



# WAR AND THE WORKING CLASS



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(A very careful distinction should always be made between those who abuse and those who nobly use great offices and powers).

A Professor of the Rochester Theological Seminary (U.S.A.) says:

"We have repeatedly pointed out that every social institution weaves a protecting integument of glossy idealization about itself like a colony of caterpillars in an apple-tree. For instance, wherever militarism rules, war is idealized by monuments and paintings, poetry and song. The stench of the hospitals and the maggots of the battlefield are passed in silence, and the imagination of the people is filled with waving plumes and the shout of charging columns."

Knowledge of the history of the working class, which includes the history of war, will cement the workers inseparably together—socially, industrially and politically, and will thus many times multiply their power for self-defence.

When the working class understand the history of the working class, a bronze monument erected in honor of a great general will look to the workers like a vote of thanks to the Superintendent of Hell, and an orna-

mental cannon in a public park will look like a viper on a banquet table spread for a feast of brothers.

In the public schools of the world the history of the working class is almost wholly neglected. No text-book gives the facts, and no teacher is permitted to tell the truth—clearly—about the martyrdom of labor since the dawn of class-form, "civilised" society. The union labor men and women of the world could with great advantage to the working class devote a few thousand dollars for the expense of a five-hundred-page book summarising: "The History of Labor—The Tragedy of Toil."

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The following pages are offered as suggestions for a half-hour lesson chiefly on the origin of the working class. It is suggested to the working class reader that he teach this lesson to the children of his family and of his neighborhood.

Now, no living thing can be understood without a study of its history, and the study of the history of a living thing requires special attention to the origin of the thing studied. The working class are a living reality, and in order to understand themselves the working class must study their class history—with the very special attention to their origin as a class.

Long, long ago—thousands of years ago—our ancestors lived in tribes. These tribes grew, expanded till finally the pressure of population forced the tribes to enlarge their territories; and thus the tribes trespassed—aggressed upon one another's territory.

This caused wars—intertribal wars.

This was the origin of war.

This led to the opening of hell—for the workers.

After a while a working class arose—and began to fall into hell. Here is the way it came about:

For a long time in these intertribal wars it was the practice to take no prisoners (except the younger women), but to kill, kill, kill, because the conquerors had no use for the captive men. When, however, society had developed industrially to a stage enabling the victors to make use of live men as work animals, that new industrial condition produced a new idea—one of the greatest and most revolutionary ideas that ever flashed in the human brain; and that idea was simply this:—A live man is worth more than a dead one, if you can make use of him as a work animal. When industrially it became practicable for the conquerors to make use of live men captured in war, it rapidly became the custom to take prisoners, save them alive, beat them into submission—tame them—and thus have them for work animals, human work animals.

Here the human ox, yoked to the burdens of the world, started through the centuries, centuries sad with tears and red with blood and fire.

Thus originated a class of workers, the working class.

Thus originated the ruling class. Thus originated the "leading citizens."

Thus, originally, in war, the workers fell into the bottomless gulf of misery. It was thus that war opened wide the devouring jaws of hell for the workers.

Thus was human society long ago divided into industrial classes,—into two industrial classes.

Of course, the interests of these two classes were in fundamental conflict, and thus originated the class struggle.

Of course the ruling class were in complete possession and control of all the powers of government—and, of course, they had sense enough to use the powers of government to defend their own class interests.

Of course the ruling class made all the laws and controlled all institutions in the interest of the ruling class—naturally.

Of course the ruling class socially despised the slaves—that is, despised the working class; this “upper” class felt contempt for the “lower” class—naturally; and thus originated the social degradation, the social stigma that still sticks to the working class, so clearly clings to the workers that, for example, the banker’s daughter does not marry the wage-earning carpenter; the mine-owner’s son does not marry the wage-earning house-maid; the rank and file of union labor are not welcome in the palatial parlors and ballrooms where the “very best people” are sipping the best champagne and are rhythmically hugging themselves in the dance; the servants, both white and black, in a high-grade (high-class, “upper” class) hotel are not even permitted to take a drink of water at the guests’ water fountain though the guest-list may include scores of *blase* old reprobates, scores of polygamous parasites, scores of the most infamous, dollar-lusting, law-breaking disreputables in the world. The working class are indeed even



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yet openly or secretly despised socially by their "betters."

