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.

MASK OF ANARCHY.

BY SHELLEY.

XLIX.

Birds find rest in narrow nest,
When weary of the winged quest;
Beasts find food in woody lair,
When storm and snow are in the air.

L.

Asses, swine have litter spread,
And with fitting food are fed;
All things have a home but one,
Thou, oh Englishman, hast none!

LI.

This is slavery — savage men,
Or wild beasts within a den,
Would endure not as ye do;
But such ills they never knew.

LII.

What art thou, Freedom? Oh could slaves
Answer from their living graves
This demand,—tyrants would flee
Like a dream's dim imagery.

LIII.

Thou art not, as imposters say,
A shadow soon to pass away,
A superstition, and a name
Echoing from the caves of fame.

LIII.

For the labourer thou art bread,
And a comely table spread,
From his daily labour come,
In a neat and happy home.

LV.

Thou art clothes, and fire, and food
For the trampled multitude;
No — in countries that are free
Such starvation cannot be
As in England now we see.

LVI.

To the rich thou art a check,
When his foot is on the neck
Of his victim:
Thou dost make that he treads upon a snake.

LVII.

Thou art Justice — ne'er for gold
May thy righteous laws be sold,
As laws are in England: thou
Shield'st alike the high and low.

LVIII.

Thou art Wisdom — Freedom never
Dreams that God will damn forever
[illegible]

JUDGE GARY.

I wish that every young man and woman in the country could read Judge Gary's defense, published in the April *Century*. It is called "The Chicago Anarchists of '86," and purports to be a true account of that great tragedy. Alleged reasons for writing and publishing this article are first:

"To demonstrate to my own profession and to make plain to all fair minded intelligent people that the verdict of the jury in the case of the anarchists was right; that the anarchists were guilty of murder; that they were not the victims of prejudice nor martyrs for free speech—but in morals as well as in law, were guilty of murder. When Kossuth stood at the grave of Washington, he remarked: "How necessary it is to be successful." Kossuth had failed in his endeavor to free Hungary from Austrian rule, and therefore in law and morals—that is Austrian law and morals was a murderer—who had incited the Hungarian people to kill the guardians of the executive social order. He only escaped the fate of Spies and Parsons by flight. If Washington had failed, he too would have been in law and morals, a murderer, and some English Gary would have legally and morally sentenced him—as Gary sentenced our comrades. Only a generation ago, John Brown was guilty of a similar "crime." He too failed, and the learned judge who sentenced him to be hung was no less convinced, that he had performed a high and solemn duty than Gary is.... and, but for the fact that the "legal and usual" institution of chattel slavery did not last long enough, John Brown's judge might have defended his action as well as Gary does now.

It is indeed necessary to be successful, and the terrible joke of it is, that the same Judge Gary joins heartily and honestly in the apotheosis of Washington, no doubt regards Kossuth as a noble patriot and has probably joined in singing "John Brown's body lies a moldering in the grave, but his soul goes marching on."

You were right, Judge Gary—his soul does go marching on—his example inspired the Chicago anarchists, "and now though their bodies lie a moldering in the grave," to which you consigned them, their souls go marching on. Your article proves it. If they had been common murderers, would you be on your defense to day?

"Another motive of this paper is to show to the laboring people, of whom the anarchists claimed to be the especial friends, that that claim was a shame and pretense adopted only as a means to bring manual laborers into their own ranks, and that the counsel and advice of the anarchists, if followed by the workingmen would expose them to the danger of becoming, in law, murderers. I shall show that the real passions at the bottom of the hearts of the anarchists were envy and hatred of all people whose condition in life was better than their own, who were more prosperous than themselves." A large contract, Judge, this last—you are discreet in making no effort to carry it out. I have read the whole, article, carefully, several times and can find no effort to redeem this promise. I suppose the learned judge forgot this promise, and I trust he will redeem it in a future article.

John Brown, of course had no real sympathy with the slaves. He only pretented sympathy, and if the "niggers" had taken Brown's advice, they would have become, "in law", murderers. John Brown was only inspired by hate and envy and other base motives. Does this sound ridiculous to you, Judge Gary? Well just consult the files of some orthodox newspaper of the time (you may almost select them at random) and you will find all this asserted and demonstrated, to the satisfaction of the slave owners and their pick spittle defenders.

