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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Make Money Orders payable to JEFFERSON RAY, Sec'ry. Postage Stamps are accepted.

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 individuals / ends are doing likewise. We should like very much to see this / thod more generally adopted. By this means trades unions, public meetings, etc., can be practically pamphleted. J. H.

Comrades to whom the further appearance of SOLIDARITY is dear should not fail to be present at the meeting of Solidarity Group, which will take place on Saturday, August 5, 8 P. M., at 98 FORSYTH STREET.

THE SPIDER AND THE BEE.

A TALE FOR THE TIMES.

He had closed his volume of theorie;
He rose from his restful reverie;
—"The world must be saved by sympathie."

He wandered forth in the summery air;
Not much he knew of stress of care,
And nothing at all of the thing—Despair.

Pain was "pain," and four letters long;
And "force" five letters, always wrong;
Sympathy said so, 'twixt song and song.

In a rose-bush a spider's net spied he,—
So neat, so clever, so orderlie;—
And, lo! in its meshes a honey-bee.

The spider was large and her net was tough;
She watched till the bee had struggled enough
Before it was worth her while to be rough.

But a hole in her institution, you see,
Must never be made by a struggling bee;
Oh, preposterous thought! Oh, catastrophe!

So she rushed, and she clutched, and she bit, and she wove
As a spider will weave whose ancestors throve;
And vainly the bee in the agony strove.

And he who stood by felt his sympathie
Enlisted for spider, enlisted for bee;
—"I wish you may both! *survive* (?)" said he.

"Oh, grand old Nature! who gives reward,
"And honey to busy bees doth afford,
"And honey *and bee* to the spider's hoard.

"Oh, poor bee! buzzing in vain, in vain;
"I sympathize too in your arduous strain!
"May bees of the future escape such pain!

"To free you by Force were a serious wrong,
"For spiders have lived in this way *so long*.
"They "*worke*" at their nets, so neat, so strong.

"Besides, Coercion!—so wicked, you see!—
"To compel that fat spider to set you free
"Were "in principle" evil, for you and for me.

"Be sure I *am* sorry! perhaps some day
"Spiders will cease to subsist on prey,
"Or honey-bees fly no more in their way.

So the sun went down, and the spider fed
On the agonised honey-bee, not yet dead;
And sympathy sighed, and went home to bed.

. . . . . .

What of the tale? Well, it is n't exact;
Yet it hints at an ugly and pitiful act,
"Philosophy" severing language from fact.

Sympathy's name is a shibboleth spoken;—
Nets of web[illegible]ners be speedily broken!—

TO THE READERS OF SOLIDARITY.

When Comrade Merlino left for Europe, a few of us undertook the labor of issuing SOLIDARITY.—We have done our best, but our best was evidently not good enough, for the paper is not being supported. We have not issued the paper regularly because we did not wish to increase the deficit with which we started; and therefore adopted the plan of printing only when we had the money to pay the printer.

We have broken the rule. The present issue is not paid for. We have received $14.00 since our last issue and a number of SOLIDARITY costs at least $30.00. Two of us have guaranteed the payment of the deficit, and as we are workingmen we cannot do this very often—in fact we shall not do it again; so there you have it. The present issue of SOLIDARITY will be the last unless the money to pay the printer is forthcoming.

I am well aware of the shortcomings of SOLIDARITY. All of us do our work on it at night after our daily round in the capitalistic threadmill—and it goes without saying that we often fail to do ourselves justice.

But such as it is, SOLIDARITY is the only Anarchistic paper in this Country published in the English language, and if you are really devoted to the cause you will support it until you can get a better.

It has been suggested that a guarantee fund stored be formed by a number of persons who will contribute a certain sum per week; if this were done and fifteen dollars weekly were raised, SOLIDARITY would be published regularly. It will certainly be a pity if the paper is allowed to die at present. Much hope will die with it.

J. H. EDELMANN.

London, July 5, 1893.

Dear Comrades,

I learn through *Solidarity* that the Amer.. comrades are organizing for me a lecturing tour. There must be some misunderstanding in the matter, as I have already twice written to friends in America, in answer to their inquiries, that, to my very great regret, I see no possibility of coming to the States for the present.

At any rate, if I only could come, I should have organized my journey in such way that the comrades should have nothing whatever to do with a "guarantee fund" and like money matters, and might give all their attention to propaganda of ideas alone.

Yours fraternally,

P. KROPOTKIN.

CALL FOR THE CONFERENCE.

TO THE ANARCHISTS OF THE WORLD, GREETING.

Many of us have become convinced that the time has come to assemble together in convention for the purpose of collectively proclaiming to the world the great principle of human liberty; to devise means whereby we may be able to demonstrate the faith that is within us; to suggest plans for strengthening our movement; to compare our views by discussions of sociological theories; to meet new faces and renew old friendships, and to cement, if possible, the fraternal ties which should bind together in loving accord all those who are struggling to achieve an era of free men and women.

