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.

All those comrades who are in favor of the Conference to be held in Chicago during this summer are invited to attend the meeting which will take place on Saturday, June 24, 8 P. M., at 98 FORSYTH STREET.

AN ODE.

I.

Arise, arise, arise!
There is blood on the earth that denies ye bread;
Be your wounds like eyes
To weep for the dead, the dead, the dead.
What other grief were it just to pay?
Your sons, your wives, your brethren, were they:
Who said they were slain on the battle day?

II.

Awaken, Awaken, awaken!
The slave and the tyrant are twin born foes;
Be the cold chains shaken
To the dust where your kindred repose, repose.
Their bones in the grave will start and move,
When they hear the voices of those they love,
Most loud in the holy combat above.

III.

Wave, wave high the banner!
When freedom is riding to conquest by:
Though the slaves that fan her
Be famine and toil, giving sigh for sigh.
But ye who attend her imperial car,
Lift not your hands in the banded war,
But in her defence, whose children ye are.

IV.

Glory, glory, glory,
To those who have greatly suffered and done!
Never name in story
Was greater than that which ye shall have won,
Conquerors have conquered their foes alone,
Whose revenge, pride, and power they have overthrown:
Ride ye, more victorious, ove' your own.

V.

Bind, bind every brow
With crownals of violet, ivy, and pine:
Hide the blood stains now
With hues which sweet nature has made divine:
But let not the pansy among them be!
Ye were injured, and that means memory!

SHELEY.

THE CONFERENCE.

Our Chicago comrades have taken prompt action in regard to the conference. A preliminary Committee has been formed, of which Wm. Holmes is Secretary, and all comrades throughout the world are requested to write to him at 70 Lasalle Street, Chicago, stating what subjects they would like discussed, etc., as they may care to. We should have published a formal call in this number, but as some difference of opinion has arisen as to the scope and policy of the meeting, we have thought best to submit the whole question to a meeting of all the groups. We should also be very glad to receive the views of all comrades, by mail, and will devote space in SOLIDARITY to the publication of the correspondence. We should especially like the judgment of the comrades on the following points: 1st. Should the conference be limited to professed Anarchists or include all working men and women? 2d. Is there any reasonable ground for hoping that a general appeal to working men at large be answered by a respectable number of really earnest workers open to conviction. In the meantime let all Anarchists see to it there be an assembly of Anarchists whose deliberations will advance our cause.

PRACTICAL ANARCHISM. (1)

On June 17, 1830, the miners of Dubuque assembled around an old cotton-wood log, stranded on an island, and proceeded to form regulations for themselves.

These miners had come to work the lead mines. The land which they proposed to parcel out among themselves, in squares of 200 yards each belonged, then, to the Sac and Fox Indians. They had to resist United States troops sent to protect the rights of the Indians. In 1833, by the Black Hawell Purchase, the land came into the hands of the United States Government. There were then more than 2,000 persons living in Dubuque. *They had no authorized government.* Congress had made no provision for settling the territory: the settlers provided for their own needs as best as they could. Yet, if you ask the average early settler, he will tell that they had never a better time: these years are remembered as the golden age of Iowa.

Other settlers in Iowa came to secure homes. The land belonged to the United States; no surveys had been made. The pioneers in all parts of Iowa organized Land Leagues, Clubs or Claim Associations. These Associations limited the part of each occupier to 160 acres in some cases, to 480, in others, with provision as to what part should be prairie and what part timber; and the duty of making improvements and of occupancy, right to sell, settling of disputes. It is not easy to learn exactly how the decisions of these Associations were enforced. All agree that every man was pledged "to do his duty" in case there was "a difficulty." As to what this "duty" was, testimonies do not agree. Expulsion from the Association, tar and feathers, warning to leave the country, and death are among the penalties mentioned for violating the agreements of the Association.

If the woodlands of the locality were scanty, they were parceled out in small quantities, so that each should have his portion. If there were special mill privileges, they were enjoyed in common. The execution of these (homestead) laws was effective, thorough, cheap, and for the most part, just.

Together with this system of self possession a system of self-government came into existence.

In each neighborhood, as soon as there were enough children of age, a meeting of the citizens was called, a plan for a school-house determined upon, a day set for building, and at the appointed time they came all out and built. Then they hired a teacher and kept up the school as best as they could, paying no attention to the elaborate system put into their statutes. They needed cart-roads, and made them for themselves, constructed their rude bridges or provided ferries without regard to any general statute. Sometimes, though not often, a crime was committed, and the little communities administered such punishment as seemed fit. In one case, at the end of a trial for slander and lying, which lasted three days, it was decided that the defendant "was guilty, that he was unworthy of the respect and confidence of honest men, that all citizens before whom he had been tried bound themselves to have no dealings with him. They would not buy of him or sell to him. They would not enter his house nor receive him into their houses. They would not protect him from the storm, nor warn him of the approach of danger."