The law has consecrated and systematized every class privilege that ever existed in civilized society, serfdom was lawful, the divine right of kings was lawful. The Inquisition was a legal institution and chattal slavery had the sanction of the same "supreme" tribunal that rendered the verdict [illegible] was condemned and villified by the judges who are paid to uphold the "law," unless he was successful. But after every revolution, after the abolition of any social wrong, the contented classes — the rulers, the judges, the priests and the parasites — insist that society is finished, is complete, and that while the rebels of the past were heroes, hereafter no one but a madman or a criminal would dream of any further alterations —Judge Gary, the old refrain. He is convinced that our country has reached perfection, that here freedom and justice have been completely realized. Alexis de Tocqueville was wiser, and as he is an authority recognized by all learned and "respectable" Americans, I will quote him:

"The time will come when our country will be again divided into two parties. The French Revolution abolished all privileges and destroyed all exclusive rights, but it left one standing—the right of property. Let property-owners cherish no illusions to the strength of their situation, nor imagine that the right of property is an invincible rampart because so far it has never been stormed; for our time is like no other time. When the right of property was but the origin and foundation of many other rights, it defended itself easily because it was not attacked; it formed the outer wall of society, and the other rights were the advanced defences. The blows did not reach it, and nobody ever thought seriously of attacking it. But now the right of property appears, only like the last remnant of an aristocratic world which is no more [illegible] it stands alone, erect, an isolated privile[illegible] to be had midst of a leveling society; it is no longer shielded by other right more contested, more hated. Hence the situation is changed, and it is this right of property which alone bears every day the direct and incessant shock of democracy."

De Tocqueville spoke of France, but his words hold true of the whole civilized world to-day.

It is just as disagreeable to starve in the midst of plenty, in this country as it is in France, or England, or Germany, even worse, for here every shadow of the old privileges have passed away, and here the laws which Gary defends and executes demand of American sovereigns that they go off and starve in a quiet, decorous manner, whenever they fail to find a capitalist who wishes to employ them. Twenty per cent. of the American freemen of the working class are always out of work. Two millions of them at this time. They are beginning to doubt the sacredness of the "last remnant of an aristocratic world"—private property — and as Homestead may have taught you, Judge Gary, they do not fear the "law as much as they did."

"Their souls go marching on," and Homestead will not be the last battlefield on which their principles will be defended.

Again I quote the Judge:

"Secrecy is not essential to a conspiracy, which is simply a combination of two or more persons by some concerted action to accomplish some criminal or unlawful purpose, or accomplish some purpose not in itself criminal or unlawful by criminal or unlawful means."

Such as the declaration of Independence by the Continental Congress, for instance. Benjamin Franklin understood this very well, when some patriots remarked after the signing of the declaration: "Now we must hang together." Franklin answered, "Yes, or we will all hang separately."

He knew "how necessary it is to be successful."

Our comrades failed, and they "hung separately."

But not as common criminals; even Gary did not so regard them. They were hung, because they represented the great mass of the disenherited, and because the privileged classes felt, that their last stronghold must be defended to the death, but even the conquerors gave them the honors of war. And as for the workingmen, the 11th of November is celebrated in every large city of the world, the history of the trials, the speeches of the Anarchists [illegible] and Judge [illegible]

For seven years the clamor has gone around the world uncontradicted that the Anarchists were heroes and martyrs, victims of prejudice and fear. The "clamor" has the advantage of being true, and your labored effort can not end its work.

You claim to be in position to tell the truth; so are we, and we tell it all. We tell, Judge Gary, what you know to be a fact, that an immense corruption fund amounting to nearly a half million of dollars was raised by the terrified capitalists of Chicago, and that the fund was distributed among the police of Chicago for several years after the trial of the Anarchists. You know that Bonfield and Schaack were exposed as blackmailers and extortioners by the Chicago *Times*. That they habitually sold protection to gamblers and keepers of brothels, and that no defense was ever interposed, and that the *Times* was not compelled to retract its charges, and yet, Gary, you publish their portraits as defenders of law and order; and now since your article was written, these heroes are again publicly accused of having raised an immense fund by blackmailing gamblers, prostitutes and saloon keepers, and that their fund was used to buy the election of Carter Harrison to the mayoralty of Chicago. The same Harrison who was present at the Hay Market meeting, and ordered your other hero, Ward, to dismiss his policemen because the meeting was a peaceful one. Whereupon Ward promptly disobeyed him as soon as his back was turned, and marched his guardians of the law to the peaceable meeting which was about to disperse. I don't know who the unknown hero was who resisted Ward and his men, but I wish I did, that I might honor him, if alive; glorify his memory, if dead.

You say Ward defended the law and order. Cynical people think "he was after the "Boodle."

"And as for yourself, — oh wise and upright Judge, — how much did you pay for your nomination and election. Here in New York the regular price is twenty per cent. of the salary; did you make a better bargain with the politicians who make and unmake judges?