Here in Chicago, in this great anniversary year, are gathered together representatives of all nations. We have with us the haughty and titled aristocrat of the old world; the millionaire and multi-millionaire of the new. The owners of the earth, with all its vast store of treasure, are here. Men and women of every land, who has become famous in literature, in art and in science are here. Here also may be found artizans and laborers from al-

[illegible] nal, published / the [illegible] filled it to overflowing with wonderful creations of their genius, skill and industry. Here we daily have notable gatherings of patriots, reformers, religionists and specialists of every shade of opinion and belief, many of whom congregate to sound the praises of those all-powerful and popular institutions: the church and state. Here also has recently been erected a monument, commemorative of Labor's murdered martyrs, which aptly illustrates the real character of those institutions.

As part of this World's Congress of Nations, amid the pomp and glory of this wonderful exhibition of man's progress, amid the general efforts being put forth—by some to rivet the chains of slavery more firmly upon the people, by others to set them free,—the anarchists of the world should assemble, to once more discuss their principles and devise methods of future action.

You are therefore invited to attend an International Conference of Anarchists in Chicago, to be convened on Saturday morning, September 16, 1893, and to continue from day to day until such business as may be brought before it is done. Let us see if Anarchists of all shades of opinion and belief cannot agree upon some common plan of work which will enable us to act together to resist the growing encroachments of monopoly and greed.

Comrades, let our watchcry be Liberty, through Anarchy the solidarity of the human ra[illegible]

THE COMMITTEE.

WM. HOLMES, Sec'y.

70 La Salle St., Chicago, July 10, 1893.

IMPORTANT.

All persons proposing to take part in the coming International Convention are requested to send their names to the Secretary of the Committee in Chicago as soon as possible. This will enable the Committee to look after accommodations for visitors and to identify them when they arrive. European societies electing delegates to the Convention, should, so far as practicable, select persons having some knowledge of the English language. Those having special addresses to deliver are requested to send the titles of their respective subjects to the Secretary so that he can receive them by the first of September; and it would be well for all organizations sending instructed delegates to forward copy of instructions in advance, so that printed programmes may be prepared of the proceedings of the Convention. No address should be over thirty minutes in length.

The coming Congress should be made an epoch in the economic movement of the world. It is of the utmost importance that every act shall be well considered; every hour profitably spend. To facilitate the general business of the Convention the Committee deem it advisable to map out a programme, subject to general approval, comprising important subjects to be discussed and acted upon, although of course the Convention, when assembled, will mainly decide its own course of action.

Among the important matters recommended by the Committee as worthy of being considered are the following:

First.—The issuing of a Manifesto, or Declaration of principles, to which all Anarchists can subscribe.

Second.—A discussion of general sociological theories and studies necessary to promote our knowledge, and thereby increase our usefulness as propagandists.

Third.—A discussion of tactics—methods to promote unity of action throughout the world.

Fourth.—To consider methods of removing the prevailing prejudice against Anarchy.

Fifth.—The Anarchy press; how shall it be supported.

Sixth.—The proper attitude of Anarchists toward other schools of social and industrial reform.

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

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ALTGELD AND THE ANARCHISTS.

Long before this number of SOLIDARITY is placed before its readers the electric wires will have flashed all over the civilized world the joyful news of Governor Altgeld's brave act in pardoning our imprisoned comrades. On Monday, the twenty sixth day of June, the day following the unveiling in Waldheim Cemetery of the beautiful statue erected in memory of our martyred dead, the prison doors were opened and after being dead to the world for 7 long weary years, Samuel Fielden, Michael Schwab and Oscar Neebe came back to life and freedom. It had been known, by a select few, for some time, that the Governor intended to exercise his pardoning power in behalf of the imprisoned Anarchists. Some, more skeptical than the rest, had little faith in the good intentions of Altgeld, while all, skeptics and believers, were completely astounded at the manner in which the good deed was at last done. Not content with simply opening the prison doors to our comrades, which, as an act of mercy is as much as was looked for by the most sanguine, the Governor distinctly announces that his act is one of tardy justice. He declares that the Anarchists have been imprisoned wrongfully and in an opinion of seventeen thousand words he bravely and boldly sets forth his reasons. He rebukes the Supreme Courts, vigorously denounces the conduct of Gary, Grinnell, Bonfield and every person who assisted in the infamous conspiracy to strangle free speech, and shows, by the most overwhelming proof, that the charge of murder against our comrades, their trial, conviction, and the final execution of the verdict of the jury, were actuated by prejudice and malice. His act, coupled with the reasons he sets forth, is not only one of tardy justice to the living, it is a complete vindication of the dead. It is an arraignment of the methods of Courts and council for the prosecution. *It indirectly, yet plainly, charges that our friends were—as we have constantly asserted—judicially murdered.*

I wish that every reader of SOLIDARITY and every citizen of the United States could have a copy of this remarkable document. I know of nothing in print which would be as likely to set the people thinking. It is the greatest agitation paper in existence. Written and published by any of us (and it is to our shame that a like document has not long since been published) it would have proven a power in the propaganda, but emanating from the source which it does—from a lawyer, an ex-judge, a Governor of one of the principal states in the Union—its significance and power are vastly augmented. It is a state paper, an official document; not merely the opinion of a citizen and a lawyer. There is no doubt that it will be put into pamphlet form and speedily published.

