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.

NOTICE.

The Solidarity Group will hold a series of Public Meetings at 54 Union Square, on Sunday Evenings, beginning next Sunday, February 26. J. H. Edelmann will deliver an address. All are invited. Open debate.

THE MEN OF ENGLAND.

By Percy Bysshe Shelley.

Men of England, wherefore plough
For the lords who lay you low?
Wherefore weave with toil and care
The rich robes your tyrants wear.

Wherefore feed, and clothe, and save,
From the cradle to the grave,
Those ungrateful drones who would
Drain your sweat—nay drink your blood!

Wherefore, bees of England, forge
Many a weapon, chain, and scourge,
That these stingless drones may spoil
The forced produce of your toil.

Have ye leisure, comfort, calm,
Shelter, food, love's gentle balm;
Or what is it ye buy so dear
With your pain and with your fear.

The seed ye sow another reaps;
The wealth ye find another keeps;
The robes ye weave another wears;
The arms ye forge another bears.

Sow seed—but let no tyrant reap;
Find wealth—let no imposter heap;
Weave robes—let not the idle wear;
Forge arms, in your defense to bear.

☞ Next number of SOLIDARITY will give to its readers a supplement (consisting of two more pages), being a declaration of the principles of Anarchism.

Considering this as the best means for the spreading of our ideas among the masses, we expect the comrades to avail themselves of the opportunity and make the most of it. The price of the supplement (separate) is to be $3.00, and together, with the current issue, $5.00 per thousand. Groups as well as individuals are requested to forward their orders in time.

An International Demonstration to commemorate the Rise and Fall of the Commune of Paris of 1871, called by the Solidarity, Les Egaux, Radical Arbeiter Bund, Solidarietà, Samospráva and Berzvládi groups and by Parsons Club, Brooklyn, will take place on the 18th of March, at 8 P. M. sharp, at Clarendon Hall, 116 and 118 East 13th Street. Addresses will be made in different languages. At 10 o'clock there will be a concert and ball. Admission, 10 cents.

WHY IS IT?

Why is it that the American workmen have allowed their land to be stolen from them, giant monopolies to be established in their midst, and a corrupt Government to grow on their shoulders without revolting?

Is it ignorance? We say no. A glance at the history of Labor movement in the United States will show us that the American worker has always been conscious of his birthrights and of the attempts which were made to rob him of them.

The first Labor party, which had birth during the administration of John Quincy Adams, in 1825, through its organs, "The Workingman's Advocate," "Daily Sentinel" and "Young America," promulgated the following platform:

1. The right of man to the soil. "Vote yourself a farm."
2. Down with monopolies, especially the United States Bank, then in its full swing.
3. Freedom of public lands.
4. Homesteads made inalienable.
5. Abolition of all laws for the collection of debts.
6. A general bankrupt law.
7. A lien of the laborer upon his own work for his wages.
8. Abolition of imprisonment for debt.
9. Equal rights for women with men in all respects.
10. Abolition of chattel slavery and wage slavery.
11. Land limitation to 150 acres; no person after the passage of this law to become possessed of more than that amount of land. But when a land monopolist died his heirs were to take each his legal number of acres and be compelled to sell the overplus, using the proceeds as they pleased.
12. Mails in the United States to run on the Sabbath.

This was certainly not a distinct Socialist or Anarchist programme, but the right of man to the soil, the abolition of monopolies, and the abolition of wage slavery were pretty advanced ideas for that time and show that the workman had a clear presentiment of what to expect from the development of the capitalistic system.

Nor is the preamble and platform of principles of the Knights of Labor less explicit. We read there that the object of the order is "to secure to the workers the full enjoyment of the wealth they create; sufficient leisure in which to develop their intellectual, moral and social faculties; all the benefits, recreation and pleasures of association; in a word, to enable them to share in the gains and honors of advancing civilization."

Other Labor organizations have no less radical platforms, and the preamble of the Progressive Unions read like a passage from the Communistic Manifesto of 1847. There it is stated that the capitalistic system leads necessarily to the accumulation of wealth in a few hands, and to the impoverishment of the workers; that the Government is the military power of Capitalism, and that to destroy the evils of the present system a Social Revolution is quite unavoidable. Of course the policy of those Associations does not agree with their professed principles; but we only refer to the latter in order to show that the workmen are not ignorant of their rights, though they may be (and undoubtedly are) ignorant of the ways and means to enforce them.

Certainly the Homestead people, though perhaps the most conservative section of workers, were brought to claim a right to the mill, where they were employed; they very distinctly saw that either the mill belongs to the men, or the men belong to the mill, they, their homes, their children, their savings. And what is true of the Homestead mill, is true of all mills, factories, workshops and farms of the country. Who then can say that the people are kept in bondage because they are ignorant? Who can say that the workmen do not know that the railroad companies, the coal combines, the elevator men, the Tammany rings, the Pennsylvania Manufacturers' Club, etc., are nothing else than bands of thieves, and that they, the producers, are robbed at daylight by [illegible] organized thieves?

