesday nights, at 6 Windmill street; and Freedom group has arranged a series of lectures at the Grafton Hall for the establishment of an Educational Club in the East End. All these meetings are very well attended and testify to the spreading of the Anarchist principles in the great metropolis of capitalism.

S. MERLINO.

A BOURGEOIS PROPHET.

The Hon. J. J. Ingalls, ex-Senator and recognized political sage, has written down his "explanation" of the defeat of the Republican Party at the recent national election, as observed by him, particularly in the West. He says "there was a coalition of the Democracy with the agrarian and communistic elements, whose panacea for existing evils is the repudiation of all debts, public and private, the abolition of taxation, the forcible redistribution of property, and the reorganization of society by the degradation of the prosperous and educated to the level of the unsuccessful and the ignorant."

"The verdict against the tariff was not because it had unjustly increased the burdens of the poor, but because it had made some men rich.

"The railroads are hated not because they have imposed unjust burdens on the people, but because they have made Jay Gould and Dillon and Vanderbilt rich.

"Universal education and increased opportunity for travel and observation have multiplied desires and ambitions much more rapidly than they have multiplied the means of their gratification.

"The struggle for life will become harder, competition more relentless, and the weaker will go down.

"The leaders of the Democracy have no sympathy with the axioms of Anarchy. They have as much at stake as the Republicans, and in the final contest between the conservative and the destructive forces of the Republic, *which is inevitable in the near future*, the coalition will obliterate partisanship."

We quote these remarks to show that some of the exploiters of labor have a very fair knowledge of industrial conditions. Mr. Ingalls is not more learned or wise than the average of his class—he is only a little more outspoken, for political reasons; he is ambitious to serve as a leader of those with whom he elects to cast his fortunes. He aspires to be the recognized champion of "vested rights" in the coming struggle, which he boldly states is "*inevitable in the near future.*" The whole tenor of his article, which is too lengthy to reproduce in SOLIDARITY in its entirety, but of which we give the gist, shows an effort to present the case of the *bourgeoisie* in its most plausible aspect; in order to enlist sympathy and support for its defense! Thus he cunningly states that railroads (poor inanimate things!) are "hated," not because they have imposed unjust burdens, but because they have made a few men rich; and with equal cunning weaves a tissue of statements, setting up the capitalistic man of straw that the "stuffing" is to be knocked out of the "axioms of Anarchy" are made out by this diddler to be: "the repudiation of all debts, public and private," "the redistribution of property," "the reorganization of society by the degradation of the prosperous and educated to the level of the unsuccessful and the ignorant," and so forth. He finds justification for railroad monopoly in the fact that transportation of commodities is *cheaper* at present than before the great railroad system was developed; justification for Corporation monopoly in that *prices* may have been lowered a little in the course of time; justification for all the wrongs and evils of which complaint is made in the fact that the mass of the people have been apparently permitted to participate in an infinitely small part of the gains of advancing civilization. It is a beautiful intellectual symposium for Anarchists.

"Universal education and increased opportunity for travel and observation have multiplied desires and ambitions much more rapidly than they have multiplied the means of their gratification." Not so! The "means of their gratification" are only withheld from those who created these very means, by the very monopolists whom Mr. Ingalls glorifies."

Let us place the *Revolutionists'* ideal parallel with Mr. Ingalls social order: No "redistribution" of property, but the abolishing of all so-called property and property rights, which can only exist by the co-existence of *propertyless wrongs*.

All debts, evidences of past exploitation and imposition upon ignorance, must be abrogated without compensation to the mis-called creditors. In the Co-operative Commonwealth this does not destroy an iota of value or wealth. No taxation: corollary of no government. Reorganization of society by the "leveling up" of the exploited to the highest possible standard of civilization attained in our age.

The struggle of life to be made easier; competition to be for excellence and therefore pleasurable; the weaker to be uplifted, and society to be organized in consonance with the demonstrable fact that its productive capacity is superior to its consumptive capacity.

It is true, the "leaders" of the Democracy have no sympathy with these aspirations. They have as much at stake as the leaders of the Republicans, and in the final contest the coalition *will* obliterate partisanship between and among THE LEADERS. They will fight in the same ranks—and let us hope hang on the same gallows.

HINTS FOR STUDENTS OF ANARCHISM.