Governor Altgeld's statement of the case, as published in the daily press of this city, commences with a brief review of the Haymarket meeting, the descent of the police, the succeeding conflict and the trial of the accused. He then goes on to say, "the several thousand merchants, bankers, judges, lawyers and other prominent citizens of Chicago, who have by petition, by letter and in other ways urged executive clemency, mostly based their appeal on the ground that, assuming the prisoners to be guilty, they have been punished enough; but a number of them, who have examined the case more carefully and are more familiar with the record and with the facts disclosed by the papers on file, base their appeal on entirely different grounds. They assert:

1.—"That the jury which tried the case was a packed jury selected to convict.

2.—"That according to the law as laid down by the Supreme Court, both prior to and again since the trial of this case, the jurors, according to their own answers, were not competent jurors and the trial was therefore not a legal trial.

3.—"That the defendants were not proved to be guilty of the crime charged in the indictment.

4.—"That as to the defendant Neebe, the state's attorney had declared at the close of the evidence that there was no case against him, and yet he has been kept in prison all these years.

5.—"That the trial judge was either so prejudiced against the defendants, or else, so determined to win the applause of a certain class in the community that he could not and did not grant a fair trial."

Each of these reasons for urging executive clemency (any one of which should have been sufficient) are then considered at considerable length.

Otis Favor's now famous affidavit is presented in full, and Grinnell's conduct in the selection of the jury is shown, thus proving beyond the shadow of a doubt "that the jury which tried the case was a packed jury selected to convict." The verbatim [illegible] over talesmen [illegible] were 28,000 competent to try the case. In support of the reason "that the defendants were not proved to be guilty of the crime charged in the indictment," the Governor quotes Judge Gary's own language at the trial and in the recent magazine article written by him, thus condemning that venerable reprobate out of his own mouth. He also shows, by the publication of letters and affidavits, the brutal and despicable character of John Bonfield, charges him with the responsibility of the Haymarket riot and subsequent tragical events, thus placing the blame where it properly belongs. The case as to Neebe is then reviewed and Grinnell comes in for a scoring because of his duplicity and meanness in that connection after a consideration of the evidence against Fielden and Schwab, in which he scathingly rebukes the Court, the state's attorney and the witnesses for the prosecution, the Governor, referring to Gary's abuse in his *Century Magazine* article, of the murdered anarchists, concludes in these stinging words: "It is urged that such ferocity or subserviency is without a parallel in all history; that even Jeffries in England contented himself with hanging his victims and did not stop to berate them after they were dead."

I repeat, the Governor's statement is a complete vindication of both the living and the dead from the charge of murder. It is an endorsement of our own charge that our comrades were the innocent victims of a police plot, a judicial conspiracy, procured through the influence of the money power of this country.

And now how stands the case? Three of the victims, after a cruel punishment lasting more than six years, are free men. They are given permission to take their places in the community with all their "rights" restored. They are expected, however, to abandon their old associates, to abstain from agitation, to cease harboring unpopular opinions, and to become obedient, tractable, law-loving citizens. The great state of Illinois, through its chief executive officer, practically says to them: "You can go now, boys; it was all a mistake, a big blunder on our part; we have caused you and your families untold suffering; it was all the fault of our servants, Gary, Grinnell, Bonfield, etc., but never mind, lets say quits and call it square; go home now and be quiet and obedient citizens." And this is all. No compensation for suffering families, for broken hopes, for the wife who died broken-hearted. No recompense for years of toil, not even back pay for 7 years faithful drudgery. No damages for injuries received from the great state of Illinois. And yet the released men are said to have received justice.

And the five whose poor bones lie mouldering in Waldheim Cemetery! What of them? What of the bereft wives and children of those proud-spirited heroes? The opinion and accompanying brave act of the Governor which declares the trial and conviction of the Anarclists to have been a farce and a travesty upon justice, condemns those who were instrumental in securing the felon's death of our noble comrades as brutal murderers. The great state of Illinois cannot atone for that wrong by bringing its victims back to life and restoring them to friends and kindred. The widows and orphans which it made are helpless in their deprivation and suffering they are without redress. They are powerless to obtain justice for themselves or their martyred dead. The day is fast coming when the great state of Illinois would gladly bring immunity from its great crime of the 11th of November by the payment of millions of dollars, but alas for the impotency of such repentance! The dead return no more, but the infamous crime will live forever.