They know it—we all know it. We of all workmen of the world have not the excuse of ignorance. Why is it then that we do not revolt?

It is perhaps because our Government is too strong? This plea may be allowed to our brothers in Europe, not to American workmen. There is no Government in this country to really oppose a united people. Government in this country has no military character. It is not so much a military as an industrial Government. Its chief object is to provide capitalists with opportunities for plunder. If we review the history of this country, we find the Government distributing with a rare generosity and an even more uncommon ingeniosity the natural ressources of the country and the products of the toil of masses of people to a few highway robbers. The Government is the big monopoly, the big trust. As to a military power, whatever power of that sort the Government now wields, comes from the working people—not in the sense in which this is true even in Europe, *i. e.*, that the workmen fill the ranks of the police and of the army, but in a truer sense, that is, that every time that what is called a disturbance has to be quenched or a strike put down, workmen have to be called to form the repressing force (militia), and they are called, and they go, and they are proud of it—they think they discharge a duty towards the community—a community which does not exist except in their own imagination—because there can be no community where there are masters and slaves—and such masters and such slaves as there are in this country.

Of course, we speak here of the Govern[illegible] Government as it is now, not as it will be in a few years. No doubt, if the workmen will allow things to go on as they are going now, the time is very near at hand when they will have a military Government in this country such as those of Europe. In consequence of the Homestead strike, the Governor of Pennsylvania, who was supposed to be a great friend of the working classes, said that if the militia could not be relied upon to put down strikes, they ought to have a standing army in the States. And no doubt, if public opinion grows more and more unfavorable to Pinkerton and other private police, th[illegible] be abolished, yes, but at the same time they wi[illegible] olidated into a legal police force, which will be the more brutal and arbitrary, as it will stand in no fear of public opinion. Workmen, beware! This is the moment to take decisive steps and free ourselves from the capitalistic system, or it will be too late!

Besides the 32,000 drilled and disciplined Pinkerton thugs, there are already 100,000 National Guards, having street-riot drills, and armed with Gatling-guns especially constructed to mow down mobs; and forts are constructed in the very hearts of our great cities for the protection of millionaires.

Yet, neither the 32,000 Pinkerton thugs, nor the 100,000 National Guards, nor double or triple that number of troops could oppose the least resistance to an united people "striving to be free."

The evil is that in this country the workmen are far from being united: differences of races, language, customs and position, keep them divided more than in any other country of the world. When they are organized, they are organized for egoistical purposes, to keep up their own wages and shut out of the trade would-be competitors. Lastly, but not leastly, although we are not ignorant of the evils of the present system, we know very little and most of us care very little to know what the remedy or the remedies might be. Those among ourselves who put themselves that question about remedies are almost ridiculed as utopists.

Hence the three requisites for a Social Revolution, (1) a clear aim, (2) a united people, (3) a spirit of brotherhood and self-sacrifice, are just now lacking. Hence the necessity for the Anarchistic propaganda. Some people say: "the workmen of this country are law-abiding, you ought not to hurt their feelings by preaching to them Anarchism." It might likewise be said: "the workmen of the country believe in having a master, we ought to hurt their feelings [illegible]

the mistakes of the people are to be fought, not countenanced. We must lay greater stress on such things as to which people are prejudiced. Because people are law-abiding we must teach them Anarchism.

And be sure that if they are slumbering now, the American workmen will awaken some not far-off day, and when awakened will be more revolutionary, more Socialistic, and more Anarchistic than we presume to be.

Lester C. Hubbard, in "*The Coming Climax in the Destinies of America*," has uttered these ominous words:

"This.... contingent of foreign terrorists.... is small and insignificant when compared with the number of native-born Americans, who will turn Dynamitards if the time ever comes when this country is in danger of despotism."

Is that time really not yet come? Let any one answer for himself.

PANAMA.

Appeal issued by French comrades to the working people of France. Will they listen?

"DOWN WITH THE CHAMBER!

"At the end of twenty-two years of power, the bourgeois Republic crumbles to pieces like her two predecessors.

"She crumbles thus to pieces because, instead of being a levelling society, without God or masters, breaking down the class system, destroying abuses and making a free man of that modern slave, the wage-earner, she has been only a Government—the guardian, like all Governments, of old iniquities, the defender of the privileged classes against the disinherited, the watch-dog of capitalistic property.

"She has shown herself as preposterous as the Legitimists, as autocratic as the Empire, as great a corrupter as Orleanism. She has allied herself to every species of reactionary reform, placed herself at the service of every stock-jobber, has married Rothschild, protected the Pope, and held out her hand to the Russian autocrat.