Judge Gary has rendered a real service to the Revolutionists, it will rid us of those short sighted or faint hearted brethren who wish to be Anarchists according to law, who persuaded Spies to accept legal defense, which he knew to be useless, and who have since slandered his memory and that of his comrades by denying that they preached violent [illegible] e to the law.

best of its

They did, and it is their glory, that they had the insight to realize, and the courage to proclaim, the class war that must be fought before that last citadel of class privilege—private property can be abolished and mankind become really free, before Democracy can become a reality instead of a sham.

THE SINEWS OF WAR.

It is a sad fact that even the most sympathetic printers must be paid for printing. SOLIDARITY has a most indulgent Capitalist to deal with—and I am surprised at the amount of credit he has extended to us. But Mr. Ray, like an honest man, will not order any more work on credit until the old account is paid. This number of SOLIDARITY is late, and late as it is, we have not money enough to pay for our regular issue, and the supplement promised in our last number. We have therefore printed S. Merlino's statement as a part of our regular issue, and will supply it in pamphlet form to all who desire it. The price of same is 2 cents per copy.

There is no lack of interesting matter to fill several SOLIDARITYS every week—and surely, it is necessary that an Anarchist-Socialist paper should be published in the English language in this country; but comrades must make it their duty to supply the means. It can never be a self-supporting paper. Don't wait to raise large amounts, but send small contributions regularly, we need an income of $40 an issue. Surely this can and will be raised by the Anarchists of America. J. H. E.

NOTICE.

SOCIALIST-ANARCHIST MEETINGS.

The educational meetings of the Solidarity Group, at 54 Union Square, are being held regularly every Sunday evening. On Sunday next, April 23, John H. Edelmann will lecture on

"THE 1st MAY."

All are invited, discussion is free, and the readers of "Solidarity" are especially urged to attend and take part in the debates. We need more speakers in our propaganda and we need a clearer understanding of our re[illegible] means and in large. Come and speak as a class, in the degraded condi[illegible] and which prevent their elevation. [illegible]

SOCIALIST-ANARCHISM.

How to Restore Peace, Equality, Justice and Liberty to the Commonwealth.

I

WHO ARE THE PEOPLE?

How often we hear people speaking of the inhabitants of the United States as one people, and of the Government, as "of the people, by the people, for the people." The advocates of "National" ownership of railroads, for instance, speak of ownership by the Government as controlled by all the people, instead of controlled by a few. As a matter of fact *we are not* a united people at all, in this as in every other country, there are "classes" and "masses," masters and slaves, millionaires and paupers engaged in fratricidal war; the poor to avoid starvation, the rich to add to their riches; hence the fact that the word "People" is often used to designate the lower class, the workingmen, to distinguish them from their masters and rulers. We use the word in this sense when we say that the land rightfully belongs to the "people." We mean the people who work on the land, not the capitalists, the parasites and exploiters of labor. When we say that the Government ought to be controlled by the "people" in their own interests, we do not include politicians, policemen, judges and the whole swarm of bureaucrats, who now infest the body politic. We believe that the producers ought to manage their own affairs, but this they cannot do, unless they unite their forces and get rid of their enemies.

II.

THE CONDITION OF THE WORKMEN.

The "people," that is the working people, are not and can not be contented under the rule of capital. They complain of excessive work, of insufficient wages, of enforced periodic idleness, and even, in many cases, of real slavery. Of course, some fare better than others. Conditions vary greatly, which accounts for much of the discord and jealousy in the ranks of labor, and consequently is largely responsible for the maintenance of the capitalistic system.

But even the most prosperous workers are robbed of a large share of the product of their labor, and could be and ought to be infinitely better off than they are, while on the other hand there are millions on the verge of starvation, dragging on a miserable existence in tenement houses, in sweater's dens, or tramping about the country in search of work. Thousands die from diseases contracted at their work, thousands are slaughtered through defective and dangerous machinery, direct victims of the exploiters' rapacity and greed. No workingman can insure himself against old age or sickness, nor can he guard the future of his children. A new invention may abolish his trade, a Trust may abolish his work, and if he saves, a rascally "manager" may steal the combined savings of thousands.

III.

WHY WORKINGMEN ARE POOR.

Now if the earth did not yield enough to feed and clothe and shelter all of its inhabitants, this would certainly not justify the hardship and suffering of those who alone do any useful work. Surely justice would require that the workers have the first share of their product. But the capitalists maintain that the earth is too fruitful, that too much is produced, and that they render the most valuable services in storing up the surplus of labor product. Of course this is a lie.