Even more characteristic than the "free colonisation" of Iowa was that which took place at a later period, of the mining belts of Sierra Nevada and Rocky Mountains. Hundreds of small communities known as Mining Camps or Districts were formed. No sooner had the men pitched their tents beneath the Sierra snow peaks, than "all the freemen of the camp" assembled and created a "mining district."

In 1866 there were 500 organized districts in California, 200 in Nevada, and 100 each in Arizona, Idaho and Oregon, a total of 1,000 small communities.

Everything went peacefully. Although there were some who "failed to make wages," and near by a man "took out five thousand dollars from a space 20 feet square and 4 or 5 deep," everybody felt secure, because the majority stood for right and justice.

The fact that a prospector had occupied the mouth of a gulch or canon gave no right whatever to forbid others from "highway privileges" across his claim. Pastoral land claimants in the West have often monopolized and controlled thousands of acres of land by the mere location of a "warrant" on a section that contained the springs, or was gateway of a precipice-guarded valley. But never, in all the mining history of the Pacific Coast and Rocky Mountain region, did any prospector succeed in this fraudulent extension of the "possessory right" to use land.

No non-resident stockholders were tolerated; no taking up of claims in the name of distant friends or relatives. If a man left a district for the working season, he must sell his claim to some one who would utilize it. Sometimes Companies took possession of the camp and sent to the Atlantic States for contract-laborers; but before these arrived, prospectors would take possession and divide beds according to custom; so that without a shot being fired, the entire monopoly scheme vanished into thin air.

Early prospectors began to work to obtain as much as possible before any one else knew of the discovery. New comers suggested some definite size for claims and by "mutual consent" and desire to compromise, they soon arrived at some understanding. "Societies" were organized in several cases to work mineral ground in common.

Under the protection of "common custom and usage" extensive Companies were formed, and costly improvements undertaken, tunnels driven many feet through solid rock, shafts sunk on "quartz-claims," expensive roads constructed and mills of large size fitted up with the latest machinery, were built.

The annual meeting was attended by "all claim owners," unless they made "a reasonable excuse." Disputes were settled by arbitration or by calling a camp jury. *In case of local difference and disagreements the miners met to divide the district into two or three, each regulating its own affairs.* In certain cases twenty men or so from one camp were met by an equal number from another camp to settle disputes. Sometimes conflicts arose, and even demonstrations with firearms, but good sense always prevailed.

It is true the miners spoke very much of "laws," and prescribed formalities for the acquisition of "claims," appointed a Recorder and other officials. But what they called "laws" were free agreements," and most of the formalities they submitted to were intended as a safeguard against the legal system existing in the United States. The spirit, however, which animated these "free miners" was a spirit of equality, of an equal right to work and live, and

The Committee will be glad to receive suggestions from comrades and friends of the movement.

wealth, without a Government, without the shade of a shadow of an authority or bureaucracy, speaks volumes and shows not only that Anarchism is practicable but also *how* the coming Social Revolution will be carried on without government. In 1850-1851 a bill was introduced in the Senate of California to establish police regulations throughout the entire mining region and levy a ground tax upon all miners. Many of the Senators favored a sale of Western mineral lands in large tracts to the highest bidders. Eventually the bill was rejected and free mining went on as before.

Quite different was the colonisation of the Cœur d'Alene region in 1884. The friendly and socialistic miners of the California camps of the "Flash Period" have little part in this later development: the capitalist has came to the front and desires the whole of a quartz lode for his mill, or sufficient placer ground to justify the use of hydraulic methods. The United States law of 1872, under which the occupation is made, provides that authorized agents for capitalists may locate and record claims for them. Such a thing was never heard before!....

S. M.

FORWARD!

Our aim being to hasten the triumph of anarchistic ideas, a few words on the best means by which to ensure this end, seem to me to be not altogether out of place. I have frequently heard the remark from comrades, that we should not be too ready to divulge our opinions, that true anarchists seldom allow themselves to be known for such. It strikes me that such comrades do not comprehend the full bearing of the word "Anarchy." Should not our ideas be sown broadcast, discussed upon every possible occasion? Otherwise the bourgeois will have every reason for maintaining that Anarchism can never exist. If we hide ourselves we cannot propagate our principles. No, we must go forward fearlessly.

Again, many comrades content themselves with watching the work of others, but fail to lay their own hand to the plough. To work, brothers! The sooner we bravely handle the task, the sooner will we reach the day of deliverance.

What use is there in calling oneself an anarchist, if one does not agitate? If we fail to explain our ideas to others, we shall simply remain always at the same point. To ensure the Revolution, we must sow seeds of revolt among the masses.

Why are the people so patient to-day? Because they do not understand the causes of their misery. Did they understand them, would there not be a deeper hatred toward their masters and exploiters? Our task then is to teach them to understand, and thus to hasten the growth of revolt.