"Her Constans and her Rouviers have been as corrupt as the Callones of the old régime, as the Barras of the Directory, as the Testes and Cubières [illegible] ity. At her head, she has had and has Broats, Thiers and MacMahon; Grévy, a Wallachian; and Carnot, an idiot—Carnot, son of a bourgeois and grandson of a traitor (this pretended leader to victory being by turns Jacobin, Thermidorian, Bonapartist and Royalist).

"It was in blood, through the treason of the Government of the National Defence and the massacres of 1871 that she first came into being; colonial brigandage prolonged her life; to-day, she expires in the mire of Panama.

"Dead she is, only too truly!

"But who is to have her inheritance?

"Will it be the Monarchists who, O People! during centuries kept you under the pitiless yoke of priest and noble, and who, since power escaped them, by means of intrigue, have successfully opposed all progress, all liberty?

"Will it be their comrades the Jesuits, who, to-day, under the mask of Socialism, as in 1848 under that of Republicanism, have shot you down with their De Muns, have deceived you with their Drumonts?

"Will it be those shameful remnants of the Bonaparte family, who already broaching a Consulate, are eager to repeat the bloody ambush of December the 2d?

"Will it be the Radicals, who have mocked at you without ceasing, hypocritically temporizing these twenty years with Opportunism and Revolution?

"Will it be those fierce revolutionists of yesterday, the State Socialists, who to-day, after the example of their Brousse, their Guesde and their Vaillant, stand converted, domesticated?

"Or will it be you, O People! at length acting directly for yourselves, without the self-imposed masters or proxies to whom hitherto you have blindly trusted your fate?

"Regain your liberty, take once more the initiative, and keep both; trusting your destiny to none, just as little to the Socialist as to the priest, and sweep aside your exploiters once for all yourselves. Burn the banks, the Christian as well as the Jewish bank; hunt down the tyrant of the workshop and the mine; take possession of these in company with your fellow-laborers, and then, in the midst of corporate groups, organize production. The Governing class is only the valet of Capital. Down with it! Down with King Carnot! Into the gutter with the Senate! Into the river with the Chamber! To the dunghill with all this social rotteness!

"When a hundred years ago, because the 'ancien régime' was drain[illegible] their life-blood, our [illegible] to) Deputies that they looked for deliverance. Neither Robespierre nor Danton decreed the Revolution; they were simply carried away by it. It was by the ceaseless violation of that very Convention, which bourgeois historians would turn into a legend, that the Sans-Culottes decapitated the King, chased away the nobles, and muzzled the priests.

"To-day, bourgeois exploitation has just as greedily and even more hypocritically taken the place of monarchical absolutism. The Republican Jesuits, worth no more than the Catholic Jesuits, tell you you are free—you, poor wretch! who dare not even exercise the right to live! That you are the sovereign people, you, most kindly electors, who hand your fate over to the nearest imposter! And you believe them.

"Whilst searching for that white blackbird that you will never discover—an honest deputy—that is, a good tyrant or a clever sharper (he is generally both)—you bear with the most infamous reactionists, the most cynical of cheats. Your State officials, your administrators, follow one another in quick succession, and each is worse than the last. The present Chamber is befouled like its predecessors; the one that you may nominate to replace it will be as worthless; its rule, one either of harsh authority or vile corruption.

"Therefore, when this rotten Parliament founders once for all in the mud, and this must soon happen, do not vote. Do not vote; march instead to the scene of action and take charge of your own affairs; you have need neither of legislators, of diplomats, of capitalists, of gamblers, nor of priests; these gentlemen permit you, not to live, but only to agonize. Society can exist by work alone, and once that you are masters of yourselves you will be able to organize this function of Work as no one else can, since to labor, and that for parasites, has always been your lot.

"Mass together without ceasing, ye crushed, bleeding and betrayed ones! The secret of your strength lies in yourselves. Your enemies cannot live without you, the all-producers; without you, who give all to them—even to your very sons, whom they turn into soldiers to massacre you. Have you not yet had enough of these things? Do you still lack the courage to overthrow Power and Capital?

"Long have you slept the sleep of the slave. Awake! the hour is come in which to shake off those who govern you, aye, even as a lion shakes off its fleas!

"Down with the Chamber!

"Down with the Senate, the Presidency, and Capital!

"Long live the Social Revolution!

"Long live Anarchy!"

SHALL SUCH THINGS CONTINUE?

I have just returned from our State's prison at Joliet. I went to visit the last and most outrageous in many of its details of the Comstock persecutions.