Anarchism is commonly believed to be either a form of crime or merely an emotional movement of a few soft-hearted and soft-headed people. Very few know the scientific movement which is behind it. Anarchism is but the outcome of the scientific evolution of Socialism. When Louis Blanc made his socialistic experiment of the National Workshops, there was a man who predicted its failure and explained why it was bound to fail. That man was Proudhon, the founder of Anarchism. When nowadays Mr. Spencer and other conservatives object to "the coming slavery," they do not justify thereby the maintenance of present injustices and monopolies, but only prompt us to look to another more radical solution of social problems. Progress in Social science fortifies the position of Anarchists. There was a time when the Constitutional fictions, expounded in such magnificent language by Mr. Gladstone in a classical tract, formed the whole contents of political science. People were delighted to hear of their own sovereignty, of "the balance of powers," the Legislative, Executive and Judiciary checking and controlling each other, of the King reigning but not ruling, of the Queen "fountain of all honors," etc. Now all this belongs to prehistoric politics. We know, nowadays, that the Government is the resultant of economic inequalities, that parties represent interests not principles, that the three powers combine instead of competing, that no system of election can give the people at large a real part in the Government. The criticism of the representative or Parliamentary system by Loverdays and many more recent writers in France, by Carlyle and Spencer in England, by the great Humboldt, Herder, Max Nordau, etc., in Germany, by Ellero in Italy, points to a newer ideal of socialistic society than the old State-Communistic Utopia or the recent pan-nationalization schemes.

One branch of the political problem is the question of criminality. Here again modern researches have changed our former views. The investigations by Mr. Lombroso and his followers of the causes of crime have shown that social factors are paramount. As Quetelet said, "Society first creates the criminal—then punishes the crime." Un-and slaves—critics of the Italian school have others are inclined to fact that there is much unrepressed crimin... or antisocial conduct in the capitalistic system, the criminality which comes under the notice of courts of law being the effect of or the reaction against the vastly greater criminality carried on under the protection of the law. Lastly the experience of different systems of punishment has proved that violence is no remedy, that coercion and revenge do not reform, but that the only cure for crime would be better social conditions, under which all men would have an opportunity of working and living in harmony with his kin.

Studies and researches in the historical evolution of Property, Government and Family have changed our ideas on those subjects. The belief that these institutions were coeval with mankind and would last forever has been shown to be fallacious. The State has been shown to be the creature of private property, and even social-democratic writers like Fredrick Engels have admitted that its reign will end with that of private property.

Classical political economy—and with it market doctrine—has collapsed. The theory of value, which Marx borrowed from Ricardo, cannot be maintained in the light of recent researches by the positive school of economists: Cliffe, Leslie and Sidgwick in England, Kohn, Schmoller and others in Germany, Wieser in Austria, and Simon Satten in this country. Whoever has read the article in the Encyclopedia Britannica on Political Economy by Ingram (published also in book form) will realize to a great extent the changes in economic thought which have taken place in the last few years. Criticism is no longer limited to the distribution of wealth, the organization of labor, the motives of economic conduct: the influence of consumption on the efficiency of labor have been investigated and as a consequence we are now longing for new social arrangements, founded not on competition, but on solidarity of interests. Sociology is still in its infancy, but two tendencies may be discerned in recent sociological works. First a tendency to abandon the atomistic view of society taken by individualists of the Spencer school, second a tendency to emphasize a law of co-operation or mutual aid, in opposition to the struggle for

existence. We might also refer to a new system or view of ethics, which a young French writer, Guyau, has expounded in several works, notably in "Morals without Obligations."

Enough, however, has been said to show that the great current of modern thought runs towards Socialist-Anarchism as the only possible solution of the Social problem. S. MERLINO.

THE CONFERENCE.

SOLIDARITY'S modest proposal for a conference in Chicago during the World's Fair has certainly fulfilled its first purpose—that of arousing discussion. The "Anarchist" of New York, the German organ of the autonomists has devoted considerable space to the question—and given its enthusiastic endorsement. Various comrades have written in commendation of the project and one in opposition.—John Most in *Freiheit* has pronounced solemn anathema upon the project and especially upon Comrade Merlino. We translate passages from the remarkable production.

"Finally the proposed Congress is to determine in what manner the propaganda in the English language can be best promoted. The answer has long been obvious—as long as we cannot succeed in converting four or five English-speaking native workingmen in every large city of the country to the cause of Anarchy, it is absurd to issue English newspapers. Just think! An Italian is imported from England that he may publish an English newspaper here in America, that is read(?) only by German and Jewish comrades. Such undertakings are mere child's play. Every cent that is devoted to them is thrown out of the window. The German comrades are to be virtually roped into endangering our own undertakings to vitalize such fantastic visionary schemes. Because we could not yield to such demands we have been attacked and maligned and denounced in the most shameful manner, and now, the Congress (proposed by intriguers) is to fix the matter finally, "We say 'hands off."

