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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TO THE UNEMPLOYED.

The great "Captains of Industry" under whose guidance the rank and file of the workers have been toiling all of their days, are very great people, no doubt! their spokesmen of press, forum and pulpit have told us so long enough.

It is true, their wages have been rather big, but though they come high, we must have them, for only the greatest minds, the most lofty genius would suffice to organize and carry on the enormously extended and complicated system of production.

If we workingmen have at times complained that our share was too small, we have been accused of ingratitude, and overwhelmed by statistics, proving to us, that our prosperity was unprecedented in the world's history. When we have called attention to the fact that twenty per cent of the workers have always been out of work, we were told that we were liars; when we cited official statistics to prove our statements, they said these people were lazy and would'nt work; when we again quoted respectable authority for cases of starvation and penury, we were told to stop drinking and practice thrift.

Sad to say, the great bulk of American workingmen are fools enough to believe this rot.

Those comparatively well-off have organized themselves into labor organizations, and by a limited practice of solidarity maintained themselves a shade above pauperism; the unorganized fought a hand to hand fight with starvation, sinking yearly lower and lower in the social scale, an ever increasing residuum, giving up the struggle and becoming tramps and prostitutes.

Even during the "prosperous" year of '90 the number of tramps in this country was estimated by respectable authorities at 2,000,000, and as for the prostitutes—well four years ago there was a lodging house in New York City, where a bunk, a can of stale beer and a woman were sold for 10 cents!

Of course there have been outbreaks, in Chicago, as you well know, the workingmen who were holding a meeting as you are doing now, were assaulted by the police. Some unknown man (and you will acknowledge now that he was a *man*) defended himself, and the Anarchists were hung and imprisoned. But we were told they were "foreigners" who did not understand our glorious liberties, and to guard them against such "foreigners" our "Captains of Industry" have been building fortresses and organizing an army. Billy Pinkerton made a business of guarding the "captains," and for years his mercenaries killed some of your numbers for the encouragement of the rest. Homestead brought Billy's business to an end, and now the militia and the police will carry on the work of protection and education.

Well, it seems as though nothing could arouse you. The politicians assured you that you were sovereigns, and that you had but to vote, and they would enact your will into laws. You have elected republicans and you have elected democrats, and some of you voted for populists and socialists. And the captains of industry went right along with their work of coining your bodies and souls into wealth for themselves, graciously allowing you a bare subsistence for which you were duly thankful.

But now there has come another crisis; a "Panic." The great machine of modern production for the designing and operating of which the "Captains of Industry" have been drawing their hard earned millions, has broken down. The wheels revolve but slowly and threaten momentarily to stop entirely. Repairs are necessary, and the President, the Senators and Congressmen are discussing the matter. The press is bringing its powerful forces to bear, the millionaires are [illegible] of "social [illegible]

—A Russian medical journal, published [illegible] unemployed [illegible] discharged [illegible] the [illegible]

at work, and in a year or two, doubtless, the machine will again be in full operation, and until then what is your part, oh, American workmen?

The words that John Mitchell addressed to the starving peasantry of Ireland forty years ago are true of you to-day.

It is your duty as free sovereign and independent citizens—"to go off and starve to death in a quiet, lawful and constitutional manner"—whenever you can't find a purchaser for the only commodity you have to sell, that is to say your labor. And you accept this view of your duty, just as the damphool Irish did a generation ago. There was no famine in Ireland, only a failure of the potato crop, but according to law the wheat and milk, and beef and butter and other good things were for the landlord, and so the good law-abiding Irishmen sent all these things to England to pay the rent and laid down by thousands and died like good citizens; and I suppose if there had been Socialists or Anarchists about, inciting them to unlawful acts, they would have mustered their dying energies and delivered them over to "Justice" before making their own exit from a world where the landlord had no use for them, just then. Enough survived to pay rent, and that after all was the main thing.

There was no scarcity of anything but potatoes in Ireland during the "Famine," and there is no scarcity at all during the impending famine in this country; unless it be a scarcity of brains. In fact we are troubled by overabundance. The farmers have raised too much wheat and corn, and wool, beef and mutton, and pork; too much cheese and butter and milk, too much cotton, too many horses and mules,—too much, far too much of everything in fact, and therefore, of course, they can't raise their mortgages and taxes, and must as good, law-abiding citizens—turn over their homesteads to the money lenders and become proletarians. They are grumbling a little, but as they are Americans who understand the real nature of their own sovereignty, and the true meaning of liberty and equality, they will doubtless complete the transfer according to law. The silver miners have dug too much silver, hence, of course, they have become tramps,—it would perhaps have been still better if they had drowned themselves, but that would have been unlawful, the only form of suicide sanctioned by law is starvation and exposure.

And so with all of you. You have woven too much cloth, made too many clothes, ground too much flour, baked too much bread, dug too much coal, pumped too much oil, burned too many bricks, quarried too much stone, cut too much lumber, built too many houses, and, of course, as a direct consequence of your folly, you must undergo a period of eviction and starvation.