Others again state that the workmen of this or the other country are already too stupified, that they will never win to Anarchism. Well, these good people deceive themselves; anarchists are to be found in every country, and if prejudices are more deeply rooted in one nation than in another, it does not follow that we cannot destroy them. On the contrary, the scenes at present occurring around us are of great assistance in convincing workmen, and those who appear to us the dullest, will probably be the first to move. No one cares to relinquish every hope of happiness.

Still, one cannot occasionally but smile at the objections that wage-workers raise against our ideas; they wilfully ignore our meaning.

Forward then, brothers. Agitation being necessary, let us sow revolt everywhere, and ere long we shall behold the triumph of Anarchy.

J. B., in *Le Réveil.*

KROPOTKINE TOUR.

Although comrade Kropotkine's visit to this country is not yet definitely arranged, it has already had an excellent effect on the propoganda, by uniting all the groups and sections, in a hearty effort to bring it about. There is but one opinion, and that is in favor of Kropotkine's coming. John Most in the *Freiheit*, the Autonomists in the *Anarchist* most cordially join in the invitation sent to our comrade by the members of the Solidarity Group. The Russian, the German, the Italian, Spanish and French comrades join with the English speaking comrades in the hope that we can arrange a series of meetings throughout the country where we can have the benefit of our comrades' studies, and all join heartily in the preliminary work, as they doubtless will, in all that may be necessary to make the tour a grand success.

"To rent, interest and profit goes the lion's share of the proceeds of industry, leaving to the laborer enough food when trade is good and he is in health; only want and hunger in dull times; [illegible] starvation."

WORSE THAN IRELAND.

Those soft hearted persons in the United States whose sympathies are touched and whose anger is aroused over the stories of cruel evictions which come to us from Ireland, should spare a few of their tears for the similar sufferings in their own land. Not that landlordism in Ireland is less horrible than it is painted, but there is a beauty in the consistency of sweeping your own doorstep before finding fault with the rubbish of your neighbors.

On the 1st of May in every year an army of city marshals starts out in the city of New York to do the brutal work of the tenement district landlords, and helpless women and children are turned into the streets, their few small possessions dumped upon the sidewalks or into the gutters by the authorities of the great city and state of New York. Hard hearted, hard featured, diamond bedecked, blood sucking landlords have but to snap their fingers, and the minions of a mighty municipality ruthlessly tear to tatters with their bony claws the miserable semblances of homes, which are all in the world the poor, downtrodden, robbed wretches of the slums have between them and Potter's Field.

Great is the nineteenth century civilization. Wonderful and glorious is the chief city of the "greatest country on earth." It entertains with splendor and flapdoodle that rivals the gorgeousness of a queen's jubilee the naval engines of destruction belonging to the monarchs of Europe, and at the same time and on the same acre employs its machinery of law to drive little children out into the street to sicken, starve or steal.

Some of the scenes in the police courts as reported in the daily press will show that the picture is not here overdrawn. A kind hearted judge occasionally secures to the unfortunate a few hours for preparation to meet a cruel fate which is unavoidable, but in the end "the law must take its course."

Marshals Sullivan, Alt, Cohn, Myers and Hirschfield started out early in the morning with big batches of summonses, and at 2:30 o'clock there were several hundred persons gathered around the courtroom door waiting for it to open. Just before Judge Goldfogle entered five prosperous looking men filed into the courtroom and took seats in a little inclosure in front of the judge's desk. Each of these men had a big book, which he promptly opened and rested half on the railing in front of him and half on his knees as he looked around the court in a businesslike way. These men were the landlords, and they glowered upon the ragged crowd whose inability to pay rent had brought them into court. A list of the names of the unfortunates was handed to Judge Goldfogle, and he read them off rapidly. As each name was read off the man or woman to whom it belonged took his or her place in the line which the marshals had formed. Before half of the names had been read the line took up all the available space in the room, and the judge decided to dispose of this batch first and then go on with the rest.

A little old woman, who said that her name was Sarah Feingold, was the first called. "My husband is away," she said, "and I can't move or pay my rent until I hear from him."

"Where is he?" asked the judge.

"That's what I don't know," replied the woman tearfully; "he went away the other morning, and I haven't seen him since."

"Where's the landlord in this case?" asked Judge Goldfogle. One of the men in the inclosure responded "Don't you think you can give this woman a few days?"

"She owes me for two months, and she's got to get out."

"But I only want until Wednesday to find some place to go to. Please let me stay until then."

"Well," said the landlord, a fat man, whit big diamonds, "you can have 24 hours, and that's all."

That settled the case, and the woman walked out of the room crying as though her heart would break.

In answer to the name of Annie Crowley a pale faced, slim woman, carrying a baby in her arms and leading another by the hand, stepped to the bar. She began to cry as soon as the judge spoke to her.