If the capitalist takes only the superfluous, why is it that so many toilers lack the most essential necessities of life? How much of the stored up product would be left if all the toilers were allowed forthwith to supply their needs? If the capitalist indeed takes only the superfluous, surely the worker should be the judge as to what is superfluous, and if it be necessary to save, the producers could certainly attend to the matter themselves. The fact is that the capitalists not only consume too much, often to their own injury, but they never tire of amassing the means of exploiting future generations of laborers;—gold, land (directly by ownership or indirectly, by mortgage), machinery and inventions. They actually prevent workers from producing the necessities of life.

In all countries, but especially in the United States, large tracts of land capable of supporting thousands are held out of use for speculative purposes. The output of mines is limited by the trusts and combines to the amount that will be most profitable to the capitalists, as the "coal combine," for instance, has all with anthracite coal. Actual products are [illegible] as at present wheat and corn. — Food products are actually destroyed, while thousands starve, in order to keep up prices, that is profits, while Railroad companies, Stock-yard syndicates, Elevator men, Bankers, Brokers, Speculators and the Government itself, levy taxes on the producers. This policy has ruined our farmers and destroyed the small manufacturers. So far from rendering any assistance to the toilers, the capitalist hinders and hampers him in every way. The capitalist class thrives on the misery of the people; the poorer the worker the lower the wages he can be forced to accept, the more of his products he will give up to the capitalist. Let workers realize that the one great occupation of the capitalist is to grind the faces of the poor, that misery and want exist in civilized society and only because the ruling classes benefit by the suffering of the masses.

IV.

WHY THERE ARE CAPITALISTS.

The capitalists can prevent the workingmen from producing the things they need, because they have seized the means of production will not permit their use, except for a consideration called "Rent, Profit and Interest," moreover, because they really control production, and exchange the "market," and in short, rule the workingmen with a rod of iron. It would be a waste of time to discuss the origin of this abnormal condition. In most cases, no doubt, wealth has been acquired by sheer robbery, by usury, by gambling on the exchanges; in a few cases, it may be the result of exceptional thrift on the part of the capitalist, although only in the incipient stage. But however it may have been acquired, it should not be used to the detriment of the worker. The slaveholders of the South were not pirates who sailed to the coast of Africa to steal and enslave men and women, some of them had legally invested their money in buying slaves, others inherited them, equally with the sanction of the law, yet slavery was abolished without compensation to the slaveholders. The same arguments apply to wage slavery as to chattel slavery, as was stated in a labor platform in 1825.

V.

WHY THERE IS A GOVERNMENT.

Private property, in the means of production, is the fundamental wrong in our society, yet private property, and the consequent injustice and iniquity would not last one hour if it were not defended by the government, *i. e.*, by a system of laws, tribunals, police and taxation. The avowed object of these institutions is to enforce respect for property, and protect the exploitation of the workingmen by the property holders. Government was born with Capitalism, has grown with it, and will die with it. When people are equally laborious and equally prosperous, they usually manage their own affairs in their respective communities, without obeying the law or command of a central government, and without submitting to the dictation of party caucuses. The need of a government arises when there are capitalists anxious to defend and to increase their ill-gotten riches. For that object, they employ politicians who tax and oppress the people for the benefit of their employers and for themselves.

VI.

THE REMEDY.

The workers can escape from the oppression of the capitalist class only by dispossessing the dispossessors, by seizing all the means of production and organizing their industry for their own benefit; not for profit, but for enjoyment. All class distinction could then disappear. First of all, the distinction between intellectual workers, so called, and manual workers, between "business men" and workmen. Labor will be organized with due regard to the health and capacity of the workers, materials could be used in the most advantageous way, the safest and most useful method of production will be adopted. No more competition, no more war of tariffs and prices. No longer the immense waste of the present commercial system, advertisements, retail trade, drumming, fraud. No more board of trade gambling, bankruptcy and litigation, and, above all, no more of the costly machinery of Government to keep the workmen in subjection to the capitalists. All men will have the same interests, all will enjoy working, thinking and learning, all will exert themselves for the benefit of their fellows, and promote the welfare of others, while pursuing their own. No man will claim superiority over another, or try to distinguish himself by foolish luxury or laziness. The members of the community, will be satisfied by enjoying an equal well being, and sharing in each others happiness. The result will be a harmonious, prosperous, progressive society, such as the founders of the American Commonwealth [illegible] escaped from [illegible]

Anarchy

VII.

How to Apply the Remedy.