It was thus and there and then that, long ago, in war, originated the first class-labor form of society, the institution called slavery. A class of despised human work-animals and a class of domineering masters thus appeared; and these two classes developed, this method of production developed, to such vast proportions that this class-labor system became the fundamental thing in the industrial structure of society. It was in this manner that, long ago, one part of society climbed upon the shoulders of the other part of society and became parasites, social parasites, and as a class sunk their parasitic beaks into the industrial flesh of those who had become a working class.

Of course the industrial blood of the workers tasted good to the masters—that is to say, the more work the slaves did the less work the masters had to do,—and that was lovely, for the masters, for the "leading citizens." The "leading citizens" knew they had a bright idea—just like a "leading citizen's" idea of course. The new idea became popular, extremely so—of course. The "leading citizens" were so pleased—with themselves and their "brainy" idea. They were "superior" people—their idea proved that, of course. At that point in human history a ruling class began to flatter themselves, and talk in a loud and handsome manner about "the best people," "the right to rule inferior people," "the progressive, enterprising part of society," and so forth. The "leading citizens" knew very well that they had a "good thing" — for the "leading citizens," for the upper class who thus became so very pleasantly located as an upper class—that is, upon the

industrial shoulders of the "lower class," the working class.

Very naturally the ruling class at once busied themselves promoting and protecting their new class-work plan, their new idea. The idea was their idea, and it was such a splendid idea. Indeed slavery was such a perfectly delightful idea—for the rulers—that, being "gentlemen of push and enterprise," they eagerly studied the problem of developing ways and means of extending their new advantage. They thought. They planned—to manage the new human mule.

Their first idea was—force.

Kick the mule—and rule.

An institution, an armed guard, was, therefore, promptly organized for holding down the slaves, the "lower class," by force,—to hold the toilers, as it were, by the wrists. But an armed guard was expensive, and it was expensive simply because one armed guard could not hold many slaves to their tasks—by force. Now, the ancient slave-holding ruling class, like the modern capitalist ruling class, were, of course, eager to "reduce expenses and increase efficiency." Thus the rulers had another idea, a big, bright idea. Mark well the masters.

Their second idea was—fraud.

Fool the mule—and rule.

The brilliant idea of using fraud in ruling slaves that is, in ruling the working class, was simply this: to have an unarmed guard teach the human horse to "stand hitched," as it were, or, rather, to work like a trained horse without requiring an armed driver to whip him,

to force him to his tasks. This unarmed guard was to hold the workers to their tasks by getting a grip on their minds, on their brains, rather than on their wrists.

This was more "refined."

This was also much cheaper. This method has always been cheaper. It is cheaper for this reason: One unarmed deceiver acting as a guard by holding the mind, the brain, of the workers, can hold to their tasks hundreds of times as many as one armed guard can hold by force. This was most happy idea—for the ruling class.

A new era opened.

The ruler smiled at the deceiver. The deceiver smiled at the ruler. They understood—each other, and agreed upon "the best interests of society."

Precisely so.

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Here originated the vile *role* of the intellectual lick-spittle, the cheap part of the chloroformer of the working class, the contemptible business of the professional palaverer. Here, right at this point in human history, the perfumed intellectual flunky joined the blood-stained soldier,—in the ruler's service of holding down the robbed and ruined working class. The palaverer taught the toil-cursed workers to be obedient and grateful and humble and meek and lowly and contented, to "forget it" that they have poverty here and keep in mind that "it will be all right over there"—"up above" (over in behind beyond the stars) where they will be "richly rewarded, in the sweet bye and bye, for all their suffer-

ings in this world"; taught them that they should not be "resentful," but "in patience bear all sufferings,"—bear even the agony of having their daughters raped by rulers, and their sons run through with spears.

Thus the toiler was kept in his "proper place" (at work) by the soldier and the palaverer, compelling and cajoling the domesticated human work animal.

They held him fast.

One seized his wrists, the other seized his reason; one used force, the other used fraud; one used a lash, the other used a lure; one used a club, the other used chloroform; one frowned threateningly, the other smiled seductively. With curses and cunning these two have taught the toiler law and the order—the law and the order made by the masters for the masters.

Both guards were "necessary"—in the business of robbing the working class. Both have servilely served the ruling class long and well. Through the long, sad centuries these three, the ruler and his two "standbys," the soldier and the palaverer, have ridden the human beast of burden, the working class. The mailed fist of the hired assassin and the soft voice of the bribed palaverer have held the worker utterly helpless, while the ruler robbed him.