Comrades, let us rejoice that another great step has been taken in the direction of our ideal. There is real ground for hope and comfort in this tardy public vindication of the characters of our friends. Governor Altgeld has dealt a deadly blow at the foundation which supports decaying institutions. Its effect is seen in the impressions of those tools of monoply and privilege—the daily press. The vilest insinuations, the most venomous abuse is daily heaped upon him. It was a brave act and bravely was it done. Bravely and determinedly ought we to assault the breach thus made. It has made us many friends, and with reinforcements thus gained we should press on to victory.

Time brings many changes. It may yet bring to condign punishment, the real perpetrators of the most terrible crime of the Ninthteenth Century. Not till then will justice be done by the living and the dead.

W. H.

The following letter was sent to comrades Eoff, Andlinger and Cleons Wheeling, W. Va., from the Western Penitentiarry. It was received by our comrade Nold on the eighteenth of July. We commend the untiring efforts of the Social Democrats have played

grim walls of his prison, he yet dares to sound a note of heartfelt greeting to his comrades and a defiance to the enemy.

W. H.

Dear Comrades:—We did not expect such a change when we were all together last February for the first time, but it has come, and we can endure it. Probably the time will again come when we can shake hands. I was very angry when I heard that comrade Eoff was denied the privilege of visiting us in jail. They watched us as if we were highway robbers or murderers; nobody was allowed to see us but the lawyers. The prison life here is not so bad as some people imagine, and I feel nearly content, but the fourty-seven months still remaining are long enough. But I can bear it; I am not the first or last victim of the struggle between capital and labor. In Europe all the prisons are full of Socialists and Anarchists, and what are fourty-seven months compared with those who have to serve seven, ten, and twenty years? The labor movement of the whole world shows good progress. Already you can hear the *Marseillaise* all over the world. In the next five years the international labor movement will make more progress than it has during the past ten years. The working people are taking the advice of Carl Marx when he said: "Workman of all countries unite; you have nothing to lose but your chains; you have a world to win," and this fact is like sunshine in my heart. Onward! Greeting to all.

Yours,

CARL NOLD.

THE OUTLOOK.

Looking around us, and examining the experiences of the past few years, we see these facts as self-evident:

1. Our economic system is pursuing its relentless course, regardless alike of the outcries of the suffering, and the ameliorative efforts of well-meaning reformers. Everything that has been protested against, and struggled against as most obnoxious, has grown more pronounced. The wealth of the wealthy has grown more colossal; the poverty of the poor more hopeless and appalling. Hand in hand with the degeneration of physical conditions has gone a corresponding mental degeneracy, evidenced in the growing taste for sensationalism, scandal, indecency, and vulgarity. Sermons and psalm-singing have not had the slightest effect in checking these tendencies, because they are the natural outgrowth of vicious economic and physical conditions.

All who have investigated the statistics know that, with the increasing severity of the struggle for existence, the brutal has necessarily asserted itself more and more. Suicide, murder, and all crimes of violence are steadily increasing; insanity is increasing; political and financial corruption, despite all the efforts of the mugwumps, were never so corrupt. On the other hand, the birth-rate is decreasing: a most suggestive fact.

We regard all this not despairingly but hopefully, knowing that it is merely the dark hour that always *immediately* precedes the dawn. These facts tell us with an all-convincing eloquence that the present system, with its enslavement of the masses through the monopoly by the few of the means of sustaining life, is past reforming. It has to *die*, just as chattel slavery had to die; just as feudalism had to die; and just as piracy, cannibalism, and similar institutions, all sacred in their day, have had to die. We are not interested either in saving it, or in prolonging its wretched life one single moment. We are interested in hastening its dissolution.

2. As ameliorative reforms have proved entirely futile, the mere reforming organizations—even the most radical of them—have necessarily come to grief. What is to-day the real power of the K. of L., which boasted a membership of a million and a quarter some seven years ago? What has become of the Henry George movement, which opened such a spirited crusade against private property in land? Has it diminished the profits of a single land speculator, or stopped the sale of an acre? What would the trade unions amount to if capital did not perpetually infuse new life into them by forcing them to fight? What workingman, or proletarian, has really benefited by the successes of so radical a party as the Social Democrats in Germany? All these, and similar bodies, have accomplished absolutely nothing towards stopping the ravages of the existing system, simply because there was nothing to be accomplished. *What they have done is to prepare men's minds, more or less, for the coming change.*

This then is the [illegible] York. Terms to subscribers: one year, 24 numbers, 75 c.; six months, [illegible]

by the failure of reform parties, keeps steadily growing in breadth and intensity, is discontent and the desire for change. It is the one crop that is always worth the sowing, for it always thrives; the one work that is always thoroughly worth doing, and worth doing well, for it is bitter discontent, and the mental enlightment it generates, that must finally overthrow the present system.