If the capitalists were capable of rising above the ignorant prejudices of their class, if they would allow themselves to be led by the love of mankind, and understand what a happy world ours would be without this accursed exploitation of man by man, they would readily forsake their privileges and monopolies, and set themselves to work like everybody else. And, as work would be neither excessive, nor dangerous or burdensome (as it seems that the possession of enormous wealth is to some millionaires), they would enjoy it, just as they enjoy, nowadays, horse riding or game shooting, and at the same time, they would feel secure and be gratified at the sight of happy people all around, and would feel relieved from the dangers that the proximity of misery, with its consequent evils and diseases, portends for them.

But these wealthy people do not understand, and it would be a fatal illusion to hope that they ever will voluntarily give up their monopolies. On the contrary, they resort to drastic measures against those who advocate the reform of society and against the workmen who strive to better their conditions. They employ Pinkertons, hire politicians, build fortresses, buy Gatling-guns, bribe Judges, to stifle the voice of discontent which comes from the masses. The richer they become, the blinder they are and the more defiant is their attitude.

It is a sheer necessity for the workmen to oppose force to force, to sweep away the Government and force the capitalists to come to terms. Nor is this achievement so arduous as it appears to be. Every day, laborers fight capitalists—sometimes the fight goes on simultaneously in several States. Many lives are lost in these struggles, which, however, do not aim at the real emancipation of the proletariat, but at some temporary and illusory advantage. If the workmen were taught the truth about the system and the uselessness of their partial attempts, no doubt, they would unite and offer a battle which would be decisive.

VIII.

What a Revolution Means.

The overthrowing of a Government is a mere insurrection. In order that the insurrection may become a revolution, the capitalistic system must be overthrown, and a new system inaugurated.

The artisans in factories and workshops must assume the management of their respective concerns. The laborers in the bonanza farms must do the same. The farmers must shake off the burden of mortgages and associate together, like all workmen, in free communities. The railroad employees will undertake to run the trains, and so forth.

Of course, people will have to live in the existing dwellings, pending the building of new and better ones; they will have to provide to their needs with the existing stock of commodities, and go on till the new harvest or the arrival of provisions from other producing communities.

It will be necessary for the workmen of each community to agree together on the conditions of labor, and for different communities also to enter into free agreements for co-operation and exchanges.

This will be done in a rough way, at first, under the pressure of circumstances. To correct and develop the resulting social organization will be the task of the future generation: a task by no means more difficult, than the cumbrous and unnatural organization, which has been the outcome of the development of capitalism in the present century.

Friction and conflicts may occur, and crime will not be stamped out of human nature at once, as it is likely to be in the course of time, in consequence of the spread of knowledge, well-being and brotherly sentiments. We shall take care to remove the causes of crime, not to indulge in brutal and criminal revenge.

IX.

No more Government.

One condition of success is that the change should be brought on by the workmen themselves, freely, not by an authority or Government.

Practically, a Government could not go through the gigantic work of reorganizing production, exchanges and all social relations, except by employing a large army of officials and bureaucrats, who would have to be backed up by judges and policemen.

This would be too expensive, would take a very long time (meanwhile, the people would starve), and above all, would lay the foundation for a [illegible] politics [illegible]

X.

Conclusion.

We, Socialist-Anarchists, although we do not believe that men live exclusively on bread, yet we do maintain that a good comfortable existence is due to all men, in order that they may develop their intellectual and moral faculties for the benefit of all.

To get this much, the workmen shall possess the means of production—which therefore have to be taken from the monopolists and used by associations of workmen, freely organized and federated among themselves.

This can only be achieved by a Revolution, i. e., by the people overthrowing the organization, which shields the capitalists and taking back what has been stolen or otherwise distracted from them.

We admit that force is barbarous, contradicts human sentiments and may result in the domination of the victory on the vanquished.

But the danger of a new domination will not exist in case the masses of the people rise up against the very small minority, which now rules over them. Besides, we have no choice, unless our enemies will give up the force by which they protect themselves. Using force to repel the existing force-system, we propose to drop it as soon as the obstacles will be overcome, and to organize society on the principles of solidarity and freedom.

Anyhow, we take things as they are. We wish to share in the sufferings of the masses, in the dangers of the coming struggle, and we hope to share also in the final victory.

S. M.

The above has been published as a "SOLIDARITY PAMPHLET No. 2," and can be had through our office at the price of 2 cents per copy.

LIFE.

By Dyer D. Lum.

The songsters of the meadows
Their tuneful notes prolong,
And radiant Nature smiling
Rejoices in their song;
The laughing sunbeams glancing
O'er fields of gorgeous hue,
See mint and pansies dancing
Till scents the air imbue.

