War and the Working Class
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 Seminar (U.S.A.) says:

"We have repeatedly pointed out that every social institution weaves a protective 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 hospital and the morgue of the battlefield are passed in silence, and the imputation of the people is filled with wailing plumes and the smell 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 understands 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 armed..."
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mental caunon 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 textbook gives the facts, and no teacher is permitted to tell the truth—slavery—about the origin of labor since the dawn of class form, "civilized" 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 summarizing: "The History of Labor—The Tragedy of Toil."

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 tribe to enlarge their territories; and thus the tribes trespass—aggressed upon one another's territory.

This caused war—intertribal war.
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 five 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 living man is worth more than a dead one, if you can make use of him as a work animal. When industrially it became practical 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—made them—and thus have them for work animals, human work animals.

Here the human ax, poked to the heart's end 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 then that war opened wide the devouring jaws of hell for the workers.
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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 auguring 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 reproaches, scores of polygamous parasites, scores of the most infamous, dollar-hunting, law-breaking despicable in the world. The working class are indeed even
yet openly or secretly despised socially by their "better."

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 engineering 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 flutter 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 perfecting 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 organised 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,
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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.

Here originated the vile rule of the intellectual kick-splittle, the cheap pay 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” (ever in behind beyond the stars) where they will be “richly rewarded, in the sweet bye and bye, for all their sufferings 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 coaxing the domesticated human work animal.

They held him fast.

One seized his wrists, the other aimed 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 cursing 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 serenely 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 foot 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 self and popularity. The whisper and the wheeler 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
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thousand years, but chiefly tricked, betrayed into helpless consent and stupid approval. The more fraud the lesser force.

Undoubtedly far more important than the physical conflict 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 burden of the world in brainless obedience and dull humility—undoubtedly that idea has done more solid service in the success 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, eloquent men, enjoying the world's choicest food, blissfully happy with the world's finest wine, living in houses of comfort and splendor, dressed in sable raiment, many of these have degraded 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 an evil thing for the working people; that the toiler's poverty is the will of God, that unrewarded toil in this world would reap a "special reward beyond the grave." These paid and powerful human palavers, 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 straitened 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 fight the hidden things [chloroform]. . . . What are afflic-
tions but the hand that strikes us [chloroform]. . . . We will bring
ings 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 all the "banquet of the king"—hereafter, "over there," "up there," later.

Always this for the worker: "Your turn will come near"—that is, in the next world. Not now, not today.

Following this vanishing line of hundreds of millions of toilers have, as it were, walked hard-footed and shapelessness, and lain down in their beds of misery mentally paralyzed on the subject of JUSTICE. Hundreds of millions of toilers have not only accepted these teachings; but, instead 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.

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?

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 tail 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 haste, 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 hopping 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 flies of the straining, sweating working-classes, 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
depisising their own working class political party, always
in our day-togging, 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 emasculation.

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

Without malice, without anti-culture prejudice, with-
out anti-religious hatred, without anti-church spleen, but
with knowledge of the naturalness of human behavior
deminered by economic necessity, with knowledge of
the great historical process, with your vision clear, your
heart kind, your courage high, and your purpose frater-
nal—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
doleful 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 em-
ployer masters.

He forgets.

He is so eternally 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 rest 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 uppermost levels
of life, enjoying the full results of his applied labor power,
—and without whining to receive 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 for-
gets the thousand wrongs thrust into his weary life and
into the life of his class.
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He does indeed forget.

He is still in a dull, dumb slumber.

But he is beginning to rouse from the slumber of needlessness—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.

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 ascendancy, 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 mean of ministering to one's own ease or pleasure, is doubtless the foundation of slavery."
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comes an important, almost a fundamental, economic institution. Feeding the herds did not call for persistent labor, but the process of tilling the soil is undistinguished 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 tillage 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, without question, 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 animal 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, poverty in men is an institution, by means of which one class of people appropriates the labor product of another class without economic remuneration. This relation is brought about (also) by other institutions than slavery. For instance, if a class enforces the land of a country and forces the remittance 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 remuneration."

"We have observed the origin of the social cleavage into upper and lower strata on this general basis as the inception of social development. If we scrutinize the field carefully, it is evident that one of the greatest and for reaching facts of ancient civilization, 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."

Robert 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 to 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 ranks. Ministers of religion do not as a body denounce unjust aggression we continually commit on weaker societies."

Dr. Ward writes:

"Possing over robbery and theft, which, though present 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 aggrandizing the victorious parties engaged in them, although in nearly all cases this latter is the real cause built [origin of war] This shows that the world is so far advanced as to be ashamed of its motives for its conduct, has not enough so to effect that conduct materially. To older 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 a large scale that in the crude conceptions of man it awesome the sentiments of honor."
and exploitation; the other interests the wealthy of men and goods, promises industry, and gives 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, mutual 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 bind them and shall have given to thought the freedom that now makes industrial activity. The extension of civilization downward does not depend so much upon gaining fresh victories over nature, as it does upon the elimination 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 universal 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 social reorganization 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.

As for this matter one of America's noblest and most
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nearly 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 unocial—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) gone away. But he accepts the present class-labor form of society (the wage-system) as correct; it is satisfactory—so he is. And he capably 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 in 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 mun-gratulation on our having reached the present noblest form of industrial freedom and civilization. Professor Fairbanks (Yale University) writes thus:

"When captures taken in war could be utilized for work instead of being destroyed or eaten, a genuine means of production was secured. ... Feudalism marked a decided advance on slavery.... The men had certain interests of his own, not wholly identical with his lord's.... Thus 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 organization 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 Caesars to have the Professor turn intellectual somnambulists to induce the wage-slave to smile sweetly and admire the slave-bands on his own writs. Are not these 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 bull-pens 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 hold-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 assembly,
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?
WAR AND THE WORKING CLASS.

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.