If then we are a party at all we are a party of agitators, who regard the making of agitation as our sole *raison d'être*. We have necessarily no fixed rules or discipline because we are guerrillas; our tactics are, not to flock as a mutual admiration circle in a corner by ourselves, but to scatter; not to bind ourselves down to certain formulas and authorities but to free ourselves from prejudices; to tear the present system open in discussions by pen and tongue, and to riddle it with light.

We ourselves hold fast by what we consider a very simple and self-evident truth, viz.—that man's powers of production are to-day so vast that, with free access to the means of production, he could not suffer want.—We hold further that, with the disappearance of want, the crimes and meannesses by which humanity is at present tortured would speedily disappear. It is scarcely a creed; it is rather a common-sense deduction from the every-day patent facts we see around us.

Whoever then wishes to agitate along these lines is heartily welcome to our ranks; he has nothing to fear in the way of responsibilities assumed, he has this to gain, viz.—that he can do better and more effective work in free union with others than alone and isolated. The most ever asked of him will be that he shall do his best in agitating according to his lights.

Political movements have been loudly advocated as offering the best means of agitation, but experience shows that the agitator who turns politician loses immediately that free individuality which gives him all his power, and quit the straight road of simple truth to puff some special party nostrum. The trades union tactics of the Socialist Labor Party, which aims at forcing workingmen to vote its ticket; the free silver and greenback theories of the People's Party; these and others that could easily be named, are quagmires in which many a formerly invaluable agitator has already lost his life.

Furthermore, experience shows that the holding of office is invariably fatal to the agitator. If he is a party-organ editor he at once becomes a hack who has to write to order; if he gets into the house his hands are tied. To take but a single instance: John Burns, of London, was a potent factor in the movement when he was addressing thousands of dockers on the wharves; in committees of the London County Council, and the House of Commons, he is simply one of a practically useless crowd.

The first necessity of a movement is that it should move; the second that it should move in the right direction. It moves by active agitation only; it moves aright only when agitated by those whose anxiety is solely for the right, and who are free to advocate what they deem right because fettered by no authoritative chains.

If the movement of the race is towards combination, as facilitated by the ever-increasing improvements in the means of locomotion, the movement is, and has been for centuries past, equally towards individual freedom. Free thought, free speech, the right of free assemblage—we have conquered them, in theory at least, on many a dearly-won field. The next step, which will render all the others, for the first time, actually effective, is economic freedom; the right of each individual to use alike all the forces of nature, and all the societary force of civilization, for his own individual development. This is the cause which is properly called the "Emancipation" of Labor, and it can only be furthered by Emancipated men, who refuse to voluntarily put on the collar of a master.

It is easy to find thousands to-day who have given up hoping for relief from "either of the old parties." We have simply gone a step farther—and we think it a logical step—in holding that no relief can be got from any political party under the present system. For all such parties spring directly from, and are shaped directly by the existing economic system: they betray their common origin by being all exactly alike. The platforms differ; the methods are the same. As you work to order in the commercial factory, so you work, you speak, you write, you vote to order in the Republican, the Democratic, the People's Party, and the Socialist Labor Party Factories. Disobedience and revolt—*i. e.* free thought and free action—are punished in one and all alike. It may be part of the necessary evolution of the masses, but it certainly is not the field in which those who are simply seekers after and expounders of truth can best exercise their powers. For, as has been already said, it is the duty of the agitator to free himself alike, from pledges and prejudices, in order that he may seize on his subject and riddle it with light. It was by agitators such as these that feudalism and chattel slavery were dragged to the bar of public opinion, and found unworthy of continued life; and history will, as ever, once more repeat itself.

To drag the present system before the bar of public opinion, and to get it condemned to execution—that is the thing.

W. C. OWEN.

JEAN GRAVE.

"Dying Society and Anarchy" is the title of a work just published by Tresse and Stock of Paris. The author is Jean Grave. It is introduced by a preface from the pen of Octave Mirbeau. We receive it, as it was sent, as an "offering of revolutionary confraternity to the comrades of SOLIDARITY."

It is a well printed work of some 300 pages, divided into 22 chapters, each treating, very ably, topics which are all important in the discussion of the theory and practice of Anarchy.

Among the topics, which will be recognized by our readers as important to the student of the subject, we may mention those of Poverty, Authority, the Magistrature, the Patrie (country), Patriotism, Militarism, Inefficiency of Reforms, Colonisation, etc., as being of immediate and permanent importance.

He treats the question of conscription or compulsory military service, with consummate skill, showing the baneful influence it has upon the moral character of the conscript, reducing him to the brutish level of an automaton; and still more baneful social influence it has upon the community, by withdrawing the economic power of production from the creation of wealth, at the time of life when the power of the man to produce is at its greatest.

He shows that life in the army is both demoralising and brutalising.