You don't see why?—Well, it does seem funny, as we have such a superabundance of good things on hand, it would seem that we might take a vacation for six months or a year, taking turns in doing the routine work. I am pretty certain that if we once set about it, we could eat up the surplus wheat, and corn and beef, and pork and mutton and poultry,—in six months. True, some of you haven't had much practice lately, but you would learn, and as for the clothes a few good suits—all around would dispose of them,—and the houses, of course you wouldn't know what to do with decent accommodations—but you could learn. The other evening I spent with some "Captains of Industry," two of whom were going to Europe for a rest. There were four of us, and our dinner and breakfast cost as much as the average American worker's income for a month during prosperous times, and the rooms we occu[illegible] would have served for [illegible] hundred men, [illegible] the "[illegible]

siders. Of course the gentlemen could not give you lessons in living, but now that I think of it—there were ten or a dozen servants about us—from first to last, and they know about the art of living—and could not only practice it themselves, if they got a chance, but give you lessons. Oh, it would be easy to get rid of the surplus, easy as rolling off a log; and then, when we had disposed of this terrible accumulation of goods which is now oppressing us like a nightmare, we could all turn in and make some more taking care, though, not to let production get so far ahead of consumption again.

Yes, it seems easy! but "Easy is the descent to Hell." This easy, natural method of dealing with the matter is Anarchism, Socialism, Communism.

And, of course, you American freemen are not going to take up such outlandish notions. "Sir," not by the Immortal declaration of Independence. All men are equal, therefore a portion of them must sweat and stink, and starve—for the benefit of the rest. That is obvious. No useful is produced without labor; labor and land, and land is private property, and before labor can be applied to land rent must be paid for the use, either in a lump sum for permanent use or installments for temporary use.

Then labor having access to the land must have tools, and tools have become an enormously complicated system of machinery, which are private property, far beyond the reach of the laborer. Then, too, a laborer must eat while he is producing. So, of course, he doesn't work for himself, but sells his intellectual and physical forces to landlord and capitalist, who pay themselves: first—rent for interest, wages of superintendance, reward for abstinance, profit, etc., and also pay the politicians, the judges, jailors, soldiers, hangmen, lawyers, priests, prostitutes and parasites generally, and then what is left—they give to you as wages;—and then as you are the great mass of the people you are expected to buy the mass of goods you have produced. Naturally, as a small part is not equal to the whole you can't do it, and the consequence is overproduction, culminating in periodic crisis and panics. Such a time is now upon you. The "Captains of Industry" can't sell the goods you have produced for them, they can't eat them, wear them, use them all—although they accomplish wonders in that way, and consequently, they stop their works and you are thrown out of employment, the landlord will presently throw you on the street. The big capitalist will eat up the little one, and whereas now 24,000 men own one half the wealth in the country, when this crisis is over perhaps 20,000 will own two thirds of it.

What shall we do about it? Of course if you were Socialists, Anarchists, Communists, you would cease to pay rent, profits, interest and taxes, and proceed to eat up the surplus while arranging a system of production, for the sake of consumption only, you would consider the health and happiness of yourselves, and your wives and children as paramount to all other considerations.

But as you are nothing of the kind, but on the contrary good, law-abiding freemen, sovereigns, etc., your best plan would be to petition the authorities to repeal the law against suicide, and about two thirds of you should seek that happy land that the priests tell you about, the other third would be quite sufficient to pay rent, interest and taxes, and to vote, and fire off fire crackers, and read the declaration of independence on Fourth of July.

JOHN EDELMANN.

2nd annual prize shooting of the *Solidarity Club of Brooklyn*, at Glendale Woods, on Saturday afternoon, Sept. 2d, & Sunday, Sept. 3d, 1893. Tickets, 25 cts each.

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THE EVENTS ARE HERE, BUT WHERE ARE THE INTERPRETERS?

If the events through which we are just beginning to pass do not succeed in making the road that has to be trodden clear, then, as it appears to me at least, we are incapable of learning. I speak of the passage as just beginning, for, beyond all doubt, we stand to-day only at the very threshold of the crisis. We have witnessed as yet only the first step in an enormous concentration movement, viz.: the closing and the crushing of the weaker banks; we have next to witness the necessary struggle of the banks to re-intrench themselves by squeezing the manufacturers and wholesale merchants to whom their funds are loaned, and the equally necessary struggles of these manufacturers and wholesale men to save themselves from ruin by collecting from their countless retail debtors. It goes without saying that these retail debtors must in their turn come down upon the public—the innumerable army of workingmen and farmers who we them bills. An absolutely inexorable process at proceeds with pitiless logic from step to step; ther, that, starting in the highest circles of finance, cy reaches the lowest depths.

But the depths are not yet reached. Almost every creditor in this country to-day is anxious to give his debtor time, for he knows that rash pressure may most probably mean a ruinous sacrifice of assets, and a settlement at miserable percentage. But every creditor is, or will be before we are through with this crisis, forced in to unwilling action by the necessities of his own position. It is well; I think, that we should recognize this, for it will both show us the largeness of our opportunity, and how it must be utilized. As the results of this crisis the ranks of the proletariat will be swelled enormously, and by a most intelligent element.