The kine forget the clover,
The sheep with lambkins play,
The fish leap out the brooklet—
Eager for holiday;
While through the boughs, the zephyrs
Beat time to melodies
That urge life's pulses onward
To softer symphonies.

But o'er the scene a mortal,
With reason's gift endowed,
Looks with ironic silence,
His head in sadness bowed;
For him the notes are discord—
Ghost-dancing of hopes dead,
For him life brings no blessing
When love and hope have fled.

The songsters of the meadows
Their tuneful notes prolong,
And radiant Nature smiling
Rejoices in their song;
But o'er the scene the mortal,
Self-poised, self conscious, proud,
Bends 'neath life's heavy burden—
One of the human crowd!

DYER D. LUM.

We copy from the *20th Century* the following obituary of our departed comrade—and the poem which was doubtless his last work. We hope in our next number to publish a review of his life's work in the labor movement by comrades who are fitted to do the subject justice.

"Dyer D. Lum died in this city, suddenly, on Thursday, the 6th inst., of fatty degeneration of the heart. His body was taken on Saturday to his birthplace, Northampton, Mass., for interment. Mr. Lum was 53 years of age. He served during the war in the Fourteenth New York cavalry, acting as adjutant, and at the close, when he was attached to Company A, he was a brevet captain. He was, for a time, in Libby prison and was on the Red River expedition with Gen. Banks. By trade, Mr. Lum was a bookbinder and soon after the war he published The Count of Monte Cristo. He was a candidate [illegible] nominee for governor being Wendell Phillips. In 1877 he was secretary to a congressional committee appointed "to inquire into the depression of labor." This commitee's labors carrying it about the country and as far west as California, Mr. Lum then became widely known. Later, he issued several works, among them a "History of the Trial of the Anarchists" published by Lippincott's; "Spiritual Delusions," which treated of Mormonism; "The Economics of Anarchism," issued three years ago, and "The Philosophy of Trades-Unionism." He was frequently a contributor, in prose and verse, to many radical reform journals. Of the high literary merit of his work for the Twentieth Century our readers are aware. Mr. Lum was a revolutionary Anarchist, and after the Haymarket affair in Chicago was selected by his comrades, as the fitting successor to Albert Parsons, to be editor of the "Alarm." In disposition, Mr. Lum was most amiable; in the character of his mind, he was philosophical; in mental capacity, he was at once keen and broad. His friends, who were many, mourn his passing away. The poem we print in another column he sent us about ten days ago. It is probably his last piece of composition. J. W. S.

THE EXTRADITION TREATY.

Were proof still wanting of the condition of infamy into which the far-famed Republic of the United States has fallen—that model Republic as represented to us by Social—democrats—we should find it in the Extradition Treaty just concluded with Russia.

Two years ago the Secretary of State hurriedly settled this Treaty for lack perhaps of pecuniary reward of a certain kind. The *Révolte* mentioned the fact at the time. This Treaty contained the well-known clause excluding political refugees, which clause an accompanying paragraph cancelled. Every refugee accused of having plotted against the life of the Czar or the members of his family, was to be extradited.

What this meant was easily understood, and has but recently been shown in the case of François. The evidence of two secret service agents—it may be of one alone—who testified to hearing François speak certain words openly, was sufficient to cause his extradition. Thus too, it will now only be necessary for a Russian Government agent or [illegible] to fabricate two statements (such as are to be had for 25 roubles apiece) to affirm that such or such a Russian refugee has (since the passing of the new law) plotted the assassination of the Czar; and nothing further is now required than some such statement, to cause the arrest of a refugee in the United States, and his extradition at the hands of a judge to whom it might perhaps be made worth while to find the evidence sufficient.

At the time above mentioned, the treaty had not been laid before the Senate in its entirety. The voice of the Senators, which as is well known, is sold openly in the United States—far more openly than in Paris—had not at that time been bought.

To-day all is ended, and a *Reuter's* telegram of Feb. 7th, announces that the Senate has ratified the treaty, which, although excepting political prisoners, no longer excepts those who conspire against the sacred life of the Czar or his relatives.

On reading this telegram in the *Intransigeant*, we at first thought that it was merely one of the ordinary communications from the Russian Embassy, such as are frequently to be found in the journals given over to the Franco-Russian alliance.

But we find the same *Reuter's* telegram in the *Messager officiel* of the Russian Government the treaty is well and duly signed. The text is, as yet, unknown, but the brief words of the telegram indicate that it is the original treaty drafted two years ago.