In speaking of "Patrie" he is led naturally to speak of patriotism. I give the following liberal translation of one of the passages:

"The Patriotism of the Bourgeoisie signifies war [illegible] whether the war be undertaken for the sake of profit, inciting war in the name of [illegible] taken in the name of patriotism or dying [illegible] civilization. These expeditions of Senegambia, Madagascar, Tonquin, the Congo, Madagascar have all been conducted in the name of civilization, but it is nothing but brigandage, pure and simple. Soldiers who have been told that they should defend their own country, have been commanded to pillage and massacre others whose only crime was the defending of their native soil against thieves and assassins."

In the chapter on militarism, after giving a clear but succinct description of the development of standing armies he says:

"But it was left to the bourgeoisie to shift the entire burden of their own defense on to the shoulders of their slaves. The bourgeoisie has perfected the system by compelling the workers to devote a certain portion of the time of their youth to fight for their masters. They could not, without danger to themselves, put arms into the hands of the workers and say to them: "Fight for me and defend me while I repose in luxuriant enjoyment," so they invented the culture of country and called it "patriotism."

It is by the aid of this cunning lie that they have imposed this tax of blood, by the aid of this sophism that they have taken from numberless generations, the flower of its youth to sent it to rot, morally and physically in those prisons which they call barracks and to make it a machine of slaughter and food for powder."

Men like Jean Grave give us "Glimpses of the Dawn." The future holds now dearer hope than to see the abolition of war, and our brothers in Anarchy, all over the world,—misrepresentation and calumny to the contrary notwithstanding—are working quietly and persistently toward that end. Industry can never be respected while war is worshiped.

I take this opportunity to express my thanks to the author of "Dying Society and Anarchy" for the pleasure which the perusal of his work has given me, and to ask his permission to translate several passages in full for the benefit of the readers of SOLIDARITY.

JEFFERSON RAY.

THE ANARCHIST CLUB
OF NEW-YORK.

Applicants for membership should adress—
J. M. RICHARDS, 162 West 31st St. City.

THE SPIRIT OF THE PRESS

How few of the people who gathered at the Windsor Theatre in this city to rejoice at the liberation of our comrades know that they barely escaped a terrible catastrophe. The Hall was crowded with police, and two hundred men were in reserve, and I am assured by people who should know that the Powers that be were really afraid that there would be a revolutionary outbreak. But an enterprising reporter who was afraid that the police were mistaken, and that he would have no sensation to sell, determined to manufacture one, so he bought two "giant fire-crackers," intending to set them off at the back part of the hall during the evening. Let any one imagine what the result would have been—the wild stampede of the densely packed audience to the narrow and crooked exits; the blind fury of the police raging like mad bulls with clubs and pistols; and, finally, the flaming headlines, the lured descriptions of another hellish dynamite outrage—the Bizantine adulation of "our heroic policemen;" the dead and wounded; the desolate homes. Fortunately, the silly boy who planned the explosion could not keep it to himself, and a Tribune writer, who though a bourgeois is a decent fellow and a man of sense, informed Inspector Williams of the young man's project, which he thereupon abandoned. I refrain from mentioning the fellow's name, but he deserves a statue, for he is the embodiment of the spirit of our "Free Press."

J. H. E.

CORRESPONDENCE.

New York, July 7th, '93.

Dear SOLIDARITY: In your issue of June 24th, you request suggestions from your readers on two points—: "Should the conference be limited to professed Anarchists, or include all workingmen and women?" "Is there any reasonable ground for hoping that a general appeal to workingmen at large be answered by a respectable number of really earnest workers open to conviction?" To the first of these questions I want to say with emphasis—give me an unlimited conference, that is to say, an unsectarious gathering of workingmen, having for its object the social economic reorganization of the resources of the world. [illegible] land, or can [illegible] be paid for the use, either in a lump sum for permanent use or installments. From such a conference good must come, and as we are in the field for agitational purposes—being the first thing in order,—we must get outside of the sacred circle, reach the people, so that when our day dawns, the sun will not rise on bourgeoisie banners carried aloft and sustained by proletarians. The Simon pure among us too often forget, that only a few years ago we would gather up our coattails and skip for dear life if an imprudent and lawless speaker whispered dynamite in our hearing, but now that we have got partly over that, we are blind to the fact that about fifteen millions of fellow wage-earners are a few years behind us in thought. Only by united action can the coming battle be fought successfully and if we bury our heads in the sand-heaps of our own importance, in the sanctity of our ism, the education which would result from agitation is lost, organization is postponed, united action a problem for another generation, while we will move on gravewards the selfsame slaves we've been since birth, with the devil at our heels, applauding our stupidity. Let us have a conference of action—a conference that will bring into existence an organization with sufficent moral courage to say to the present civilization. "Begone! The past with all its infamies was yours, the future with all its glories must be ours. We are here to destroy and build anew, and will accept no compromise."