"Well, my good woman," said Judge Goldfogle kindly, "why don't you move?"

"I am willing to go, but not to-morrow. Please don't put me out to-morrow. If you do, it will kill my babies."

"Are there any more?"

"There's eight altogether, and two of them are sick. I can move them all right on Wednesday night, but if I'm put out now I'll have to live on the street."

"I want those rooms tomorrow," said one of the landlords, rising. "I've let them, and the people [illegible] ready to

"Oh, she must go, must she?" said Judge Goldfogle. "Well, I'm the judge of this court and have got something to say about it. Madam," turning to the weeping woman, "you may remain in those rooms until Wednesday night."

"But I've let them, and"—began the landlord.

"That'll do," said the judge. "There's such a thing as common humanity, and I believe in showing a little now and then."

And "common humanity" allowed this woman, with eight children to care for and no means besides her poor, tired arms and workworn hands, 48 hours in which to find a miserable shelter or to plunge with her hungry brood into the East River. It was "a little" and quite "common."

In another court the first tenant was Mrs. Rosie Bersoff. She was wrapped in a large coarse shawl. The judge asked her why she wanted to stay in her rooms until Wednesday.

Mrs. Bersoff looked down, but didn't reply. Justice McKean repeated his question. Then Mrs. Bersoff leaned forward and whispered in an officer's ear. The man stepped up to the desk and said something to the justice in a low voice.

"When does she expect it?" asked McKean.

"To-night," answered the officer.

"All right, Mrs. Bersoff," Justice McKean called out. "Go right home and stay there until you feel well enough to move. The marshal shan't touch you."

Is it well that the tender affection of the mother blinds that woman's eyes to the future which lies before her unborn babe? I confess that there is one of the mysteries which I cannot understand.

Then followed a lightninglike disposition of 96 cases. The courtrom was crowded, poverty, suffering, sorrow or degradation was stamped on most of the faces. A deputy clerk took up the list of cases and bawled the names of the landlords and tenants. If a tenant didn't answer, the case went against him by default. If a landlord didn't answer, it made no difference. He was presumably right. In one case, that of William Moran of 505 West Twenty-ninth street, Mr. Moran was out at work, and his wife, who got the summons, was too sick to attend court. A young woman, who declined to give her name represented the Morans.—"Till Wednesday noon to move," said the court when he heard the explanation.

I have given but a few sample average cases. The aggregate in all the courts of the city reached into thousands. Do they prove that the conditions in Ireland which we deplore are duplicated here?

New York. JARB.

THE GERMAN ELECTION.

John Most, in the current *Freiheit*, expresses the opinion that the German Social Democrats are involuntarily playing into the hands of the government by their active parliamentary contest, for says he, if they come into the new parliament with a largely increased number of representatives, they will consolidate the warring factions of the Bourgeoisie, and this is not improbable, for however conservative the leaders of the Socialist movement may become, the masses back of them are in earnest and the German Bourgeoisie knows it full well. Although the banner of Socialism is dragged through the mud of parliamentarism, its color is still red, and your "respectable citizen" doesn't like red.

IMPORTANT.

Hastings, Pa., June 18, 1893.

Dear Comrade,

Please find inclosed fifty cents in stamps for SOLIDARITY. I have been giving away the copies you have sent me of each issue, and I am beginning to see that they do good. At first I had to beg some people to take and read it. Now they begin to ask me if SOLIDARITY has not come yet; and say its very sound reading. Soon I hope to have them helping us financially. It is to be deplored that in a great, large country like this we cannot have an Anarchist weekly in English. Such a paper is greatly needed, and comrades everywhere should do their best to have SOLIDARITY printed every week. I am doing my best to keep up the agitation among the French speaking workingmen, but still I am willing to be one of a hundred to subscribe a regular monthly amount, say one dollar each, to be applied to this purpose. Let us see what comrades elsewhere are satisfied to do "each according to his ability," and then, if the needed amount is subscribed, let us all pay up a month or two at once, to give the paper a start, then afterwards, pay up regular every month, as long as the paper will be in need.

It is time to act! and, a weekly paper will certainly find support, where one published now and again cannot hope to. Yours in the battle for

VAN ORNUM'S REMEDY.

I must confess to a feeling of keen disappointment that comrade Van Ornum should have brought his arraignment of the existing society to such a lame and impotent conclusion. We are to elect legislators who will refuse to legislate, and thereby bring government to an end? And how are we to do this? I can imagine but one way, to argue, exhort, educate, until we have convinced a respectable minority of the correctness of our scheme, then to form a political party to convert the minority into a majority. How long would this take? How many generations of men would pass away before we could hope to unite a clear majority on such a proposition?

We had an illustration of the effect of politics on the program of a reform party, in the Henry George Movement.