Both guards have been rewarded—with provender and flattery, with pelf and popularity. The whipper and the wheedler of the toiler, the slayer and the seducer of the working class, have been the specially petted patriots whose ignoble *role* has been to help defend the class-labor system.

The workers have been kicked and tricked for ten

thousand years, but chiefly tricked, betrayed into helpless consent and stupid approval. The more fraud the less force.

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Undoubtedly far more important than the physical conquest over the working class was the conquest over the mind of the working class. Undoubtedly the idea of teaching the slave to be a slave and to be satisfied with slavery and thus make the slave, the serf, the wage-earner, an **AUTOMATIC** human ox to bear and draw the burdens of the world in brainless obedience and dull humility—undoubtedly that idea has done more solid service in the successes of injustice than any other idea ever born in the brain of tyrants.

The ruling class have always carefully secured the services of many of the world's ablest men to play Judas to the carpenters—to the working class. Profound men, gifted men, trained men, eloquent men, enjoying the world's choicest food, blissfully happy with the world's finest wine, living in homes of comfort and splendor, dressed in softest raiment, many of these have traduced the slave, the serf and the wage-earner without shame. Though the splendid Christ said: "The truth shall make you free," these Judases have taught the working class that learning is a useless or an evil thing for the working people; that the toilers' poverty is the will of God; that unrewarded toil in this world would reap a "specially rich reward beyond the grave." These paid and powerful human things, palavering about the "dignity of honest toil," palavering about the "joy of

the hope of good things beyond" (always beyond)—these men themselves have been practical and careful to take cash-down-good-things for their collect-on-delivery services, careful to take a rich and prompt reward here and now in this world, while at the very same time they were advising and urging the slave, the serf, and the wage-earner to accept unsigned cheques payable "in heaven."

"Your lives have been cast in barren places. . . . While others have possessed in abundance the good things of this world you have been in straightened circumstances. To this I reply that we should thank God. . . . for the afflictions and humiliations with which he has visited us [chloroform]. . . . We should to light the hidden things [chloroform]. . . . What are afflictions the hand that strikes us [chloroform]. . . . He will bring tions if patiently endured but the raw material out of which we can weave a royal robe . . . to wear at the banquet of the King? [chloroform]. . . ."—(From a recent sermon by one of the most influential preachers in the world.)

Always—always—the social chloroformers, the men who palaver and wheedle thus, have their own stomachs bulging with the fat of fried chicken, preferring not to wait till the "banquet of the king," hereafter, "over there," "up there," later.

Always this for the worker: "Your turn will come next"—that is, in the next world. Not now. No. Later.

Following this vanishing lure, hundreds of millions of toilers have, as it were, walked barefoot on broken glass and lain down in their beds of misery mentally paralysed on the subject of **JUSTICE**. Hundreds of millions of toilers have not only accepted these teachings; but, saddest of all, have been tricked into teaching these same things to their children.

Thus it was that almost the entire working class were



tamed and trained for many centuries into spineless meekness, into the docility of humility—helpless—policed by prejudice and fear founded on shrewdly perpetuated ignorance.

“Slaves, obey your masters,” has been taught in a thousand ways for ten thousand years by the stuffed prophets for the profit-stuffed rulers of the robbed and ruined workers of the world. The contented, modest slave is the model slave—always.

This perhaps will make it somewhat easier to understand the present intellectual condition of the working class. It thus becomes easier to understand why the workers were taught (and are taught now) to be “satisfied with their lot,” taught the “identity and harmony of interests of capital and labor.” This explains the meekness of the multitude, the docility of the majority and their stupid political modesty.

Sheepish meekness, self-contempt and prideless obedience long ago took the place of defiant and splendid rebellious self-respect—in the character and the thinking of the working class.

In every possible way the shackles have been riveted to the wrists and brains of the working class—what for?—in order to perpetuate the class-labor system. Under slavery, under serfdom and under capitalism, laws, constitutions, customs, religious teachings, secular teachings, and all the social institutions have been shrewdly conformed or adjusted to the prevailing method of production for the protection of that method of production in order thus to support the class who, in the struggle for existence, have had grossly unfair advantage by means of that method of production.