In answer to your second question I will say: If the appeal is properly constructed—drawn up, (and I am sure SOLIDARITY can do this) the response will be all right. The soul of rebellion, the spirit of liberty will be on hand. To such a call only earnest men and women would respond. We are on the verge of a too-much-government made panic, and only organized, determined men can expose the governmental rottenness about to bear legitimate fruit and suggest proper remedies.

PUTNAM.

TO THE EDITOR OF "SOLIDARITY."

1st—In an ideal and a theoretical sense, I think the Chicago Conference should consist of workingmen and women, but in a practical, utilitarian sense I think the conference should be limited to professed anarchists, for the following reasons: There are but two classes of people, *viz.*, the archists and the anarchists. The former are in the primary school, the latter are advanced scholars in sociology. They are diametrically opposed to each other.

would result but confusion worse con-

—No, I do not believe there is any reasonable and to expect that an appeal will be answered by a respectable number of workingmen, however earnest, because intelligent conviction must come from long study and deep thought. Anarchistic conviction cannot be introduced to the mind by means of a flashlight. Between the two parties there cannot be any sympathy, hence no unanimity likely to become practically progressive.

The two schools of thought are theoretically and practically antagonistic.

T. R. KINGET, M. D.
161 West 31st St., N. Y. City.

LOOK FORWARD.

Look forward in the future lies all good.
That which we have of good, and is our work;
We'l join unto the good we've taken from the past.
And hand it to the future, thus good goes on increasing.

Look not behind for there more evil lies
Than lies within the present, evil becomes less dominant
As time and human will work its elimination.
Good slowly grows and evil slow decays,
Hope on! and work for good through evil days.

JEFFERSON RAY.

MILITIA ALL RIGHT.

It is customary for the plutocratic press to brand every man who advises workingmen to keep out of the militia as "a wild eyed enemy of law and order," one who would manufacture an unfounded belief that the authorities stand ready to employ the national guard in the suppression of labor at the behest of capital. To say nothing at this time of the mass of evidence showing that such has been the course in the past, it is enough to quote the recent utterances of the head of New York's militia to show that hereafter the prime purpose of maintaining the national guard of that state will be to have a body of armed and trained men who can be counted upon not only to obey orders, but to take naturally to the business of shooting strikers.

There is a feeling pretty generally prevalent that at some time during the coming summer agitation paper in existence. Written and published by one of the [illegible] of the workingmen of the country. No one has clearly defined views upon the subject, but the majority appear to believe that the trouble is to begin with the railroad men. A New York newspaper says that "military men say that the reports from the western section of the state indicate that considerable uneasiness is felt by the authorities and by military men over the prospect of a labor uprising." The "military men" are especially concerned, it is said, because of the reported claims of certain labor leaders that in case of trouble the state militia cannot be depended upon to put down the uprising, for the reason that "the main strength of the militia lies in the laboring class, and that they will never obey laws made to benefit the rich."

If any labor leader made such a has claim and really believes it, he had as well disabuse his mind now, for no less an authority than Adjutant General Porter, high muck-a-muck of the militia of New York, has come to the front in an interview with statements of such clearness that they would settle the matter. A Mail and Express reporter asked General Porter what he thought of the reports of impending labor troubles. He said that it was true that both the civil and military authorities in the western part of the state felt that there would be trouble after the World's fair opened in Chicago. He said he had no means of verifying the reports of an uprising by the labor men, but that he had the fullest confidence in the men composing the national guard. Upon this point the general said:

"There may be one man here and there who is in sympathy with the labor agitators, but the captains of the various companies know their men so well that one who is not to be thoroughly trusted would soon be weeded out. This is done, however, all the time. A man who will not obey orders, or whom the captains cannot trust, is quickly got rid of. At the present time I would have no hesitancy in calling out any regiment or company in the guard to go to Buffalo or any other place where their presence was required.

"The men composing the guards are a representative class of men whose very enlistment means that they are in favor of the maintenance of order. By a great majority they represent the property holders of the state. Many of them are business men, and others are so closely allied with the property interests that they may be implicitly relied upon to do their full duty.

"There have been comments made because certain regiments in this city have not been called upon to act in labor strikes, but I'll warrant that those same regiments would muster in as great strength as any other at the first call to arms.

"In the western part of the state the companies are composed of men of sterling quality, and to my knowledge there have been no desertions. We have at headquarters in Albany an accurate account of the men, who they are and where they came from, and in addition the captains of companies know their men so well that any one who is likely to prove disloyal would be quickly disposed of."

General Porter said that these reports were not for publication, but were kept for the benefit of the officers of the department. He also said that he had been informed by an officer who had commanded a company that was sent to Buffalo last year that he had detected signs of discontent among his men and had taken prompt measures to get rid of those who were undesirable. Could anything be clearer than the language of General Porter? He boldly declares that the policy of the New York military authorities is to allow no one to remain in the militia who cannot be "thoroughly trusted" to do what? To support the "property interests" of the state. It is not a question of right and wrong, nor of justice and injustice, nor of law and lawlessness, but simply, on which side is "property?" "We shoot from that side."