George Wilson, sent up for two years, is a bright young man, an agnostic, full of enthusiasm and push. Several years ago he started a liberal book store on a small scale, and by close attention to business he gradually increased his stock of goods, at length becoming a publisher of some importance. His place was quite conspicuous as "The Only Agnostic Publishing House in Chicago." Prominent among his publications were the works of Paine, Ingersoll, Besant, and other noted liberal writers. Success seemed to crown his efforts and prosperity smiled upon him. But alack! no one is safe from the clutches of the hyena Comstock and his saintly crew, except Christian bigots and cowardly liberals who will bend to him the servile knee; who dare not defend citizens rights to send through the peoples' highway—the Post Office—whatever they may please to write or print without being "held up" by these assassins dubbing themselves the Anti-Vice Society, and subjected to indignities that no common highwayman would ever inflict upon his victim. McAfee, Comstock's lieutenant, by the means of a decoy letter, obtained the catalogue or printed list of the books Wilson kept on sale, and upon the mailing of this list alone was he indicted, no book having been sent. These were the books charged with being obscene: "Bel Ami," "Mademoiselle de Maupin," "Mysteries of the Court of London," and "Stolen Sweets." The first two named are listed in our public library, and if any one of these protectors of the public purity should under any assumed name write the innocent librarian for a list of books there kept, and he should send one, he could be imprisoned five years and fined one thousand dollars. Beautiful law, isn't it? The oth[illegible] we are on sale at all of our prominent book st[illegible] "Stolen Sweets" was the [illegible] and is a trashy French novel, but compared with many of the classics such as "The Decameron" of Boccaccio, "The Holy Bible," and many others, is as pure as ice.

Now, why was George Wilson selected out of the four hundred booksellers of our city and railroaded through to Joliet, tried, convicted, sentenced and incarcerated within prison walls in less than forty-eight hours? Anyone with a grain of perception can see at once. Simply because he was publishing and selling literature that antagonized the Church, and hence these human vultures, servants of the Church and Anti-Vice Society, must serve these masters by destroying as far as possible any and all who dare to oppose them.

Judge Bunn, before whom he was tried—as great a bigot as ever disgraced the judicial bench—showed such feeling and made such rulings as would do honor to the memory of Judge Taney of Dred Scott decision notoriety. During the trial, when a witness was put upon the stand with book in hand and bill therefore just dated, who testified he had purchased the same at the store of Jansen & McClurg, the Judge simply replied, "They are not on trial, and I am loath to believe they deal in such literature." The book was "Stolen Sweets."

I have been holding down my indignation at the request of friends who believed that they could, by bringing the case before Judge Gresham, get from him a *Capias* granted on the ground that the sending of the catalogue could not be called sending obscene literature, "too vulgar, obscene and indecent to be mentioned," as charged in the indictment. Gresham admitted the fact but would not act, advising them to take the case to Washington, for the reason that if a *Capias* was granted in this case others would be demanded. Too bad. I am, however, more ashamed of the people who bear and wink at such villanous persecutions than of the politicians who wear ermine. And especially am I ashamed of professed Liberals who are either so ignorant as not to perceive that this is the club with which the Church intends to beat out the brains of the Liberal movement by destroying the business, usefulness, even the lives of those whom they cannot cower into servile silence, or are so weak as not to dare defend the rights from which all our liberties depend, *i. e.*, the right of free speech and a free press.

Think of intelligent men and women sitting silently submitting to have a set of Christian bigots and conscienceless politicians decide what they may write to a friend even, and opening their letters in transit to ascertain what they have written, as is being done, what books they may put upon the market, what pictures even they may have in their homes. Oh, the shame of it, that we are such a race of slaves.

What can we do? Agitate the matter. Many citizens do not know of these infamous proceedings. Awaken a public sentiment against it. Write what we please and print it and send it through the mails to whom we will at any and all costs. Do this till every intelligent, honest, liberty loving man and woman is in prison, if it comes to that. Better a thousand fold have a free mind and wear the convicts stripes than to be a slave outside, cringing before such corrupt laws and conscienceless decisions. Demand in thunder tones the repeal of a laws such as these, that if continued will soon destroy all the liberty that was once our country's boast. Cease to regard law as superior to individual rights, a fettish to be worshipped; and set to it that all the laws are made to serve humanity by protecting instead of restricting individual liberty.

JULIET H. SEVERANCE, M. D.

Chicago, February 2d, 1893.

MALTHUS—POWDERLY.

In a special article written for the *Commercial Advertiser*, prophesying the conditions which will obtain a century hence, and presumably expressing his own idealistic aspirations, Mr. T. V. Powderly, the head official of the K. of L. order, says:

"The progress of the lower grades of animal life has been skilfully guided and hastened until we may now assert that cattle and fowl are approaching perfection. In 1993 the same attention will be bestowed on the human race, and, instead of rushing blindly forward, increasing and multiplying at haphazard, humanity will knowingly and intelligently advance to higher altitudes. There will be no very rich or very poor, for long before 1993 dawns upon the world the industrialists will have learned that the raising of large families is but another way to create slaves to perform the drudgery of the wealthy, and the family will be restricted to the capacity of the parents to maintain and educate."

May we assume that this is good Knights of Labor doctrine? That order indorses the ideas of Dr. Malthus—a hundred years after that defender of privilege formulated them. From the [illegible] of labor,

that many misguided victims of social injustice still believe that poverty is caused by overpopulation, and that infanticide would be a virtue if practiced by the poor. I am tempted to wish it had been practiced on Powderly. J. ATTCH.