Ferocious wrongs were studiously developed into vast institutions. For example, man-stealing and slave-breeding became the chief business of the mightiest of the ancient pagan societies, the Roman Empire, and was also a flourishing enterprise under the most highly developed modern Christian societies, the British Empire and the American Republic. Christian Queen Anne, of England, unrebuked by her “spiritual adviser,” was a pious stockholder in a slave-hunting corporation composed of prominent and pious Christian ladies and gentlemen. The Christian churches, colleges, newspapers, of the United States not long ago, North and South, were almost unanimous in their eloquent and pious defence of human slavery. The business was eminently respectable, the business of legally (and piously) sucking the industrial blood out of one’s fellowmen—living like a parasite,—the business of producing nothing and living upon the results of the worker’s labor-power.

Thus keep in mind:

- (1) The origin of the working class,
- (2) The origin of the first class-labor system,
- (3) The origin of the class struggle,
- (4) The origin of the social degradation, the socially “down-and-out” condition, the loss of social standing—of the working class people.
- (5) The origin and growth of the humility of the working class, of the sheepish meekness of the working

# WHAT IS WAR ?

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The CANNON'S THUNDER is ridicule for the proud claims of Civilisation.

War is a sneer.

War is the Devil's sneer at the Human Race.

War is a confession. In war the human race stumbles—stumbles backward across the centuries into the jungle.

War dethrones the Beauty and crowns the Beast—in human nature.

War is the eclipse of Brother and the collapse of God in the Human breast and brain.

All war is defeat, defeat for the victims and for the victors, for the living and for the dead, and for nations that (confessing social imbecility and political incapacity) argue in the roar and smoke of cannon, settling their disputes with nail and tusk—with lead and iron. War is international jeering at the finest fruit now ripening on the "thorny stem of time."—Human Federation.

War mistakes brutality for bravery, madness for manliness and homicide for patriotism; war has belittled the world with jealousy, damned the world with hate, filled the world with sighs and groans; war has stained the earth with blood and tears, broken the health and shattered the limbs of millions of the world's strong men, and filled the highways with hobbling cripples; war has crowded the world with widows and orphans, with broken hearts, broken homes and broken hopes. War places the conqueror above the educator and the assassin above the artist; war, as organised force and cruelty, spits on religion, adopts the ethics of the tiger and the shark—Might makes Right; war smites the kind, curses the gentle, tramples the tender, crushes the sister's heart and the brother's face under the heel and fist of iron.

The past is darkened by two clouds—a cloud of lazy human vultures feeding on the lives of the straining, sweating working-class, consuming slaves, serfs and wage-earners; darkened by another cloud of buzzards hovering over and feasting upon the slain toilers, butchered, wasted and despised on ten thousand battlefields.

War has slashed a wide, wide highway of ruin through the ages, a highway strewn with wreckage, reddened with fire, lined with crosses, prisons, corpses, skulls, and graves; and evermore, even to-day, this stained Beast spreads wide its blood-dripping jaws in wild and hungry howls for more, more, more victims.

class, the meekness which to-day shows itself in the politics of most working men—always suspecting and despising their own working class political party, always in our day tagging along after some smooth, well-dressed crook candidates on capitalist class party tickets.

(6) The perpetuation of ignorance—in the working class.

(7) The origin of the intellectual prostitute, the moral emasculate.

Now, help your satisfied fellow worker, help him understand why he is satisfied.

Without malice, without anti-culture prejudice, without anti-religious hatred, without anti-church spite, but with knowledge of the naturalness of human behavior domineered by economic necessity, with knowledge of the great historical process, with your vision clear, your heart kind, your courage high, and your purpose fraternal—explain, explain this matter of meekness to your humble, contented wage-slave neighbor. Explain: That long ago the working man was forced and taught to be docile and meek. Under slavery, later under serfdom and still later under capitalism—for thousands of years—he industrially, socially, and politically **surrendered**. He was compelled to do so. He was taught to do so.

He got the habit.

He had the manhood and the courage beaten out of him, kicked out of him—and coaxed out of him.

He lost heart.

He humbly took his place—as a chattel-slave class, as a serf-slave class, as a wage-slave class.

He has produced wealth.

He has reproduced slaves.

**The wings of his aspiration have been clipped.** He can hope no higher than a job—for himself. He hopes no higher than a job—for his children.

The top of the plans of his life is—toil.

And therefore even now as a wage-slave he teaches his own children to “respect their betters”—their employer masters.

He forgets.