That movement started with a clean cut policy, we were to abolish the private ownership of land values by means of the "Single Tax." How long did we hold that simple proposition, through one campaign, and then the hope of office corrupted the Apostle himself, the party split, and what is left of it to-day, but a mere tag on the tail of the mere Democratic dog. The single tax movement started as a revolutionary movement, its sudden rise and wonderful growth spread terror through the ranks of the Plutocracy, but political methods and morals soon did their work, and instead of proclaiming the brotherhood of man and equal rights to the earth we had dreary platitudes about free trade and laudations of Grover Cleveland. Again in Kansas history repeated itself, the populist governor and legislature marched up the hill with banners flying and drums beating, the citadel of plutocracy was to be stormed, the people emancipated forthwith; and then! Why, then they marched back again and proceeded to pass the appropriation bills, and a lot of other measures either useless to the people or harmful to them. And so would our representatives act, they would give us fine speeches before the election full of revolutionary zeal, and after the election: they would pass the appropriation bills, draw their salaries, and set up a new program of "sensible moderate measures," unless there was an aroused people back of them whom they dare not face. Not because legislators are necessarily dishonest scoundrels, not at all, but because the regular peaceful routine of parliamentary procedure is the direct negation of revolutionary action. Men go to the legislature filled with zeal and quite clear as to their duties, but in the midst of the interminable palavering and intriguing of parliamentarism, "the native hue of resolution is sicklied o'er with a pale cast of thought and loses the name of action," even among honest men, and as for the dishonest, they have reduced the management of representative bodies to an exact science. But if the people were aroused to such a state of determined conviction that their representatives dared not disobey them, government would fall without the intervention of any political machinery whatever. Whenever people are determined to abolish government, they will attend to the business themselves.

It is too much the fashion to point to the act of legislatures as constituting the revolutions of the past; as a matter of fact, no great social grievance has ever been formally abolished by any legislature until the people had practically abolished the grievance themselves, and nothing remained for the legislature but to ratify the acts of the people. It was not the "Convention" that abolished the ancient regime in France, but the peasants who stormed the castles of their feudal lords, and the work people of Paris who destroyed the Bastille.

It was the people who rejected every successive bargain and compromise of these representatives until the ground was cleared for the modern state. English history teaches us the same lesson. Why even the last great Reform Bill was only passed because the people of England had shown that they would not submit any longer to the unmitigated rule of the land and money lords.

The Reform Bill was a compromise with the revolution. Pinkertonism has received its death blow not through legislation but through the revolt at Homestead. The militia system will be abolished when working men lose their superstitious reverences for law and authority and treat the militia men as they treated the Pinkertons. Our government will be abolished whenever the mass of people refuses to be governed and not before, and the time for every individual and for every community to revolt is when they have had enough of it. Old Pasha Loring used to sum up his experience of fifty years of soldiering by saying: "Whenever two armies meet in battle, there are a certain number of men on each side who had rather die than be defeated on that day. Now all of these men must be killed or disabled before that battle can be won, and the army that has the greater number of such men will always win the day, regardless of the total number engaged."

Our scientific friends are constantly telling us that economic changes in society must precede political changes? That the productive power of mankind was so limited in the past that only a small minority could live in enlightment and comfort, while the majority were of necessity doomed to unremitting toil. Well, let the dead past bury its dead. Whatever may have been the case aforetime the power of man over nature is now so great that only freedom is necessary to enable all to live in comfort (yes, even in luxury), but between us and the happy land of freedom stands the small minority that claims for itself the exclusive benefit of all the intellectual and material achievements of humanity. Our estate is in hands of a robber, whenever even a small minority of the disinherited would rather die in the fight for freedom than live in slavery, the robber will be dispossessed and not before. At least, that is my conviction, and I cannot therefore believe that comrade Van Ornum's remedy is a remedy at all. It seems to me rather a deplorable mistake.

J. H. E.

GLIMPSES OF THE DAWN.

The "College Settlement" and the "Neighborhood Guild," two organizations of kindred character, exist in this city, with headquarters at 95 Rivington St. and 26 Delancey St. respectively. The objects of each is to encourage the institution of self-reliance and self-help among the poor, the workers. One method of accomplishing this which they are at present prosecuting together is an attempt to establish a "People's Cooperative Store" in the tenth ward. They have opened a Cooperative Dairy at 71 Rivington St., near Allen St., in which they invite the people of that vicinity to become partners and patrons. In the prospectus, which they have issued they say:

"A share costs one dollar, and interest will be paid upon it at the rate of six per cent. per annum. At the end of every six month the profits for that period will be divided among the shareholders in proportion to the amount of goods they have bought. By this arrangement every shareholder will be getting these articles at cost price.

"To ensure the success of the store the 'Neighborhood Guild' has determined to bear the losses itself, if there should be any. It has set aside for this purpose $700. The stockholders therefore run no risk of loss whatever.