SOLIDARITY was founded for the discussion of social questions—from the Anarchist standpoint—and has no room for personalities. Saverio Merlino had left for England when the above screed [illegible] Marx, Lasalle, Et his work in the country speaks for [illegible]orris, Caffier[illegible] hund[illegible] ...ill grant that he is an Italian—as to the "Languant," etc. etc., the comrades will judge.

The comrades who have hitherto supported SOLIDARITY know now that John Most considers their contributions as endangering "Our own" that is, John Most's undertakings, and as mere waste, those who have been influenced by his former indorsement when he regarded SOLIDARITY as a laudable undertaking, will, if they agree with his present opinion, withdraw their support, and if the funds are not fourthcoming there will be no SOLIDARITY. With these words we take a final leave of John Most unless he will consent to discuss principles in the language customary among decent people.

Now as to the Conference. Of course the decisions of the comrades, if they come together, will have no authority. Anarchists have neither the desire nor the power to inflict penalties on comrades who dissent from any opinion held by the majority. Anarchy is not a fixed and settled cult. Its principles are not *settled* in Congresses either at Pittsburgh or at Chicago, nor even in *Freiheit*, but are continually subject to investigation, reflection and discussion—to individual judgment and consideration. But, if we had the Anarchist commune fully established to-morrow it is obvious, since we must work together, that we would have to consult together about our work. The small groups would discuss their affairs continually, larger groups would meet less frequently—and for matters affecting a whole country or the whole world—conferences of delegates from various groups would be a necessity, the decisions of such conferences would have just the authority that they were entitled to by their reasonableness. Whenever honest people come to discuss real vital questions, they almost always reach just and sensible conclusions. Now just so with the proposed conference.

We must work together in the propaganda, it is evident that our work is hindered by lack of common understanding; some of the differences that separate us are no doubt vital and cannot be removed—but many minor differences of opinion would yield to personal discussion, all would benefit from the enlarged outwork—for each would add to the experience of all—and in many practical questions practical decisions could be reached.

Comrade Westcott of Chicago writes approvingly of the proposed conference. We have also received a letter stating that after a thorough discussion at a joint-meeting of different groups in Chicago it had been decided to endorse the project of a conference. This letter has been mislaid and we must beg the comrade to write again—a fit of sickness is the Editor's only excuse. JOHN H. EDELMANN.

GRAND INTERNATIONAL

Concert and Ball

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE

SOLIDARITY GROUP

Will be held at

WEBSTER HALL

On Monday Evening February 27th, 1893

TICKETS, Admitting Gentleman and Ladies, - 25 Cents.

Proceeds to be devoted to the Propaganda.

The Groups that desire to take part in the 18th-of-March Commemoration, which will take place at Clarendon Hall on that date, are requested to send delegates next Friday, Feb. 10, to No. 209 East 5th Street, to appoint a committee. Proceedings will begin at 8.30 P. M.

The Solidarity Entertainment promises to become an eminent one. The following persons have given us their names as assistants in the concert: Mme. Roussoto, Soprano, pupil of the St. Petersburg Conservatory, Mr. Palesti, Tenor, and Mr. Seidman, Baritone. A few other soloists will yet follow. Friends should urge the distrittribution of tickets as the time draws near.

We desire to avoid as much as possible all polemic discussions in our columns. Correspondents will therefore greatly oblige us by availing themselves of the facilities afforded by the United States mails for the exchange of views of such character between each other.

Received.

Mor., 75c.; C. F., Newark, $2.00; J. K., $6.00; D., 50c.; S., 25c.; M., 25c.; S—z, 25c.; M—n, 25c.; R—m, 25c.; H—l, 10c.; N. G., 10c.; G., 50c.; B., 50c.; S., 10c.; N., 10c.; S., 10c.; R., 20c.; S., 30c.; M., 10c.; L., 25c.; D., 30c.; J., 20c.; K., 50c.

Received the following: Lindell Swan, $1; A. Starcke, $1; G. Atzger, $1; Himmler, $16; Arbeiter Bund, $4; A. M. Erdlindo, $1; Notkin, $4; Hughes, 26c.; Schulman, 30c.; J. Morton, 50c.; Schwarz, Boston, $2; Merlino, $6; Karl Masur, $1.50; C. Doering, $3; Dr. Nichols, 75c.; R. Hoffman, $2; A. Lellevere, $1; Chas. Levy, $1; C. Feige, $1.25; R. Hahnewald, $1; R. L. Siff, $1. French Group, $4.00; N. B., 50c.; Newark Press Club, $1.00.