He is so cringingly grateful for a job that he forgets he should have not only the right to breathe the air, the right to look at the sun, the right to read in the library, the right to walk on the highway, and the right to sit in the park,—but also the right to **work, the right to work unrobbed, the right to work under dignifying conditions, and thus maintain himself on this earth at the upmost levels of life, enjoying the full result of his applied labor power,—and without whining for permission to do so.**

He forgets.

He is still so very humble.

He is, under the wage-system, forced to obey orders all his life in the factory, the shop and the mine. He is thus habitually so obedient that he will obey any order. He prides himself on his obedience. Under orders he will even plunge a bayonet into the breast of his fellow workers—in the interest of the capitalist class. He forgets the thousand wrongs thrust into his weary life and into the life of his class.

He does indeed forget.

He is still in a dull, dumb slumber.

But he is beginning to rouse from the slumber of meekness—from the social damnation of brainless obedience.

He is beginning to study the history of his own working class; and therefore he is rousing, waking, rising.

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Following are some additional short paragraphs on the history of the working class from books by distinguished writers and teachers. It is hoped that these quoted paragraphs will induce further working class study of working class history. These passages confirm the main points of this lesson.

Professor Lester F. Ward (Brown University):

"Still, the world has never reached a stage where the physical and temporal interests have not been largely in the ascendant, and it is these upon which the economists have established their science. Self-preservation has always been the first law of nature and that which best insures this is the greatest gain. . . . All considerations of pride or self-respect will give way to the imperious law of the greatest gain for the least effort. All notions of justice which would prompt the giving of an equivalent vanish before it. . . ."

Thus wrote Sir Henry Maine:

"The simple wish to use the bodily powers of another person, as a means of ministering to one's own ease or pleasure, is doubtless the foundation of slavery."

And thus Professor W. G. Sumner (Yale University):

"The desire to get ease or other good by the labor of another and the incidental gratification to vanity seem to be the fundamental principles of slavery, when philosophically regarded, after the rule of one man over others has become established. . . . It appears that slavery began historically with the war captive, if he or she was not put to death, as he was liable to be by the laws of war. . . . It seems to be established that it [slavery] began where the economic system was such that there was gain in making a slave of a war captive, instead of killing him. . . . The defeated [in war] were forced to it [slavery] and learned to submit to it. . . . It seemed to be good fun, as well as wise policy, to make the members of a rival/out-group do these tasks, after defeating them in war. . . . Inasmuch as slavery springs from greed and vanity, it appeals to primary motives and is at once entwined with selfishness and other fundamental vices. . . . It rises to an interest which overrules everything else. . . . The motive of slavery is base and cruel from the beginning. . . . The interests normally control life. . . . Slavery is an instinct which is sure to break over all restraints and correctives. . . . It is a kind of pitfall for civilisation."

Here a few lines from Professors Ely and Wicker (University of Wisconsin, Department of Economics):

"It follows from the need of larger territories [in the hunting stage] that war becomes an economic necessity wherever there is not an abundance of unoccupied land. This same condition of things gives us one of the causes of cannibalism. The pressure of increasing numbers bringing people continually together to the verge of starvation, they fall, little by little into the custom of eating enemies, taken in war. . . . Captive later came to be recognised as of use in serving their Captors and thus slavery succeeds cannibalism. . . ."

"The Origin of a Working Class. . . . Perhaps the most important result of the change which produced the agricultural stage was the growth of slavery as an institution. As we have said, slavery had its beginnings in the preceding periods [hunting and pastoral], but it is only in the agricultural stage that it be-

comes an important, almost a fundamental, economic institution. Tending the herds did not call for persistent labor, but the prose of tilling the soil is undisguised work, and primitive men were not fond of work. . . . It is not strange then that they should have saved the lives of men conquered in battle with the design of putting upon them the tasks of tilling the soil."

On the origin of slavery the eminent French sociologist, Gabriel Tarde, writes:

"What do all our modern inventions amount to in comparison with this capital invention of domestication? This was the first decisive victory over animality. Now, of all historic events the greatest and most surprising is, unquestionably, the one which alone made history possible, the triumph of man over surrounding fauna [animals of the region]. . . . To us the trained horse that is docile under the bit is merely a certain muscular force under our control. . . . The idea of reducing men to slavery, instead of killing and eating them, must have arisen after the idea of training animals instead of feeding on them, for the same reason that war against wild beasts must have preceded that against alien tribes. When man enslaved and domesticated his own kind, he substituted the idea of human beasts of burden for that of human prey."