Russian money probably soon overpowered the scruples of the few American politicians who discountenanced the treaty.

Let us add that the English Government has also very clearly stated the attitude it means to take with regard to future questions on extradition.

There was lately a discussion in the English Parliament as to whether or not certain Irishmen who had been imprisoned for some eight or ten years for participation in dynamite plots should be released.

The Irish insisted on their release since it had been proved that certain *agents provocateurs* had worked up these plots. One Fenian in fact was set at liberty who had been condemned absolutely without proof, and therefore Irishmen demanded amnesty for all.

Nothing was plainer than the answer of Asquith, the Home Secretary. "Had these men fought openly—arms in their hands—against an armed force, they [illegible] Judge Bulling and Judge Kirk have [illegible]

cannot be considered in the light of political offenders; dynamiters never will be. This is proved by the result in the François case. He was accused of aiding in an explosion, and has therefore been extradited. A dynamiter will never be recognized as a political, no matter what his motive, or what the object of his attempt."

A statement brief and clear enough. Needless to say that Asquith, the Radical, was wildly applauded by all the House, or that the Conservatives heartily congratulated him for views that were one with their own.

Needless also to say that Asquith is almost a Socialist, that he has always been on friendly terms with Socialists, or that now, arrived at power, he hastens to burn his old ships behind him. Some of the Irish patriots and a few old Radical rats reproached him with the violence of his speech, in view of the bad impression it might make in Ireland; but all, Conservatives, Radicals, and "Socialists" at heart approved of it.

Very good! From henceforth if one desires to be recognized as a political in England, one must band together and fight openly against the troops. Otherwise, should your Government demand it, you will be extradited.

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor of "Solidarity."

In the current issue of Solidarity Mr. Merlino brings out, as a clinching argument against liberty, the statement that this American land started with liberty and has ended in the slavery and inequality that we see.

Incidentally, I may say that I am glad that Mr. Merlino has been brought to admit that communism denies liberty.

In assuming, however, that anything like real liberty ever existed in America, Mr. Merlino himself will no doubt, upon reflection, agree that he was mistaken. In the two fundamentals, there has never been liberty at all,—land and money.

There has been abundance of land and it has been comparatively cheap, much of it still cheap. Some of it even could be occupied and finally appropriated under the Homestead Acts, by conforming with a certain process of red tape duty classdown. [illegible]

But free land never has been.

The principle that unoccupied land could be used by anybody, without a thankyou to any body, has never been assimilated by the people, is barely now beginning to take root.

Consequently, from the start, land titles were recognized and Rent was established.

In the matter of money too, there never has been freedom in this country. In, colonial days, it is true there was a time when banking and currency was free, but it is recorded that the people became so independent that they no longer cared for politics or Government, and of course Government suppressed free money by threat of armed force. Thus from the earliest days Interest was established.

Now if Mr. Merlino will look back, he will find that independence of spirit and body, as well as prosperity, has been steadily diminishing from an earlier period of comparatively greater freedom to the later period of comparatively less freedom.

Consequently he will find that freedom has never been perfect, and, such as it has been, it has not been a constant quantity in connection with a diminishing prosperity. On the contrary, liberty and prosperity have diminished together.

As for Tucker, he is no doubt desperately impolite, I have often told him so. Nevertheless, I tolerate him, and Mr. Merlino will find it worth his while to put up with him too, and consider what he says; for in spite of all, he has brains.

John Beverley Robinson.

Comrade Merlino will, of course, answer Mr. Robinson's courteous and interesting letter. He will doubtless be surprised, as I was, to hear that he has admitted that "communism denies liberty."

Man—being a social being evolved from a gregarious animal—can only reach his highest development in society. To me, communism is the highest conceivable form of society, and the indispensible condition for the attainment of perfect liberty. J. H. E.

COMRADES, AGITATE FOR OUR PAPER.

"SOLIDARITY"

"WHY GOVERNMENT AT ALL?"

(Continued.)