The whole scheme of the national guard to-day is plutocratic—is for the upholding of a money aristocracy. The regular army is really nearer the people; it is more in accord with our supposed democracy. And I want to say to the workingmen of the country that if they are looking for friends among the soldiers they must turn their eyes toward the regulars. I know whereof I speak. The conditions here are very similar to those of Belgium, and you will remember that during the recent uprising in that country the aristocracy placed reliance in the militia, while it was generally conceded that the regular army was in sympathy with the working people and would fight on their side when it became necessary. The militia of Belgium is made up largely from the [illegible] well to do families and [illegible] sons of Practically the [illegible] officered by aristocrats. [illegible] servants [illegible] same is true of this country.

Jos. R. BUCHANAN.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

FRANCE.

The affair of the supposed bombs of Levallois-Perret has now collapsed almost entirely; the greater part of those arrested were liberated. Shortly after the arrests, the police tried to frighten the public, not only by all sorts of lies, but by depositing a petard in the rue Denfert-Rochereau. This petard was found to be wrapped in a secret report of an inspector of police. This fact leaked out, and it would be funny if it was not disgusting to see the clumsy arguments by which they tried to explain it away.

Jean Foret, an anarchist, tried with some others to steal rabbits as he was starving. He was watched and attacked by some bourgeois amateur policemen who saw it; shots were fired on both sides, but nobody was seriously hurt. For this affray our comrade, whose actual part in the affair was not at all explained or proven, was sentenced *to death* at Paris. He made a manly speech in which he vindicated the right of the starving and exploited people to live upon this earth, which produces enough food for everybody. Will they dare to murder him—for speech alone, for another of the accused who said nothing of our principles was let off with two years' imprisonment, whilst Foret is to be executed.

The French magistrates—always the obedient servants of Russian despotism, as the trial of the Nihilists in 1890 and the various expulsions of Russian and Polish exiles show,—are once more happy to be able to merit the name of "purveyors to the Russian gallows" by their decision to hand over to the Russian authorities the letters and documents left by a Polish refugee who committed suicide, after arranging that these papers should be burned and leaving his relatives as his inheritants. This affair is simply monstrous. Meetings of protest were held, and what is better, an attempt was made to "steel" (as it is called) these papers, but with no success. This matter also is not yet over.

ITALY.

Paolo Schichi, an Anarchist, was sentenced at Viterbo to eleven years and three months imprisonment for two alleged explosions, which failed, at Palmero and Genoa, and for offering resistance when arrested at Pisa. He was a devoted propagandist and was ex[illegible]d from most countries during the last years. He last lived in Barcelona where he was arrested in February, 1892, and only liberated in October, when he went to Italy and was soon arrested. We do not think the present system in Italy will last eleven years and three month longer.

L. Parmeggiani was sentenced in his absence to 20 or 30 years imprisonnent with hard labor, some years ago. On what pretext such condamnations take place in Italy is shown by the fact that the French government did not concede to the Italian demand for his extradition. He was in prison in France from August, 1892, until May, and is now free. Of the 29 arrested from February to April for supposed or pretended connection with some bomb "outrages" in Rome, 21 were now let free without a trial. Another example of how "justice" works.

ROBERT OWEN, in his youth, was a great believer in government; his idea was to set the *soi-disant* great and influential in motion and the people's prosperity was accomplished. This opinion of his received a rude and cruel shock at the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, where, after the downfall of Napoleon the Great, were assembled to settle the affairs of Europe, the representatives of twenty-two Governments. The great reformer was of course present, by invitation, to give an *exposé* of his views. It had been privately arranged that a M. Gentz (the "Bismarck of those days) should oppose Owen's Socialism in his capacity as secretary to the Congress. In the course of the debate, Owen affirmed that wealth could be made as plentiful as water, and amply sufficient to supply the wants of all if only the right means of production and distribution were adopted.

The cynic Gentz, on behalf of the Governments, brutally replied:—"Yes, we know all that very well; *but we do not want the mass to become wealthy and independent of us.* How could we govern them if they were?" This reply opened poor Owen's eyes, and henceforth he addressed himself more especially to the victims—the oppressed and down trodden peoples.

SPARTACUS.

(From *Commonweal.*)

Earth's human throng has grown too strong
To rule with courts and creeds;
We want no kings, but kings of toil;
No crowns but crowns of deeds.
Not royal birth but sterling worth,
Must we ask the man who leads.
Men dare to think concerted thoughts
Contain more power than swords.
The force that binds united minds
Defeats mere savage hordes.

ELLA W. WILCOX.

The Commonweal.

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COMRADES, AGITATE FOR OUR PAPER.

We urgently request our exchanges to notice the Chicago Conference.

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