Observe further that the trading classes, with their infinitely superior knowledge of economics, instinctively recognize all this. Throughout the country the retailer both abstains from placing fresh orders, and, in countless instances, countermands those already given. In the thinly peopled state of Colorado such countermanded orders are said to have reached the colossal figure of twelve to fifteen million dollars, and similar action is being taken all along the line. Need the workingman then wonder that the factories are already shutting down? Is he looking for steady work throughout the bitter eastern winter? If he is, he is a fool.

The trade that I have followed for some eight years in this country is that of examiner into and reporter upon credits. It forces me to interview, and take the financial statements and opinions of men in every line of business, and there is scarcely a day that I have not occasion to question closely bankers who have lent money to wholesale men, jobbers and manufacturers who have trusted out their goods to retail dealers, and the retail men themselves, from the man who employs a capital of $500,000 to the man who has less than $500. I have formed my opinions on our movement quite as much from what I learn through my daily occupation as from what I read in our own literature.

The bankers to-day universally complain of the public distrust as unreasonable, and say that it is absurd to ask them to pay interest on deposits while keeping those deposits locked up in their vaults to meet a run. Upon the latter point they seem to me unquestionably correct, upon the former entirely wrong. The public has every reason for the general distrust with which it has been stricken. It thinks the whole business of the country rotten, and it actually is rotten — rotten to the very inmost core. Thanks to our system of giving back to the producer, in the form of wages, only a small percentage of his product, his purchasing power is utterly incapable of absorbing the enormous quantity of goods with which the markets have been flooded. The men who have their full original value as assets, are deceiving both themselves and the public. The assets are only partially assets; they are in great part goods for which it was supposed there would be a sale, but for which there is actually none, because the public lacks the purchasing power. The truth of this, which is only dimly discerned in ordinary times, becomes startlingly self-evident in times of panic, such as these, the periodically recurring times at which the men who have only illusory assets are exposed, and forced to the wall, thus accelerating the concentration process toward which our present system steadily and unceasingly tends.

It should be evident enough that no change in the form of our currency can possibly alter this, for so long as the producer receives less than his actual product he cannot possibly have the purchasing power necessary to absorb the goods with which the country is inundated day and night. He can absorb these superfluous goods by walking into the stores and taking them, as he has been practically doing at Denver within the last few days, or he can absorb them by destruction through fire or other similar means. In no other way can he possibly absorb them, save indeed by the abolition of the wage system. That, by removing from society the odious feature of labor only partially renumerated, would remove the curse of superfluous products once and for all; but from the application of that—the only sensible, because the only permanent remedy—we are at present barred. By what? By the almost universal ignorance, by the fact that, while the masses are almost wild with discontent, they have no idea of the only direction from which they can expect relief. Meanwhile the superfluous commodities are still here, and their original makers—the workingmen—are necessarily themselves superfluous, and will so remain until the superfluity is somehow wiped out of existance.

The panic has only just begun, yet see how the whole machine is brought to an immediate stop. I write from one of the grain counties of California, and I could point you out a man who farms 20,000 acres of land, and whose harvesters are to-day standing still, with all their crews of men discharged, because he can get no advances on his grain. Wheat is a superfluity, dropping constantly in price, and the bankers are *forced* to hoard their money as a precautionary measure against prospective runs. It is worse than waste of time to curse the banker; he would far rather have his money out at interest than lying idle in his vaults.

I can walk you across the street to a general merchant who has to-day $115,000 worth of wool lying in San Francisco, on which he cannot get a cent. The reasons are again the same, and, as a further result, the sheep may possibly not be sheared this fall. Everyone knows that the whole fruit-canning industry is at a stand-still, because no advances can be got, and everyone knows that, when you take the grain, the fruit, and the wool industries out of even so naturally rich a State as California there is mighty little left. How, under these circumstances, can the workingman expect employment? How can he, unless he is an invincible fool? Once again—once again, in our painful modern history, the whole system under which he lives has broken down. That is all—a wrecked system, and a penniless, homeless, breadless would-be producer standing idle.

It seems to me useless to excite these people more: everywhere in the country districts one hears impassioned arguments, all winding up in nothing. Everywhere I come across farmers, members of the People's party, who declare that if we only had a larger money circulation we should all be rich; and these same men very generally curse England as the great gold-hoarder, and declare that if America would only build a Chinese wall round her, and rest satisfied with her own silver coinage, regardless of the outside world, poverty would disappear. When they tell me that Government can make silver as valuable as it chooses I ask them if it can make the stones on their farms as precious as diamonds, and they look aghast; when I ask them how successful the Government has been in its efforts, under the Sherman act, to keep up the price of silver, they declare I am a damned Britisher with whom it is useless to argue. Why not? They are only simple farmers, and even a highly educated international Socialist Labor party leader urges it against Mr. Kenworthy, myself, and others, as one of his chief complaints.