THE CONFERENCE.

We may as well treat the conference as a settled fact—so far as the opinions of the comrades go.—From the first it has seemed wonderful to me that any one who knows how much our work suffers by lack of personal understanding and co-operation should be opposed to such a meeting. I do not doubt that many a comrade who does not agree with me would be glad of an opportunity to "give me a piece of his mind," and I would be glad to get it; I should certainly like to hear a debate between the comrade who signs himself "Anarchia" in the New York Anarchist and Comrade Van Ornum.—As will be seen by the following letter, the Chicago groups have taken the matter in hand, and all groups intending to send delegates should write to Secretary Goodheart.

SOLIDARITY,

We had a special meeting of the following delegates: International Working People's Association, S. W. S. Arbeiterbund, Debatir Club No. 1 and 2, French Solidarity Group and Italian Solidarity Group, and after a long debate—

Resolved to call on all Anarchist-Communist groups in America and Europe—by means of private correspondence and through the radical press—to discuss the question of a conference at Chicago, and to inform us as to their decisions, the probable number of their delegates and such additions to the programme—printed in SOLIDARITY—as they desire to make; then, having this information, we shall issue a call for the conference through SOLIDARITY and other Anarchist papers, giving particulars as to time and place. All letters should be addressed to me as secretary.

R. GOODHEART,
172 Brown St., Chicago, Ill.

TO THE EDITOR OF "SOLIDARITY."

SIR,—I am receiving your worthy paper regularly and am better pleased with it than any yet on the subject. Your reasoning power and advanced ability are far superior to anything I have read on Anarchism.

I also see an account in one of your papers of holding a convention in Chicago during the World's Fair. I would second it—as the only, best and necessary way to bring our methods into practice.

If we want to gain a point, we must hold conventions, mass-meetings, organize and agitate! agitate! and by doing so we are sure to have success in defiance of the degenerate governments on the face of the earth.

It is also necessary to hold meetings in all languages.

GEORGE MCGEE.

Philadelphia, Feb. 2d, 1893.

LETTER FROM ENGLAND.

January 31st.

Will we have a social revolution in France in the next few months? This is the question which, at present time, every friend or enemy of progress puts to himself. Of course, nobody can foresee the course of events. What is certain, is that the Panama scandal has destroyed public confidence, not in any particular form of Government, but in Government of any kind. Monarchists and Republicans are alike affected, and the State-Socialists, who in the latter time have allowed themselves to be dragged into politics, are no more in vogue than any other political party. "Government is robbery," as well as property. This is the *moral* of the Panama affair. It had been rumored that the State Socialists had become alive to the fact that from such a corrupt set of politicians, as they associate with in Congress and in Municipalities, no good is to be expected for the masses of the workers, and that they had decided to withdraw from the position they occupy in the national and local legislatures. But, on investigation, the rumor has proved unfounded. Likewise, any supposition (founded on words fallen and resolutions taken at some Socialistic meetings immediately after the first "revelations" of the Panama swindle) of the State-Socialists engaging in any revolutionary movement to get out of the situation is to be dismissed. There is only one fighting force in France, and this is the Anarchist party.

In England also, the Anarchist movement is growing at a great pace. Besides the Scotch Anarchist Conference, which was held in Dundee, on January 2d (see my last letter), there will be next week, on the anniversary of the conviction of the Walsall dynamiters, a conference at Walsall which promises to succeed very well. The agitation of the unemployed is taking hold, besides in London, in most of the provincial towns, which is, so far as I am aware of, quite a new feature of the Labor movement in England. In Birmingham our comrades have taken a most noteworthy part in this agitation, much to the dislike of the Social-Democrats, who have combined with the police in their efforts to break up the Anarchist meetings and assault our speakers. They even succeeded in tearing down a red flag, but on observation it has turned out to be the flag of the Social-Democratic branch. Since these events, a fact has happened which has drawn the public attention entirely to the side of the Anarchists. This was the bold move made by comrade Davis in breaking a jeweler's window and distributing its contents to the poor people around. Of course, he was arrested and brought before a magistrate. There another lively scene took place; some of our comrades loudly declaring their approval of Davis' action, and shouting: Hurrah for Anarchy! These facts have been commented upon at length by the local press—not always in unfavorable terms.

I ought now to advert to the disturbances which have taken place in Bristol in connection with a strike of girls. Particulars about this strike and ensuing conflict of the workmen with the police and the troops may be found in the last number of *Freedom*. I shall be satisfied with pointing at a particular feature of this strike, as related by the *Freedom* Bristol correspondent. "None of the girls (he writes) are unionists of a sufficient time to enable them to benefit by their trade organization. But union or no union, money has to be found, and that by the committee of Free Lances, devoted to the cause of the girls. And money is being found. Throughout the length and breadth of the land, appeals have been sent to the various labor bodies asking for help. Besides this, boxes are carried daily in the streets by the girls, and at every week's end at the mouths of the Bristol, North Somerset and South Gloucester coal pits, young women may be found receiving silver and coppers from sympathizing miners. The spirit of good fellowship that has been evolved during the strike has been marvellous. Societies never before taking part in processions have marched to aid their struggling sisters, and the Bristol Trades Council, for the first time in its history, paraded on a Sunday with the girls. Demonstration has followed demonstration, never a Sunday passing without thousands of trades unionists joining the strikers and enlivening the processions with their bands and banners.