"Every man, woman and child, whether shareholders or not, should trade at the Dairy, because there they will find:

"Milk, absolutely pure and fresh. Special arrangements have been made for procuring pure milk for family use, delivered in locked cans without chance for dilution; and also bottled milk for babies. Eggs, newly laid and delivered at the Dairy directly from the country. No lime eggs, no stale eggs.—Butter and cheese, genuine articles. Fresh, finely flavored, warranted free from adulteration.

"All these articles, by special arrangement, delivered fresh from the country, and sold at lowest market prices."

The Dairy will be successful if the people can be got to support it, which is doubtful, at least at this time. Through the working of the proposed plan the element of profit will be eliminated, although the feature of interest is retained, and rent cannot be avoided, so that at best-given success, it resolves the problem in but one third of its totality, but we can sincerely say, for even this relief, much thanks! The movement must be a factor for education in any event, and we hail the organizations concerned in it as propagandists!

Wages are regulated by the cost of living. Reduce the cost of living and you reduce the rate of wages, and the potency of the commercial system is ever present, ever ready to cruelly enforce this economic effect.

Under date May 24, a dispatch from Brussels states that the International Conference of Miners, at which 1,094,000 mineworkers were represented by delegates, a vote on the adoption of the eight hour working day for miners showed that the representatives of 994,000 miners favored the measure and almost the same vote favored a universal strike to enforce it. The delegates representing the miners of the North of England and Wales voted with the minority. The Conference voted unanimously in favor of the exclusion of female labor from mine work. The question of the nationalization of mines, making them the property of the State, was refered to the next International Conference.

The Industrial Council of Kansas City, composed of the city's various labor organizations, proposes to establish a labor exchange in that city. The plan is unique. It provides for members in every position of life who shall exchange their products with each other.

The farmer will bring a load of turnips to town and dump them in the cellar of the labor exchange's store. For them he will receive "units in value" in checks issued by the labor exchange. With these he can buy dry goods and groceries at the store, or he can go to the exchange's lumber yard and buy lumber.

He can also with these checks go with his family to the exchange's places of amusement. Schools also are a part of the plan, though churches are not mentioned.

"Men and Theories of Anarchy" and "Social Politics."

By A. Hamon.

The first is a book and the second a pamphlet by an author whose work should by known to all students of social science. The pamphlet is a vigorous vindication of the Anarchists from the foolish assertions of the so-called anthropological school that pretend to see in them only criminals. The book is a splendid picture of the social and economic conditions of France in 1892. It is impossible to read these pages teeming with the daily crimes of the ruling classes and bleeding, as it were, for the miseries and suffering of the people, without feeling that the present state of things can not last much longer. The smallest events of social life which pass unobserved in the daily press, when brought together as they are in this book, in logical connection with each other, acquire an unusual importance, and open up new vistas before us. A book like this ought to be written in each country, and it would be the best indication of our principles.

S. Merlino.

CORRESPONDENCE.

"St. Louis, Mo., June 1st, 1893.

"Editor Solidarity,
"New York City.

"Dear sir.—I have been getting copies of your paper sometime and always read what you put without prejudice, but when Mr. Merlino says that Henry George, just as Herbert Spencer, was guilty of "philosophical legerdemain," I know that he is prejudiced, so that he is not able to distinguish black from white. I believe that no doctrine has been as consistently advocated, as the single tax on land values has been by Henry George. I have read every thing that I could get on Anarchism, but cannot see any cure for our unjust conditions but the single tax on land values as the first step to equal freedom.

"Respectfully yours,
"G. A. Menger,
"1714, N. 9th St., St. Louis, Mo."

ANSWER.

I am unable to agree with Mr. Menger, as to the consistency of Henry George, for I recollect too well, when Henry George, during the mayoralty campaign spoke of free-trade and protection as unimportant questions, and then astonished us by proclaimaing free-trade as the paramount issue, and hailing Grover Cleveland as the Moses who would lead us out of the wilderness. I should advise Mr. Menger to read Mr. Sullivan's book on the "Genesis of Progress and Poverty." Henry George is a clever man and a brilliant writer, he as done a great service by popularizing the ideas of Louis Blanc.

For some time it seemed as though he would really be the great champion of the disinherited, but he wasn't built that way, and has sunk to the position of intellectual lackey to a handful of millionaires.

Chicago, Ill.

Comrades,

The newly organized Progressive Club, of this city has already secured permanent headquarters. We have rented rooms at 14th and Johnson streets (Sauten's Hall) where we have a lecture-room, library and reading-room. The rooms will be open day and night, and all working people are invited to call and use our rooms and read our books. Lectures on social and economic subjects will be given twice a week. Friends of liberty and education can assist in the good work by sending in books, pamphlets, magazines, etc., for our library. Address as above.

Radical papers are requested to reprint this notice.