It is useless, to my mind, talking about a political party, and it is equally useless talking against a political party. These people may form as many parties as they like, but, in their present dense ignorance, they will tear one another to pieces like Kilkenny cats, squabbling over issues on which they are hopelessly befogged, and advocating patent cure-alls which, when under examination like dead-sea apples, [illegible] by necessity toward scaly office.

The way out is light; not the perplexing gloaming of half-hearted measures, but the pure, clear light of simple truth. It is our business to turn the light on, and to throw it into every shady nook and corner of the land; it is the duty of every Socialist and Anarchist in the country to sink his or her petty differences, and to unite in doing this.

The case can be put with the greatest plainness, and in a statement upon which we can all agree. This crisis means the breaking-down of the wage system, which gives the wage-worker no opportunity of getting back his product, and renders them, therefore, both superfluous. It can only be remedied by the abolition of the wage system, and the only possible substitute is giving the worker free access to his means of production. Upon this many of the Henry George men would agree; upon this all those who for a time worked enthusiastically in the Nationalist movement would agree; upon this the Social Democrats would agree, for it is their own Erfurt programme; upon this most of the radical Trade Unionists would agree, and upon this all Anarchists would agree. Lastly, and far more important than all the others combined, to this the great masses would agree if it were only brought plainly and prominently before their notice. Let them agree on this; let them once see the light, and they will quickly find their own way out, by paths constitutional or unconstitutional as circumstances may determine. In this matter the future can take care of itself.

This has never yet been done, save on the smallest and most contemptibly insufficient scale; for our meetings are largely meetings, not of the masses, but of our own adherents; our literature is read chiefly by our own people, and deals much in personalities over which the public are not the least concerned; our actual contact with the labor world is too apt to be in the form of virulent disputes with labor organizations, in which every sentiment of solidarity is scattered to the winds. We have got to change all that, for the discontent is here, the events are here, and it is only the interpreters whose absence is deplorably conspicuous. For my part, I only hope the Chicago Congress may see the matter in this light, and bend itself to the task of bringing about a widely-concerted effort for a thorough-going, simple propaganda.

W. C. OWEN.

SOLIDARITY.

SOLIDARITY is not dead, a few comrades have furnished the funds for one more issue, and our comrade, the printer, has added to the debt of gratitude we owe him, by publishing it at cost. Of course we know that at present every cent you contribute to SOLIDARITY means deprivation to you, and yet, when we read the childish stuff the so-called labor leaders are sending forth in the present crisis as their advice to the laborers, and the brutal lies and trivialities published by the capitalistic press, it seems as though no effort could be to great to keep alive a paper that will at least tell the truth. Therefore, comrades, don't relax your efforts, let us have another issue in two weeks.

And to you, who have never seen the paper before, let us address a special appeal, subscribe to the paper, show it to your friends, help us spread its circulation and help us also by writing; don't fear that we can't stand criticism, on the contrary, we desire nothing more than straight forward questioning and discussion.

Are we, workingmen, really congenital idiots fit only to produce wealth for our masters, or are we merely lazy. Come, arouse yourselves, think for yourselves; if you will only do that, action will follow of itself.

THE POPE ON LABOR.

The Pope says: "The social question should be placed on a religious basis. The divine decree is that man shall eat bread in the sweat of his brow, and the apostolic injunction declares that if one will not work neither shall he eat."

Chorus of monoplists: "God damn the Pope."

The Pope says: "The divine law has declared property sacred. But the poor have nevertheless a right to be assisted by the rich; not by indiscriminate alms-giving, but by prepairing such employment for them as will be useful."

Chorus of monopolists: "God bless the Pope."

The Pope says: "Atheism and departure from Christian faith are the great aids and stimulants to anarchy and socialism. The Christian faith alone is the bulwark of social order."

Chorus of monopolists: "Let us all turn Catholics."

ADDITIONAL CALL FOR THE CONFERENCE.

— 70 La Salle Street.

Chicago, August 1st, 1893.

The Anarchist-Socialists propose to hold an International Conference in this city, commencing Saturday, Septemb. 30, 1893.

We call ourselves Anarchist-Socialists, because we believe as Anarchists in the complete sovereignty of the individual; the absolute right to do whatsoever we will, each being personally responsible for the abuse of that right. The Century Dictionary defines Anarchy (specifically) to be "A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal, absolute individual liberty," and this definition we accept as embodying our views. As Socialists we believe in the fundamental proposition of Socialism, viz: that the means of production provided by nature should be at the free disposition of all who wish to use them.

Nearly all thoughtful people are dissatisfied with existing social arrangements, and contemplate the possibility of a more or less radical change. Many nk that the evils complained of are merley incident to the system, and that they can be eradicated by palliative remedies; others (among whom we number urselves) firmly believe they are inherent in and part of the system itself, and can only be cured by its complete overthrow. It is certainly an unbearable anomaly that as the powers of production are increased we are confronted more and more sternly with the spectre of want and all the crime and misery which it entails. To those who are primarily responsible for the calling of this conference it seems to follow that as nearly all the methods of creating and distributing wealth are controlled by monopoly, the simple and obvious way to abolish want is to abolish all forms of monopoly. The result must be that every producer would then receive the full measure of his production. The axiomatic truth that labor creates all wealth is universally accepted; not so its logical sequence that labor should therefore own and control all it creates.