And this from Wallis:

"But whatever its merits, the consideration of slavery introduces a much larger subject—the place of class relations in social development as a whole. In its material aspect, property in men is an institution by means of which one class of people appropriates the labor product of another class without economic repayment. This relation is brought about [also] by other institutions than slavery. For instance, if a class engrosses the land of a country and forces the remainder of the population to pay rent, either in kind or in money, for the use of the soil, such a procedure issues, like slavery, in the absorption of labor products by an upper class without economic repayment."

"We have observed the origin of the social cleavage into upper and lower strata on this general basis at the inception of social development. If we scrutinise the field carefully, it

is evident that one of the greatest and far reaching facts of ancient civilisation, as it emerges from the darkness of pre-historic times, as well as one of the most considerable facts of subsequent history, is just this cleavage into two principal classes."

Herbert Spencer has written:

"The sequence of slavery upon war in ancient times is shown us in the chronicle of all races. . . ."

"Ready obedience to a terrestrial ruler is naturally accompanied by ready obedience to a supposed celestial ruler; . . . Examination discloses a relation between ecclesiastical and political governments . . . and in societies which have developed a highly coercive secular rule there habitually exists a high coercive religious rule. . . ."

"The Clergy were not the men who urged the abolition of slavery, nor the men who condemned regulations which raised the price of bread to maintain rents. Ministers of religion do not as a body denounce the unjust aggression we continually commit on weaker societies."

Dr. Ward writes:

"Passing over robbery and theft, which, though prevalent everywhere, are not recognised by society, let us consider war for a moment as a non-industrial mode of acquisition. In modern times, most wars have some pretext besides that of aggrandising the victorious parties engaged in them, although in nearly all cases this latter is the real *casus belli* [justification of war]. This shows that the world is so far advanced as to be ashamed of its motives for its conduct, but not enough so to effect that conduct materially. In olden times no secret was made of the object of military expeditions as the acquisition of the wealth of the conquered people. . . . We may regard war, then, strictly considered, as a mode of acquisition. . . . War, then, when waged for conquest, is simply robbery on so large a scale that in the crude conceptions of men it arouses the sentiments of honor."

In Dealy and Ward's "Text Book of Sociology," pp. 86-88, is this luminous passage.

"The stage of race antagonism is reached and the era of war begins. The chase for animal food is converted into a chase for human flesh, and anthropophagous [cannibal] races arise, spreading terror in all directions.... The use of the bodies of the weaker races for food was, of course, the simplest form of exploitation to suggest itself. But this stage was succeeded by that social assimilation through conquest and subjugation. The profound inequality produced by subjugation was turned to account through other forms of exploitation. The women and the warriors were enslaved, and the system of caste that arose converted the conquered race into a virtually servile class, while this service and the exemptions it entailed converted the leaders of the conquering race into a leisure class.

"Such was the origin of slavery, an economic institution which is found in the earlier stages of all the historical races."

The next selected paragraph is from Professor Simon Patten (University of Pennsylvania), Ex-President of the American Academy of Political and Social Science:

"The human hordes turned upon each other, and their proublings about the precarious supplies of food evolved in the course of time the 'war of civilisation.' There was little peace where nature was most productive, and the conquering populations of the better lands, governing and protecting by conquest, built up whole states on the traditions and practice of fighting. . . . Statesmen and philosophers set forth the necessity and beneficence of destruction.. It was in such a world, where a man's death was his neighbour's gain, that our social institutions were grounded. . . . Predatory habits, which originated in the hunting of game, developed a zest for hunting men as soon as conquests and the possession of slaves made the agricultural resources of the valleys more desirable than those of the mountain or upland plain. . . . The contests evolved social institutions, which do perpetuate and conserve, and which do not improve, man's adjustment to nature. Here arises the distinction between the social institutions. . . . and the economic institutions. . . . The former establish status and the rights of possession

and exploitation; the other increase nobility of men and goods, promote industry, and give each generation renewed power to establish itself in closer relations with nature.