Fraternally,

Literature, in art and in science [illegible]. He also may be found artizans and laborers from al[illegible] committee will be glad to receive suggestions [illegible] comrades and friends of the movement.

THE NEW AMERICAN REVOLUTION.—

Substance of a lecture delivered by our comrade during his recent visit to England.

The United States offer to-day a far more instructive lesson to the student of sociology than can be found in another nation; in the first place because of the rapidity with which the economic evolution has moved, and the point it has attained; and, in the second place, because of the revolting contrast between the democratic ideal which the masses desperately cling to and the plutocratic tsardom into which the march of the capitalistic system is hurrying them.

The conquest of Europe by the privileged minority that to-day holds her in its grip has been the slow and arduous work of centuries. In America we have changed all that. Here we have shown to the world how cunning is mightier than the boggling sword; for, within a couple of generations, it has laid at the feet of the plutocracy a realm that—exclusive of Alaska—has more than double the area of the Chinese empire, and that, with modern machinery and a population trained to the use of inventions, has powers of wealth-production beside which the capacities of China shrivel into impotent pauperism. As an inventor and improver of machinery England easily leads the other nations of the world; but, for every patent that is taken out in Great Britain, there are four issued in the United States. As a manufacturing country England has been supposed to bear away the palm; but, so far back as 1880 the "infant" industries of the States—that cry so loudly for the fostering hand of protective tariff—exceeded in output the British factories by $629,000,000. It is by reason of her coal and iron resources that England has been able to claim the title of "Workshop of the World," but, while iron is mined in at least twenty-three States of the Union, there are several of these which are to-day capable of supplying single-handed the world's demand. In a word, though bled at the throat by five years of fratricidal war, the United States could show, in 1880, wealth greater than that of Russia, Turkey, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Italy, Australia, South Africa and South America combined, these countries only being able in all to muster up $40,000,000,000 as against $44,000,000,000 of the United States. By 1890 the wealth had increased from $44,000,000,000 to $61,000,000,000, and it is advancing daily by leaps and bounds.

But what has become of it? That is the question in which we are all interested. It is certain that there must be a vast number of us who have not shared in this unparalled prosperity, for, even as I write, the American papers are quoting the statement of an expert who tells us that there are at present some two million men out of work. In the metropolis of the "Golden State" alone—there are said to be to-day from 12,000 to 14,000 unemployed. To those, however, who can understand the simple proposition that, if Tom gets more than his share, Dick will have to go short, the conundrum is explained when one states that in San Francisco there are over 100 millionaires, and, in the States at large over 6,000. These figures are quoted from Senator Ingalls, himself a member of the American House of Lords. But the average reward of the wageworker still sticks at a trifle under a dollar (4s. 2d.) a day. It may suggest itself, perhaps, that in this is the secret of the millionaire fortunes.

How has this inequality been rendered possible?

In the first place, the plutocracy have seen to it that the land has got into—the proper hands. Here, there being no cumbrous settlements, or laws of entail and primogeniture, to hamper transfers, land has been treated from the start as ordinary merchandise, and has found its way, if not nominally, yet with terrible reality, into the clutches of the man with the money-bag. The coal and the timber lands have, by a series of notorious frauds, slipped entirely into the hands of a few great syndicates, and, if there are still thousands of farmers who figure on the assessment rolls as owners of land, they are crushed to the very ground with mortgages. As a recent number of the *Twentieth Century* aptly put it: "Nine million mortgages are reported in the census. There are not much more than 12,000,000 families in America."

In the old countries, bad though conditions are, there is still some relic of the traditional feudal sentiment that makes eviction the last step to which a landlord will reluctantly resort. In America there is no such sentiment at all. If the tenant cannot pay, out he goes. Thus, though the wail of the evicted Irish tenant has filled the earth—and good luck to him for having the sense to cry out when he is hurt—in Ireland, during 1890, the [illegible] numbered [illegible] over 5,000. In [illegible] were 28,000 evictions, 6,100 of which were in one judicial district. By the same token a fine country for the lawyers is America.

I would lay much stress on the absence of sentiment in all business affairs here, for it shows how completely we have left the feudal stage behind and entered the commercial era. The cash-nexus is the only bond we recognize; we are not at our offices ten hours a day for fun, we are there to make money. We do not go into politics that we may belong to the most gentlemanly club in the world; we go into them because "to the victors belong the spoils." Similarly, if we can make an extra dollar by discharging an old employee, we are not to be stopped from it by the customary whine about a starving wife and children. Why should *we*, forsooth, be called upon to support them as pensioners of our charity?

So, as I have already shown, we have proved ourselves the most inventive of all nations in appliances for doing away with human labor, and what we have already accomplished in the domaine of *production* we are now extending to the domain of *distribution*. Taking a leaf from the Socialists' book, we are practising in our "Trust" the economics of combination, concentrating our industries in a few selected centres, shutting up useless branch offices, and discharging armies of superflous book-keepers, salesmen and the like. But for the stupidity of Mrs. Cyrus V. McCormick we should have had by this time a "Trust" of all the agricultural implement houses, an economy that would have saved us the wages of 13,000 of these office drudges.