These ideas have been urged, in variously modified forms, by all social innovators. They are advocated at the present time, to a considerable extent, by various reform parties and movements in this country, and are set forth in numerous articles in our periodicals and reviews.

But while there is much activity and bustle in the ranks of political reformers, an impartial review of the field will show that they are chiefly engaged in frittering away their time with pet nostrums and partly hatched schemes of reform, while they neglect those educational measures which are necessary for the cultivation of clean-cut ideas. Thus the Henry George party is diverting its energies from the crusade for free land, and squandering them in political schemes; the Nationalists and the People's party are losing themselves in the intricacies of bimetalism and "fiat" money, and the Socialist Labor Party is largely occupied with the trade union squabbles in which its struggles for the creation of a political class movement have involved it. In short, while the reform world is full of the noise of party tactics, there is a woeful lack of that earnest, steady seed-sowing work which alone can prepare the harvest for which a hungry humanity is longing.

We aim to busy ourselves in this most necessary work. We seek to gather together the people who are eager to assist in throwing the light of social and economical truth into the prevailing darkness, especially those who can find no satisfactory outlet for their energies in the different cliques who are incessantly waging desperate war—for the most part upon one another.

We are straight propagandists, who believe in uniting all available forces in ceaseless antagonism against the present system. If it ever served a useful purpose it has outlived its usefulness. Rottenness and decay are unmistakably stamped upon its every feature. It must be swept away to make room for the new social order already springing into existence. We believe in attacking the system instead of one another, and being steadfast advocates of individual liberty, we believe in letting each propagandist do his own work in his own way, asking only that all shall be true to their most convictions.

Although revolutionists, in so far as we believe that total abolition of the present system, with its restrictive powers and coercive governments, will afford the only permanent relief to suffering humanity, we would infinitely prefer that the change should be a peaceful one. We do not seek to imbue our hands in the blood of our fellows, or to urge others to deeds of destruction and bloodshed. But when we see how the ends of justice are prostituted, the corruption of courts and legislators, the dishonesty of politicians, the growing arrogance of the rich and powerful, the helplessness of a peaceful solution becomes more and more apparent. Yet education will accomplish wonders, and the comparative tranquility of the transition from the old to the new will depend very much upon the degree of enlightenment of the masses.

On the question of politics we have decided views. We are not place seekers or office hunteurs. We have no political axes to grind. We maintain that whatever benefit may be obtained by means of political action is more than counteracted by the evils which it engenders, one of the worst of which is the passion for power and domination. "This passion for power, which in a thousand forms, with a thousand weapons, is warring against liberty," as Proudhon says in his "Theory of Social Not only does politics accustom the masses to entrust to leaders and representatives dangerous powers, but it has hitherto been the most fruitful cause of dissensions in the labor movement, turning what should be a harmonious body advancing together against a common enemy into a series of hostile camps, bitterly warring against each other. All sense of truth and justice seems lost in the anger of partisanship and the wrangling over political schemes. What is needed, in our opinion, is not a new political party, but an enlightened public opinion, the latter having at all times and in all countries proved irresistible. When we have gained this it will be time enough to ask how its power shall be used. Yet while we hold these views, we recognize that a contrary position may be taken with perfect honesty, and those who advocate political action with pure intentions are therefore entitled to our fullest respect.

Although much has been done in the direction of educating the people, there still remains a Herculean work to be accomplished. Books have to be written and published; pamphlets and leaflets printed and circulated; lectures to be arranged; public mass-meetings to be provided for. This can all be done far more effectively by uniting our forces than by isolated effort, provided that dictatorship in all its forms is carefully avoided.

If you feel that you have any part to play in what is probably the most crucial period in the world's history, and that you can join hands with us in this movement, we invite your co-operation and your attendance at our conference. Should you be unable to come you can at least communicate with our secretary, and our hands will be strengthened by the knowledge that we have your sympathy and good-will.

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 Anarchist 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.

The Committee.

By Wm. Holmes, Secretary.

Our exchanges are urgently requested to note the Chicago conference as well as the change of date.

Under the title of "Bourgeois Justice," *La Propaganda* of Naples (Italy), gives an account of the proceedings of the tribunal, which, on the 17th of June, condemned G. Bergamasco to 14 months imprisonment and a fine of 500 Liri for having taken part in organizing a demonstration of workingmen on the 1st of May.

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In the same issue of *La Propaganda* an article appears over the signature of Bergamasco, with the following lines, from a french poet, written during the revolution of 1793:

"Tremblez tyrans! et vous, perfides!
"L'opprobre de tous les partis;
"Tremblez! vos projets parricides
"Vont enfin recevoir leur prix."