The strike has lasted since October 5th, and it shows no sign of abatement. On October 26th, an organized attempt was actually made by the police to break it, by arresting and prosecuting three girls and nine sympathizers for "breach of the peace." On December 23d a most serious encounter took place between the people who were holding a procession, in order to make a collection to provide a Christmas dinner for the strikers, and 500 policemen, assisted by 200 cavalrymen, who repeatedly charged, bludgeoned, and pierced with lances or cut with sabres the crowd, women and children included. Not less than 300 persons are supposed to have been injured that night, some may be fatally wounded.

The same tale of "robbery and murder" comes from all countries. In Germany new disclosures have been made concerning the employment of the Guelph-fund, which was used as a fund of corruption by the Government and for the Government. In Spain the Ministry, convicted of having abetted the robberies of the Madrid Town Council, has been induced to resign. Italy has had its "little Panama." The Roman Bank has been discovered to have issued 62 million francs uncovered (*i. e.*, false) notes. The director of the Bank of Naples has absconded, taking with him nearly 3 million francs. And many Deputies (Congressmen) are under the charge of having taken money from the banks. Meanwhile the poor peasants of San Gervasio (Basilicata) insurge to have abolished the local rates on articles of food, and the Government sends the troops against the not less poor peasants of Caltavuture (province of Palermo), who, having been defrauded of the land allotted to them in 1806, and being without work and bread, have united together and taken forcible possession of their land, in order to cultivate it, and feed themselves by the fruits of their labor. The brutality of the police and the military has been equal to the rapaciousness of the Government; twelve peasants have been killed and many wounded. It looks as if a revolution could not fail to break forth all over Europe.

S. ENGLAENDER'S VIEWS ON ANARCHISM.

According to his (Proudhon's) views, *the abolition of State and capital depends each upon the other*. What in politics is called authority is *analogous and equivalent to what in political economy is called* (private) *property*.—S. Englaender, *The Abolition of the State*, p. 59.

Government of man by man is as little to be permitted as the economical exhaustion of one man by another. This was one of the chief formulas of Proudhon.—Idem, p. 67.

To Proudhon belongs the merit of having pointed out *the way to abolish the State and to organize Anarchy*. The first words he spoke to society sounded from a small provincial town and penetrated to the Sorbonne at Paris. *They were these, "Property is robbery."*—Idem, p. 81.

These views are hardly to be reconciled to "Tuckerian Anarchy," *i. e.*, Anarchy *plus* the wage system, *plus* private property, *plus* Defence Associations, *plus* laws, *plus* Government, *minus* social revolution. Of course, S. Englaender was not a Communist (he, however, like Proudhon, used the word in the sense of State-Communist), nor, indeed, was he an Anarchist. He was simply a federalist, and his book is only valuable as an historical review of the intellectual and political movement which has led to the idea of the abolition of the State. Some other time I will quote directly from Proudhon.

S. M.

THE ANARCHISTIC COMMONWEALTH.

We rebel against the present society, not for the sake of abstraction and theories, but for the purpose of improving the conditions, material and moral, of ourselves and of our fellowmen.

This is our basis of operation.—*Raise the worker to the condition of a free man; put an end to his slavery, to the necessity of his selling himself to a master; give him back the management of his own affairs; break the fetters of law, force, centralization, bureaucracy, in one word Government, and enable him to associate with his fellow-workers, and live in comfort and happiness*—that is our aim.

Now this aim, we are satisfied, can only be attained through Revolution. Gradual reforms, electioneering, and meek submission to "law and order" can only serve to afford a respite to the Bourgeoisie, greater strength to the Government, and to some people the opportunity of enjoying their ambition. Nobody will make us take into account, *tolerable existence for the working classes*. The very worst prospect is that the evils we suffer from will grow worse. A breakdown of the system is quite unavoidable.

The change can only be brought about in the usual way, *i. e.*, by popular discontent rising to a pitch, overthrowing the Government, and thus destroying the very bulwark behind which the capitalistic class is entrenched. The next step will be for the working classes to take possession of the instruments of production, to organize labor, and to establish a free co-operative system instead of the capitalism and commercialism of to-day.