"The result of these conditions is two kinds of obstacles that hinder advance. On the one hand are the obstacles economic, mal-adjustments between man and nature, which forced men in the past to submit to a poverty they did not know how to escape; and on the other hand are the obstacles social which do not originate in nature, but in those past [social] conditions retaining present potency that have aligned men into antagonistic classes at home and into hostile races abroad. The economic obstacles are being slowly weakened by the application of knowledge, science and skill; but the social obstacles will never be overcome until an intellectual revolution shall have freed men's minds from the stultifying social traditions that hand down hatreds, and shall have given to thought the freedom that now makes industrial activity. The extension of civilisation downward does not depend at present so much upon gaining fresh victories over nature, as it does upon the demolition of social obstacles which divide men into classes and prevent the universal democracy that unimpeded economic forces would bring about. The social status, properly determined by a man's working capacity, has now intervened between him and his relations with nature until opportunity, which should be impersonal and self-renewed at the birth of a man, has dwindled and become partisan."

Thus Professor Patten, though a conservative and a non-socialist, frankly points out the necessity of such social reorganisation as will destroy the artificial barriers to equality of opportunity for each to secure an abundance. And it is certainly true, as Dr. Patten suggests, that we have arrived at that stage in our knowledge of nature and in our industrial evolution, which renders industrial reconstruction of society logically necessary—both to avoid war and to secure industrial justice and freedom for the working class.

Anent this matter one of America's noblest and most

scholarly women, Miss Jane Addams, writes as follows:

"Existing commerce has long ago reached its international stage, but it has been the result of business aggression, and constantly appeals for military defence and for the forcing of new markets. . . . It has logically lent itself to warfare, and is indeed the modern representative of conquest. As its prototype rested upon slavery and vassalage, so this commerce is founded upon a contempt for the worker, and believes that he can live on low wages. It assumes that his legitimate wants are the animals ones, comprising merely food and shelter and the cost of its replacement."

Frederic Harrison thus:

"Within our social system there rages the struggle of classes, interests, and ambitions; the passion for wealth, the restlessness of want. The future of industry, the cause of education, social justice, the very life of the poor, all tremble in the balance in our own country, as in other countries; this way or that way will decide the well-being of generations to come."

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The wars of long ago originated because it was extremely difficult to get a living out of nature's store-house of supplies — when men were ignorant of nature's resources and ignorant of how to make nature yield abundantly. Those wars were due chiefly to ignorance of physical nature, due to our inability to get into right relations with physical nature. But wars of the present are carried on, and the wars of the future will be carried on, chiefly because of the following combination of circumstances:

(a) We have so much knowledge of nature's forces and resources that it is easy, now, to get livings from

nature's store-house, easy to produce abundantly; and

(b) Under the wage-system the worker's power to produce abundantly is so much greater than his permitted consuming power that the surplus product becomes so large as to make a foreign market, a world-market, necessary; and,

(c) Since many nations have reached and more nations are rapidly approaching this stage of development in production, yet still remain under the wage-and-profit plan of distribution, the world market is insufficient for all of them.

Hence there will be wars, if the working class permit them.

The future wars will be due chiefly to ignorance of social nature, due to our inability to get into right relations with one another industrially.

War produced slavery, chattel slavery. Chattel slavery evolved into serf-slavery. Serf-slavery evolved into wage-slavery. And wage-slaves produce so much and are permitted to consume so small a proportion of what they produce, that the capitalists must order the wage-slaves to fight for a foreign market for what the wage-slaves produce and the capitalist employers do not consume or invest and the wage-slaves are not permitted to consume. War thus originated slavery and now slavery [wage-slavery] ends in war.

War, conflict, struggle, Antagonism is in the social structure wherever there is slavery.

Slavery is fundamentally unsocial—anti-social.

Now, the capitalist employer insists that the wage-

earner and the employer are in proper relation to each other. The capitalist is satisfied to have had the first two class-labor forms of society (slavery and serfdom) pass away. But he accepts the present class-labor form of society (the wage-system) as correct; it is satisfactory—to him. And he craftily has it taught in the high schools, colleges and universities that the employer and the wage-earner are at present in proper relation to each other.

The capitalist enjoys his own freedom at the expense of the worker's freedom.

He is eager to have the wage-earner believe that he too is free; and that, being free, he should be satisfied and keep quiet.

The capitalists explain that the wage-earners are free because the wage-earners have the privilege of making a contract, a contract to work for wages; that the wage-earners being thus at last free to make a contract, they have reached their final status, an ideal status; and that thus (Blessed be the Lord!) evolution has finally finished its great work—the work is done and well done.

\* \* \* \*

Capitalists and the intellectual flunkies of the capitalist class do all possible to have the world believe the following proposition:

The evolution of human relations is finished—perfect—in industry; and, therefore, the wage-earners are foolish and ungrateful to be discontented, after having developed to their present stage of industrial freedom.