It is amusing to see how the Bourgeoisie of today believe in the efficacy of the methods which the aristocracy practiced previous to the last century, the dungeon and the scaffold.

They appear to forget that the art of printing has become the "property" of the workers, and that therefore they cannot incarcerate thought behind prison bars.

Even from his prison, his pen speaks to his fellow workers and gives them hope and courage.

Friend Bergamasco and comrades, it is to you, and such as you, that our poet Ella Wheeler Wilcox indites the following lines:

"The world is well lost when the world is wrong,
No matter how men deride you;
For if you are patient and firm and strong,
You will find in time (though the time be long)
That the world wheels round beside you.

If you dare to sail o'er a new thought track,
For awhile it will scourge and score you;
Then, coming abreast with a skillful tack,
It will clasp your hand and slap your back
And vow it was there before you.

—J. R.

Progress.—A Russian medical journal, published

NOTES.

Fleischman's Bakery, on 10th st. and Broadway, in this City, gives away half-baked and misshapen loaves of bread every morning at 2 o'clock. Among the applicants there have recently appeared many well dressed Americans. We distributed copies of Solidarity among them, wishing to be at least as generous as the Capitalists who gave them material food—we furnished them mental food. Will they profit by it? The police evidently fear they will, for several of the blue-coated ruffians tried to discover the comrade who had made the distribution, and the *New York World* commented on the matter as another anarchist outrage.

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At Aignes-Mortes, France, exist some Salterns, in which the majority of the native population was employed. The contractors found out that they could employ Italian labor at lower rates and imported about three hundred laborers. The natives fearing for their daily bread, attacked the Italians, and in the affray a large number of workers fell on each side. Their patriotism prevented them to see that the blame was entirely lying on the employers, and that these poor Italians were brought unaware of the harm they would do and of the danger for their lives. Capital was once more saved, by the ignorance of the laboring class. The same can be observed, in New York on the docks of the Clyde and other Southern lines, at Tonawanda, N. Y., and Pittsburgh, Kansas.

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"Help yourselves." This phrase was so often sent at the address of the dispossessed by the ruling class, that it seems they have at least conceived the meaning of it. About two hundred unemployed laborers marched through the streets of Milwaukee to the Court-house and called for the Mayor. Mr. Koch was greeted with cries of "Bread" and "Work." He promised them that as soon as the City will have money enough to prosecute public works. On the way to the Court-house the hungry appropriated some of a fruit merchant's stock. The night before a party of wokmen, who had just been discharged, stopped a baker's wagon on North avenue and compelled him to give up his stock of bread. The same party went into a saloon and ordered beer, which they drank and for which they refused to pay.

From Buffalo a similar dispatch states that the unemployed took possession of all the victuals in the Broadway market.

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Since the accomplished annexation of that province of this hemisphere, which was formerly known as the United States to the dominions of Russia (see treaty between Russia and the States), the methods of "curbing" the "subjects" of the Republic are as freely practised in the latter as in the dominions of the Czar. In direct line after the "Captains of Industry," to whom we owe our right to live, come the "Captains of police," whose "sole" function it is to "protect" said lives. But the precautions for the safety of the sovereigns are of late carried on a little too far. After the occurences of last week at Walhalla hall, our Jewish brethren of this city are greatly honored with the courtesy paid to them by two Captains at once, who in their zeal to have them "safe" at any cost, forget all limits of decency. The swarm of spies that make the neighborhood of 11 Pike street unsafe by their presence act in the real "oriental" manner. Last Thursday night a trio of the roaming species went unceremoniously into the upper hall of the club, where the usual weekly meetings of the members of the Publishing Association of *the Freie Arbeiter Stimme* take place, and occupied seats. Upon being asked to leave the hall, the sneaks answered "they know what they are after," and rejected to move. The proceedings went thus on under "police surveillance." Yes, our institutions are free indeed, even too free for the abuse of the powers that be. No wonder then they cannot be understood by these "foreigners" who always mistake them for being Turkish.

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Where are we driving to? A dispatch from San Francisco brings the striking news that some hundred "Americans" who are "glad" to accept situations in some canneries on conditions they are held by Chinamen, demand that the poor coolies be discharged. In the "[illegible]" the

THE ZURICH CONGRESS.

LONDON, August 14th.

Just a few words about the Zürich Congress; for I don't know *when* the next number of SOLIDARITY will appear. (By the way, I hope the comrades will make up their minds and put SOLIDARITY on firm ground. So long as it will appear in the present haphazard way, it cannot do much good; yet an Anarchist organ, be it SOLIDARITY or some one else, is quite indispensable, if the propaganda of our principles has to be carried on at all in the United States.)—Now, to the Zürich Congress. This must have proved to Social Democratic leaders that Anarchism is a growing force which they cannot ignore nor suppress. *Expulsion is no argument.*

In Paris and Brussels they boasted to have done with it; at Zürich, they have been confronted with Anarchists *from within* their own ranks. Of course, they have resorted to the old expedient: expulsion. Starting with the Anarchists properly so-called (only very few Anarchists had cared to turn up at the Congress), the Congress then proceeded to exclude one Pole and one Austrian Delegate, as suspected of Anarchism, then it went further on and expelled ten representatives of the German Independents, *who have been led by the unbearable tyranny of Social Democrats* to become Anarchists. Ultimately, they refused to accept even Cipriani, who represented Servian and Bulgarian Societies.