We do not believe in mere destruction, nor do we believe in a popular riot which would simply put a new class of politicians in the Government. State-Socialists wish the change to be made by laws enacted by the chosen representatives of the people. We deprecate such a course. To put in the hands of an assembly of politicians, however elected, the power which the masses of workers may use themselves, would be a fatal mistake. No Congress would expropriate the capitalists; no Government *could* do it. The task is too great; it would require an army of lawyers, sheriffs and other officials to take away land, factories, etc., from the actual exploiters and give it to the peasants and workers' associations. Supposing in this they should succeed after a long time and at a great expense, then it would be necessary to regulate by law the hours of labor, the price of labor in all industries and everything else; which is, likewise, an impossibility. Lastly, think of the immense power which such a Government would wield, and of the danger that it might use it to crush down the Revolution.

All that, because the people, having started the movement, would not go on and carry it to an end themselves.

We, Anarchists, believe that no Revolution will ever succeed, if the people do not take the matter into their own hands. They must act for themselves. Trades Unions and Associations, old and new, have to take possession respectively of the lands, mines, railroads, factories, machinery which they need in order to produce, and agree in each locality on a plan of production and distribution suited to the circumstances. This must be done without waiting for orders or permission from a

Congress or Government; nay, without instituting any Government or nominating any Congress, and without allowing any body of men, whatever their character may be, to usurp the functions of a Congress or Government.

It will be contended perhaps, that the workers do not possess the knowledge necessary to organize all the different branches of industry and the necessary exchanges. Our reply is that the task is not so difficult as it appears, since industry and exchanges *are already organized*, and all that is required is to go on with the existing plan pending better arrangements. It is not necessary to attain perfection at once; but it is indispensable that workers rid themselves of their masters, and that every workshop or factory or mill or business, of the country cease to belong to an exploiter of labor and pass to the possession of the workers engaged in it. In many trades, no doubt, those workers will understand how to manage their business, not in order to get a profit out of it (the kind of *ability* the present capitalist is possessed of), but in order to produce the most with the least effort. In those trades, which require some particular technical knowledge to be organized, there will be no lack of people who will give their fellow-workers the benefit of their knowledge or experience. Those people will have no claim to a better treatment; as the very fact that their labor will be a labor of direction and control, and consequently (generally speaking) a lighter and more satisfactory labor than the average one will be (in the absence of loftier motives) sufficient inducement to them. Anyhow, we wish not to set here any binding rule. The difficulty has to be solved practically by the people concerned, and it might also be solved differently in different cases.

(*To be continued.*)

OUR CHICAGO LETTER

A Committee composed of State Senators and Representatives has been in this city investigating the horrors of the Sweating System. Guided by local labor agitators, the Committee visited a number of the sweater's shops, and saw with their own eyes the filthy, debasing, disease-breeding conditions of the very poor. Several days were spent by these Solons in their investigations; a great deal of testimony was taken; much data was obtained, bourgeois and grandson leader to victory, etc., and the Committee departed with many promises of reform. And what will it all amount to? Aside from the agitation caused by newspaper reports and comments, I doubt if any good will result. These wise delineators of public morals may draw up a bill making it a penal offense for any manufacturer of clothing to enter into a contract with "Sweaters", or they may make a law prohibiting persons from employing children and others in ill-ventilated, crowded, filthy rooms, but neither measure will abolish the real evil, which is want of opportunity to make a decent living in a decent way. Instead of opening their eyes to the monstrous evils of poverty itself and stirring their activities to abolish it, these terrible scenes only serve to fill them with a sense of their importance as legislators.

The poor of this great city were never so wretched in their poverty as now. Crime was never so prevalent before. Our County jail is over-crowded with unfortunates, and is in a filthy, foul condition. The number of idle men is very great. It is an awful think to contemplate—the wretched poor of a great city. In comparatively deserted streets, even early in the evening, one is in danger of being sand-bagged and robbed. Think of it! Men forced to watch each other in passing along the street, with a hand perhaps on a revolver or knife, momentarily expecting attack from his fellow-men. The mere fact that men are desperate, and dangerous in their desperation, should be sufficient to stir to its very depth a truly civilized community.

The superintendent of the Chicago House of Correction told me a short time since that, with a capacity and accommodations for 900 inmates, he *never* has less than 1100 and frequently the number exceeds 1400. Most of them are mere youths, and all of them are poor. *The rich man's son or daughter is never sent to that institution.* He also assured me that fully one-half the number of inmates were guiltless of any offense.

A friend of mine, who is quite in touch with a number of prominent dignitaries, recently had occasion to call upon an official of one of the great railroad systems here. During the interview the conversation turned upon the World's Fair, and the prospect of a very large increase in passenger traffic. My friend suggested that in view of the circumstances, the railroads would probably make greatly reduced rates during the coming summer months. "On the contrary," replied the railroad official, "the railroad companies will probably increase rates; at any rate this company will make no reduction. It is all very well, talking about patriotic duty, and giving the people an opportunity to prove themselves loyal, but we have made up our minds that just about so many people will come anyhow, be the fare high or low, and *we* are not in it for patriotism; *we* are in it for the stuff. Patriotism be dammed! that is good enough to give to the masses of the people, but patriotism wont pay salaries or dividends, or turn the wheels of our locomotives. No, sir, we are willing that the people should be influenced by patriotism to come to the Fair, but we are not running our trains for patriotism, we are looking for the dollars.