Received: Sam. K., $0.50; Spanish Group, Tampa Fla., $15.00; Spanish Group, Parsons' Club, B'lyn, N. Y., $2.00; Solidarity Group, B'lyn, $3.00; Newark Group, $1.00; S. H. Bell, $0.50; A. Dumas, $0.75; Jas. Sparks, $100; J. K., $2.00; Pittsburg and Allegheny Groups, $5.00; A. K. (Potsdam), $0.50; Chas. F., Los Angeles, $1.25; H. G—s, $1.00, and R. H., $1.00.

Through S. Gordon. New Haven, Conn; E. B., $1.00; S. F., $0.50; F—g, $0.50.

—From Creston, Ia.: Ch. L., 50c.; N. E. T., 50c.

From Chicago: H. F., 25c.; M. H., 25c.; J. W., 25c.; J. F., 25c.; C. O., 25c.; De Riviers, 50c.; M. Ch., 25c.; D. S., 0.25; S. M., 25c.; N. L., 25c.; M. K., $1.00; Collection, $2.10.

JEFFERSON RAY, Sec'y.

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

OUR PENSION ROLL.

On the 1st of last January there was on the pension roll fully 1,000,000 names.

The appropriation for the payment of pensions which Congress is expected to make at the coming session is $186,000,000.

These figures are startling.

They show that the pensioners are in the proportion of nearly *one in twelve to the voters* of the whole Union. And this for a war that ended more than a quarter of a century ago!

They show that the cost of the pension list absorbs more than 40 per cent. of the nation's revenues.

The pension list costs $120,000,000 more than the entire expenses of the Government in the year before the war. It has increased $160,000,000 since 1877, when the war had been ended a dozen years.

The number of pensioners on the 1st of January almost equalled the regular standing armies of France and Germany combined, which contain 1,046,000 men.

The cost of the list exceeds by $73,000,000 the annual cost of the great standing army of overtaxed Germany. It exceeds by $56,000,000 the cost of the standing army of France.

Under the reckless ingenuity of rapacious claim agents and the partisan zeal of a corrupt Pension Commissioner the list is increasing at the rate of $350,000 a month. If not checked the cost for 1894 will reach the enormous sum of $200,000,000!

THE PROPAGANDA.

Books, Pamphlets, etc., recommended by and obtainable from SOLIDARITY, for the purpose of spreading revolutionary ideas, economics and sentiment among the working people.

SPECIAL RATES FOR QUANTITY ORDERS from clubs, groups, associations or individuals. Address orders and correspondence to JEFFERSON RAY, Secretary, P. O. Box 2618, New York City.

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

WHY GOVERNMENT AT ALL?—A Philosophical Examination of Human Government, involving an Analysis of the Constituents of Society, and a Consideration of the Principles and Purposes of all Human Association, by William H. Van Ornum. Price, 50 cents.

PAMPHLETS BY PETER (Prince) KROPOTKIN.—"Anarchist Communism, its Basis and Principles," "The Commune of Paris" and "Anarchist Morality." Five cents each.

PAMPHLETS BY ENRICO MALATESTA.—"A Talk about Anarchist Communism betweem Two Workmen" and "Anarchy." Five cents each.

PAMPHLETS BY WILLIAM MORRIS.—"Useful Work v. Useles Toil," "True and False Society," Chants for Socialists;" five cents each. "Art and Socialism," "Aims of Art;" fifteen cents each.

MISCELLANEOUS.

"THE POLITY OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT,"—By Victor Drury." Twenty cents.

AN EIGHT HOURS DAY WITH TEN HOURS PAY; HOW TO GET IT AND HOW TO KEEP IT.—By James Leatham. Second Edition, 48 pp. The most exhaustive pamphlet on the eight hours question yet published. Deals with all the most recent noteworthy objections. Five cents.

"THE ONLY THING THAT WILL DO.—By one of the unemployed (James Leatham). 32 pp. A clear constructive statement of Communal Collectivism. "The author evinces a wide knowledge of his subject, and his style is clear and vigorous."—*People's Journal*. Five cents.

THE FACTORY HELL.—By Edward Aveling and Eleanor Aveling. Five cents.

THE RIGHTS OF LABOR ACCORDING TO JOHN RUSKIN.—By T. Barclay. Five cents.

ANTI-STATIST COMMUNIST MANIFESTO.—By J. Lane. Five cents.

GOVERNMENT ANALYZED.—By John R. Kelso, A. M. Published by the widow of the author, Etta Dunbar Kelso, Longmont, Colorado, 1892. Substantially bound in cloth. Price, $1.50.

About four months ago the *Chicago Freedom* suspended publication. At the request of Mrs. L. Parsons, we supplied the subscribers with Solidarity. We had hoped that many would renew their subscriptions, but few have done so as yet.

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