Yet, after all these exclusions, several Anarchists remained in the Congress as representatives of Labor Organizations, and, what is even more important, the question of Anarchism was raised at every moment. The Dutch Socialists (also leaning to Anarchism) had presented a resolution against Parliamentarism; and so had the Swiss Grütli Society and other bodies too. In the discussion of this and cognate questions, the Social Democrats had to listen to Anarchist speeches, much to their displeasure. Of course, the resolution was ultimately rejected (the German delegates voting on this and on every other occasion up to a man at the dictation of their political leaders), as was, also, the proposal of a general strike in case of war. On the other hand a resolution was adopted asking the governments to convene a new Diplomatic Conference to fix an International Minimum of wages! Such like absurdities now go under the name of Social Democracy! On the 1st May question, however, the Germans were beaten, and once more they were requested to join in the International demonstration to be held on *the 1st May*, and to adhere to the original Paris resolution of a general cessation of work on that day. Vain recommendation! The German leaders will disregard this resolution as previous ones, and the Zürich Congress will have no result at all, except that of having brought to the front Anarchism.

Yes, in a short time the only thing which will be remembered about the Zürich Congress is the *rapprochement* which it has brought between the Anarchists and the dissidents from the Social Democratic camp.

Not only the expelled delegates, but many more, among whom the Dutch Socialists and many English, met, while the Social Democratic Congress was sitting, at another hall in the presence of upwards a thousand people, and held a counter-Congress of their own. Werner and Landauer, from Berlin, Körner, Comrade Mowbray, from London, Dr. Glumpovitz (perhaps the greatest living sociologue), Domela Nieuwenhuis, and others, spoke, denouncing the ever more reactionary character which the Social Democratic movement is assuming, and inviting all revolutionary Socialists to gather around the flag of Anarchism.

There is little doubt but that Anarchism is now entering a new phasis, and its progress will counteract the decline of the revolutionary spirit in the Social Democratic movement.

S. M.

LAW-ABIDING CITIZENS.

Whenever the working people are hungry, whenever they are ill-treated by their masters, whenever their burdens seem to become unbearable, the politicians, the priests and the newspapers of the capitalists unite in asking them to behave as law-abiding citizens. Follow wage-slaves, you must learn what it means to be law-abiding.

The law prohibits wilfully to take or to shorten the life of any human being. If any of you were to kill a capitalist or a politician you would surely hang for it. For merely attempting such a deed, [illegible] Berkman is [illegible] to spend his [illegible] the other [illegible] most of them, because it is cheaper to have them die than to spend money for safety appliances. And no railway president, mine owner, mill or factory master or builder is ever taken to the gallows for those killings by wholesale. The law is a wonderfully intricate thing.

Just pause to see how it originates. It is manufactured by a special class, called legislators. They claim to represent the people who elect them by a vote of the majority. Experience, however, tells us, that majorities do not always succeed in elevating their choice to office. If you listen to the Democrats you will find out that, in 1876, the majority elected our man to the presidency of the United States and that another man actually took and occupied that office by sheer trickery and corruption. If you listen to the Republicans, they will tell you how recently the Democrats stole the Senate of our State by seating fraudulently several members who were never squarely elected by the people.

Furthermore, if you look around you, any Election Day, you will see how the votes of the poor people are bought like so many heads of cattle. The cleverer a vote-buyer and trickster is in politics, the higher the reward his party bestows upon him.

Again, you have all heard of the lobby, and how that institution fixes the law-givers. If you are not altogether stupid, you know how many politicians grow rich, immensely rich, while attending to the law manufacturing business.

But for all that, you must be law-abiding citizens. It is even unsafe for you to criticize the law-manufacturers. One of your brothers, William McNair, of New York, is now in jail for asking State senator McClelland whether that gentleman ever earned an honest dollar in his life. Senator McClelland may revile working people ever so much without being imprisoned for it. They call that equality before the law.

Another instance of the peculiar nature of Law may be studied right here in New York. The law forbids the running of certain classes of business and directs the police to see to its enforcement. And how well the police tend to their business. The good Lord seems to be delighted with their zeal and he blesses them so that the captains and inspectors grow wealthier every month.

Six years ago the New York police wrongfully broke up a meeting of working people in Union Square, clubbing some and destroying their property, namely, their flags. Complaint was made about it, but nobody was punished. There seems to be no law for the swingers of the club.

From those few remarks, you will get an idea, my brothers, as to what a devilish trickish thing is Law. Th[illegible], by all means, worship it and be law-abiding.