As it is, what *The New Nation* calls the "Armed Camp of Commerce" is now organized in 159 "Trusts," representing as many monopolies of various industries. One of those has a capital of a hundred million dollars; taken all through, they average nine and a half millions each, and the man who can compete with such a capital is somewhat of a scarcity. As a side advantage may be mentioned the fact that the workman in any of these industries has now no longer a choice of masters. If he does not like our service he may lump it in some other occupation; if he kicks, as he has been kicking recently at Homestead and elsewhere, why—let him kick.

I fear that I have already occupied too much space in my endeavor to show that the democratic ideal of equality does not square with the existing facts; that competition has already past into monopoly; and that, alike in the matter of economic evolution and in that of the spirit of revolt—as shown by the constantly increasing bitterness of the struggle between capital and labor—the United States are to-day in a most advanced stage.

One other point: while in England the advanced reformers are pottering about "one man, one vote," "payment of members," and the like, here we have passed that infantile period years ago, having had all these alleged blessings for generations past, and and having them with us still. Their name is "Tammany," and others of that ilk.

W. C. Owen.

TRAITORS TO THE CAUSE!

A few days ago Belgium was on the verge of a social revolution. Hundreds of thousands of workmen had struck work; conflicts had taken place in several localities between the strikers and the troops; in one or two cases the soldiers had joined the workmen, and the situation was so alarming that already the government was discussing the military intervention of Germany and England.

It is true this movement aimed apparently at nothing better than universal suffrage. But it matters little what the OCCASION is on which a revolution is started. All revolutions have had the humblest origins. There are different phases in a revolutionary movement: the flood rises by degrees. And it would be a mistake to expect that the Social Revolution must of necessity begin by a revolt with the definite object of establishing Socialism. Besides, what the Belgian workers understand by universal suffrage is difficult to define. Like the English workers in 1832, they have been given to believe that an extension of the suffrage means a better state of things altogether; more freedom, better food, a more human existence, and the end of all human injustice and the exploitation to which they are at present subject.

In time of peace it is our duty to point out to them that they are mistaken; but in time of action we Anarchist Socialists must never forget that after all the misunderstanding as to the real meaning of words, the aspirations of the proletariat are at bottom the same as ours.

The situation in Belgium may be summed up in two sentences: The Social Democrats have played 1890. And the Anarchists have kept aloof (with a few exceptions) from the movement, or have failed in the part they were called upon to take.

In 1890 the miners went on strike and called upon the leaders of the Social Democratic party to keep an old promise and proclaim a general strike. The labor party leaders promised them that, if the revision of the Constitution was not decided upon by the Chamber on a certain day, and universal suffrage agreed upon, the general strike should be proclaimed.

The day came, the Chamber had done nothing. The Social Democratic leaders were forced to issue a manifesto calling for a general strike. But at the end of a few days the said leaders took advantage of the fact that a committee of the Chamber had nominated one of its members to report on the question of the revision of the Constitution, and at once issued a counter-manifesto inviting the men to resume work. The result was that the report was not presented for months, the whole subject remained in obeyance, and after three years the only way to urge matters on a little seemed to be another general strike.

This time again the people have been diddled by the leaders, who have played into the hands of the middle classes by accepting as a victory the plural vote, which the Chamber has enacted. For those who honestly believe in universal suffrage as a panacea, this plural vote is a sham, and worse than a sham—an outrage on the working man. By giving to professional men and property owners three votes against the workman's one, it emphasises the worker's condition of inferiority, and the domination of the classes over the masses of the people. Practically the system will result in the triumph of the Catholic party at the next elections.

Yet the Social Democratic leaders have shouted "Victory" over this miserable fiasco, and have induced the workmen to resume work without taking advantage of the situation to obtain a single social reform.

And what have the Anarchists done? Where were they? They had lost their influence with the people by, for some time past, HOLDING ALOOF FROM THE LABOR MOVEMENT. They played their part beforehand in so far as the denunciation of universal suffrage goes; but when the moment came to act, not to discuss; when there was the opportunity to fight; when tens of thousands of people were assembled together, and only thirty gendarmes confronted them; when the people saw some of their ranks fall under the balls of the soldiers, no one was there to turn the uprising into a revolution!

GIFT, INHERITANCE, ETC.

The Dominie's hope of getting possession of something for nothing will have no place in civilized society. Under future conditions, newcomers will bring nothing into the world (as they do not now). They will be assured of having everything they may want while here, and when they are leaving there will be nothing after them in which they can exercise the right of property—the right to use or abuse. Humanity will remain to manage its own affairs. "The earth belongs in usufruct to the living."

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