Following is a sample of the familiar soothing con-

gratulation on our having reached the present noble form of industrial freedom and civilisation. Professor Fairbanks (Yale University) writes thus:

"When captives taken in war could be utilised for work instead of being destroyed or eaten, a genuine means of production was secured.... Feudalism marked a decided advance on slavery.... The serf had certain interests of his own, not wholly identical with his lord's.... Then masters gradually learned that hired labor [the wage-system] was more profitable than forced labor, and the principle of serfdom, like that of slavery before it, had to give way to a higher form of organisation for production [the wage-system]...."

"The laborer [at present under the wage-system] is bound to his master by no tie except such as he voluntarily assumes."

How frankly profits are admitted to have been the motive inspiring the origin of the wage-system.

And how entertainingly ridiculous is the last proposition quoted above. What cheap palaver about freedom. What clownish antics pleasing to the kings—the industrial kings. It certainly pleases the industrial Cæsars to have the Professor turn intellectual somersaults to induce the wage-slave to smile sweetly and admire the slave-bands on his own wrists. Are not those bands plainly marked "Free"?

Notice that Professor Fairbanks uses the words "master" and "bound" in referring to the relation between the employer and the "free-contracting" wage-earner.

A free man does not voluntarily bind himself to a master.

With the lash of hunger cutting him and the wolf of want at the throats of his wife and children, the "free-contracting" hired laborer, the wage-earner, promptly



and voluntarily seeks an employer—"master," and "voluntarily" "contracts" to produce a dollar's worth of value for twenty or forty cents in wages and thus "voluntarily" submits to have his wife and little children robbed of the abundant livings he wishes to provide for them. This is the freedom, the free contract, of the wage-system, the present (the third) form of class-labor system.

The "freedom" of the wage-earner in thus making a contract, with starvation behind him, vagrancy laws reaching for him, police, militia, soldiers, jails and bullpens ready for him, this freedom is about as complete as that of a citizen facing an armed and threatening highwayman who commands, "Hands up!" The wage-earner and the held-up citizen are free to comply, free to surrender and free to be robbed, and also free to decline and take the consequences—all "voluntarily" of course.

**No one is free indeed till he is free in the most fundamental activity of life, the activity of getting a living.**

\* \* \* \*

In the evolution of mankind the worker has, in some parts of the world, secured:

Freedom to investigate,

Freedom of thought,

Freedom of assemblage,

Freedom of speech,

Freedom of the press,

Freedom of suffrage—for male workers,

Freedom of political party organisation and association.

This indicates the stage at which we have arrived in the development of freedom for the working class. These preliminary forms of freedom are the means with which, if we have pride enough, we shall secure freedom indeed—freedom in getting a living, freedom from capitalist employers who, with soldiers and the lash of starvation, force us into wage contracts, freedom from the blue-blood social parasites who despise our common blood in social relations, suck our blood in industrial relations, and waste our blood in war.

In the evolution of mankind the ancient free barbarian, taken prisoner in war, loudly and grandly protesting, became a chattel slave without any kind of freedom; the chattel slave became a serf without industrial freedom or any other kind in reality and completeness; the serf became a wage-earner, a wage-slave, without industrial freedom—that is, without the fundamental freedom, freedom in getting a living. However, in very recent times the wage-earner has come into the possession of several of those extremely important forms of freedom with which he can defend himself as soon as he has sufficient self-respect to do so.

Thus and therefore the question of our day is this:

**Are the working class proud and keen enough to use the freedom they have, to secure the freedom they need most—namely, freedom in industry, freedom in getting a living in a socialised society, a society with equality of opportunity for all, all of us, with our feet firmly planted on the collectively-owned industrial foundations of society, a society of rational mutualism, with Justice, Plenty and Peace?**

Reader, if you are with us in our peaceful struggle to win the world for the workers, start a fire—in your neighbor's mind (if he has one)—hand him a torch, a torch of truth. Let us shake hands and fight—the enemy—with light.

With the truth we shall halt the galloping cavalry, silence the cannon, "ground arms," and close the class struggle—in a co-operative commonwealth.

**IT IS YOUR MOVE.**

**Multiply your power by moving with the Movement.**

**—THE REVOLUTIONARY INDUSTRIAL MOVEMENT.**