And yet you say you have grievances, you are hungry, out of work, your families starve in the midst of plenty. May be you are right. And since it would be very unwise to butt against a stone wall, let me outline a plan of campaign within the lines of the law. If you are in dead earnest, you can, by that plan, make the givers as well as the executors of the law stand baffled and despairing.

They say if you don't pay rent they will dispossess you, that is put your few things and your families on the sidewalk. Very well. When they put you out, stay right there with your children, all of you that are put out. Some one, either the Department of Charities and Corrections, or the Society for the prevention of Cruelty to Children will have to provide shelter and food for your wives and children. They will soon have more work on their hands than they can attend to, because they are not organized for great emergencies.

Just let them try to handle four or five thousand dispossessed families every month. They can't do it. That is our way, and at present the only way, to teach the landlords and their laws a wholesome lesson.

Under the constitution and the law you have a right to assemble to speak your mind. It looks as as if the police would take that right from you. Don't be cowards. Assemble in spite of them and let them arrest you. But don't be so foolish as to pay any fines in the police courts. Go to prison instead. What does it matter whether you are hungry in the streets or sheltered and fed at the expense of the county or the State? They may arrest ten, fifty, a hundred, and send them to Blackwell's Island. Ten, fifty, a hundred must immediately take the place of the arrested ones and stand out for their right and free meeting and free speech. By the time this is carried on for several days, they will find out that they have not enough [illegible] toward seeing counts." [illegible] cannot put any blood, simply by acting as law-abiding citizens of the right kind. Try it, and give your enemies a dose of their own medicine.

WAGEWORKER.

TUCKER PLEASED.

In *Liberty*, May 27th, Benj. R. Tucker comment[s] on the fag end of our report of William Morris's lecture on Communism, published in May *Freedom*. He rejoices over our supposed indignation at hearing Morris speak his mind concerning Anarchism according to Tucker, but we cannot for the life of u[s] see why we should be supposed indignant at tha[t]. It was not the first time we heard Morris declar[e] that Tucker's Anarchism, being the negation of a[ll] society, is a state of things quite inconceivable t[o] him (Morris), and that he thinks the English Anarchists are in reality Communists. Sometimes w[e] are tempted to exclaim, apropos of both, Tuck[er] and Morris, that there are none so blind as [those] who will not see! To us there is no Communis[m] worth striving for that is not voluntary, an[d no] possibility of Anarchy unless men are livin[g in] brotherhood, holding all necessaries of lif[e in] common and being, like the Trinity, "neither a[fore] nor after" each other. Tucker complains that [he] was misrepresented when Morris said he wa[nted] the dissolution of all society, but for all that he h[im]self misrepresents Morris, a sentence or two highe[r], when he said that Morris, "being determined th[ere] shall be no property, abandons freedom." [Of] course Morris has done no such thing. At pres[ent] he is in the atmosphere of Fabianism and S.D.[-]ism, and is almost persuaded that there will alw[ays] be a strong minority wanting to maintain some [of] the present day evils, or something equally fooli[sh] which will necessitate somebody or another's u[n]dertaking to keep everybody else in order. F[ur]thermore, Tucker must have read the report of [the] lecture in haste, and muddled his brains in [so] doing; otherwise how could he interpret Morr[is'] saying that "many folks in the Socialist Lea[gue] where mere disturbandists" as meaning that [the] Freedom Group, who invited Morris to lectu[re] "are simple disturbers of the peace." The m[ere] disturbandist, however, wherever he be, is a use[ful] man at present; for a good deal of what ex[ists] must be disturbed, and uprooted before there [is] room for newer and better growths.—*London Freedom.*

Die Brandfackel, with a well designed fron[tis]piece, published in the German language, is ano[ther] new monthly publication, which comes to us a[s a] defender and propagandist of the ideas of anarch[ism]. It is published at 209 East 5th street, New Yo[rk] City.

We can but give a hearty welcome to this ne[w] comrade, and wish it all success. Every additi[on] to the propaganda of our ideas shows a growi[ng] tendency to listen to our plea for justice, and is [a] proof that our ideas are becoming more general[ly] understood. May our defenders increase a[nd] multiply in every language.

The Solidarity Group of New York will resume winter propaganda meetings at old quarters, 54 U[nion] Square. The first meeting will take place on Sun[day], Aug. 27th, at 8 P. M. Good speakers will addres[s the] audience. Discussion free. Come and bring [your] friends.

Received: H. Hansen, 50 cts; Chas. Lewis, 25 [cts;] J. Rab, $1.00; S. K. 50 cts; H. M. 50 cents; C[illegible] 25 cts; J. Merkel, $4.25. (Want of space prevent[s us] from acknowledging other contributions.)

SOLIDARITY, *The London Freedom & Commonweal* can be had at the following newsstand[s]: Allen and Canal, cor. Delancey and All[en,] Division and Essex, cor. Grand and Esse[x,] Jefferson Market, 3d Avenue, between 6th [illegible]

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COMRADES, AGIT[ATE] FOR OUR PAPE[R]

We urgently request our exchanges to [illegible] Chicago Conference.

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