WM. HOLMES.

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OUR PROSPEROUS COUNTRY.

The evictions in Ireland during 1890 were a little over 5,000. During the same year there were 23,800 evictions in New York city alone. In one judicial district there were about 6,100. At a very moderate estimate, this represents 100,000 persons cast upon the streets. The mortgage record of the United States census gives the following figures for five principal agricultural states:

State.	No. of Mtgs.	Value of Mtgs.
Illinois	297,247	$384,299,150
Iowa	252,539	199,774,171
Missouri	192,028	214,609,772
Kansas	298,880	242,141,826
Nebraska	155,377	132,902,322
Total	1,196,071	$1,173,727,241

When these and equally significant figures were brought forward during the late campaign, the orators of the things-as-they-are party endeavored to show that this enormous mortgage debt was decreasing. This is how the officially published, and privately verified, records of Nebraska show it:

	Farm Mtgs.	City Mtgs.	
Filed	$22,460,643	$12,316,757	
Released	18,095,064	9,034,812	
Increase	$4,365,579	$3,281,945—	
Total increase			$7,647,524

The total increase of real estate mortgages include those satisfied by foreclosure, whose amount is not stated, but which numbered 2,100. In Nebraska, but not elsewhere, chattel mortgages are always recorded. The figures for the year (ending May 31, 1892), are as follows:

Chattel mortgages filed	$25,138,016
Chattel mortgages released	14,564,319
Increase	$10,573,697
Add increase of real estate mortgages	7,647,524
Total increase of mortgages	$18,221,228

Nine million mortgages are reported in the census. There are not much more than 12,000,000 families in America.—*Twentieth Century.*

EAR TICKLING.

"There is a wonderful susceptibility in ear-tickling amongst the working class. A visit paid to a political meeting of either of 'the two great parties of the State' will make this plain to you. Mr. Dives, M.P., gains rounds of applause from the under-fed, under-paid, over-worked workmen, who comprise the bulk of his audience, by his stale platitudes about 'the great Liberal Party,' and the extent of 'our commercial greatness,' while the Tory sprig of nobility, Lord Broadacre, charms his toil-worn audience of dunderheads by profuse references to 'our glorious Constitution and magnificent Empire;' and they, poor fools, in the dilirium of ecstacy, produced by this ear-tickling process, forget how small a share of happiness, how little real freedom, and how much soul misery falls to their lot under our glorious Constitution."

"But it is in the pulpit, perhaps, that the art of ear-tickling has attained its greatest triumphs. It has there been brought to most wonderful perfection. Disciples of the Working Man of Nazareth—not living in the wilderness, by any means, but in receipt of munificent salaries—follow the profession of ear-tickling with stupendous success.

"The rugged directness of their Master's precepts are softened down and shaded away with infinite skill. Awkward texts, having reference to the iniquity of wealth, the true brotherhood of man, and the abnegation of self, are twisted, distorted, and presented to the ear of the listener with powerful ingenuity, rendered pleasing to the recipient, and both rich and poor, oppressed and oppressor, have their auditory nerves titillated, and are sent away satisfied. The most opposite principles are seemingly reconciled, and the worshipping crowd disperse for a little time, till again conventionality demands that they should once more place themselves under the hands of an experienced ear-tickler."

"Guard your ears! Perhaps in no movement—said A. Settle to a Manchester audience a short time ago—perhaps in no movement to a greater degree than in the labor movement is misrepresentation and flattery of greater power, and more fraught with fateful consequences.

Received.

Received from O. Straub (previously acknowledged per K), 50c.; balance per N. B., $8.16; Huling, 50 stamps, 5c.; J. Harvitt, 50c.; A. D. Westcott, $1.00; J. Rosskopf, 25c.; A. Chevallaz, $1.00; M., stamps 10; S. Press, $1.00; R. Goodheart, $12.57; C. Masur, $1.50; Stamps, 10c.; Mrs. Luesman, $3.00; Mrs. McPherson, $1.00; F. [illegible], 25c.; W. Berger, 25c.; Formigli, $1.00; Denivelle, $1.00; Mind, 25c.; Salvador, $1.00; H. Keoling, $1.50; Kohossoff, 80c.; P. C., $1.00; McK., 75c.; M. Dumas, $2.00; M. Swarz, $2.00; Miss A. Henry (London), $1.00; H. O., 50c.; and per Miss Notkin (result of entertainment, etc.), $15.75; from last number, per Gordon R., New Haven), 50c.; Unknown, Philadelphia, 50c.; Astronomer, $1.26.

Note.—The printer made us acknowledge $100 in last issue when $1.00 was intended. J. R.

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