Here is a paragraph from chapter II., part III:

"With monopoly and privilege operating by and through the law, it is utterly impossible to prevent the degeneracy of labor through reduction of wages; the crushing out of the small merchants and manufacturers through rents, taxes, interest, and disadvantage in competition; or the farmer through the foreclosure of his mortgage, and the multitude of agencies which rob him of his earnings. No association of interests, no political reform, no effort of public charity, or of instruction, can change, or virtually modify, the increasing dependence. Those social reformers who seek to ameliorate the condition of mankind, individually or socially, whether socialists, anarchists, single taxers, communists, or third party men, and who would remove the obstacles to man's natural development, must see, that those obstacles lie wholly in legal restraints to his natural liberty, that they are inherent in the law itself, and that they can never be removed except by removing the law. These facts once clearly recognized, all will see that the real ends of all social reformers are identical, that the place of each is shoulder to shoulder with all the others, and that they are properly allies working together for the same purpose, and must use the same means. And when they learn further that it is far easier to compass the entire destruction of the law, to destroy every possible monopoly, and reach absolute liberty, than to make any essential amendment to the law, it seems impossible for them to hesitate a moment longer. The only limit to which these tendencies are carried, as I said before, is the limit of endurance of the people; and that depends upon the degree of general intelligence which prevails."

But listen to this as we cull it from chapter VI., part III.: "*Of crime; its nature and its cause.*"

"Then the nature of crime is, that it is the natural resistance, or protest, against the oppressions of the law; that law, itself being a violation of natural right, is the real criminal, while those who resist it and put it to open shame are really the virtuous, and deserve the commendations instead of the curses of their fellows."

The author has written a few things in this book that we cannot agree with, but the only entire chapter that we fail to find some meat in is chapter VIII., part III., on "Public Education." While he justly criticises the institutions that exist, he is simply a destructionist, for he does not even suggest the means of the slightest improvement. He appears to have got into this question and got lost.

Here is a paragraph from chapter IX., page 281, which we can most heartily recommend to the labor organizations of the country that have such a deep respect for the law:

"Yet they say, 'it is better to obey a bad law while it remains a law, than to violate it,' which I deny. Obedience means submission, which is contrary to the spirit of liberty. Monopoly will always teach submission, depending upon its well known ressources to prevent repeal. The oftener a law is violated the sooner it will be repealed or ignored."

Now, we have reached part IV. of the book and we find the remedy put forward by this author. He is uncompromising in his demand for the abolition of the law, and immensely practicable in the means he suggests. We deeply regret that space will not permit us to publish the entire chapter at present, so the best we can do is to submit the gist:

"Law, then, must be abolished instead of amended. It must be destroyed instead of being improved. Why? Because it is the safest course, the easiest course, and the only practicable course. All human history proves that mere changes are unsafe; in fact that at best, the new soon becomes as bad as the old, or worse. I said it was the easiest course. I say more; it is easier to destroy the whole fabric of the law than to amend it in any essential particular. And the easiest way is always the most practicable way.

"It requires no elaborate party organization, no considerable contributions to drain away the ressources of those who are striving for liberty, and no long and anxious waiting for an interminable period of development of humanity before it can be realized. It only requires a clear knowledge of individual rights, a calm but determined insistance upon those rights, and the wisdom to avoid being surprised into acts which would drive away friends, or give excuse for violence from enemies. It involves no long course of training in abstruse principles of political or social economy, which only the learned and thoughtful can grasp or understand. It is doubtful if any ordinary man in any walk of life would not be able to understand so much as is necessary for practi[illegible] intelligent every man's action: his selfishness, and inspires strongly his hopes and anticipations.

"It is a plan upon which all reformers, having in view the ultimate objects of all social reform and who are not wedded to particular methods of attainment, can combine. The single taxer, who cares more to abolish poverty, to free the land, and to bring about the reign of universal and exact justice, than to levy the single tax, will find it the readiest means of reaching his goal. The state socialist who desires to destroy cut-throat competition, to inaugurate an universal co-operation, and a perfect human equality, can secure it without repression, or doing violence in the least to human liberty. The anarchist at one stroke reaches the utmost limit of his highest ideal of liberty. The workingmen, including clerks and professional men, can, and naturally will unite upon such a platform. Small tradesmen and manufacturers will do the same; and the farmers must. It is their only hope. Circumstances, and their own inclination and interests, will all impel them to do so. They cannot possibly pay their mortgages. From the time that public agitation on this line is once begun, monopoly and government are doomed.

"When this government was first established the people had just cast off the chains of another despotism. That despotism had claimed the right to tax them without their permission. And the rupture had come mainly through the attempt to enforce that claim. Therefore it was quite natural that they should try to guard against subsequent attacks upon their liberties from that direction. So they provided both in the national constitution, and in the constitutions of all the states for an effective veto upon the acts of their rulers through control of the appropriations. I do not suppose that they contemplated the possibility of being called upon to use this measure for the destruction of all law, but only as a defense against obnoxious and tyrannical laws. But they builded wiser than they knew. When they understand that all law is tyrannical they will look upon it all as obnoxious.

(*To be continued.*)

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