

Ludger Guvval

Socialism Means Slavery
for the
Working Man

By
P. H. SCULLIN.

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By

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INTRODUCTION.

In presenting my views upon Socialism to all who may choose to read this pamphlet, I simply present them *as my views*. I have asked for no man's help, opinions or suggestions. That I have read Socialistic works, attended their lectures, and interviewed their lecturers and teachers goes without saying; but the more I read and the more I interviewed, the more confused I became, until at last I determined to work out the entire Socialistic puzzle for myself. In doing so I have endeavored to free my mind from every prejudice, which was easily accomplished, never having participated in politics further than the casting of my vote for the man whom I believed to be the most honest, irrespective of party.

Being myself a mechanic and ever deeply interested, as I am today, in the uplifting of the toiling masses, I entered upon the study of Socialism with the avowed intention of joining the movement if I found its platform, plans and purposes to be honest, practicable and progressive. I therefore hope that in reading this statement of my final conclusions, every Socialist will in fairness extend to me the right he claims for himself—the simple right to express my own thoughts, the right to paint the picture as I myself see it.

As I do not write at the dictation of any man or of any party, and the pamphlet itself being for free distribution, I hope for the tolerant indulgence which the uneducated man has a right to claim when honestly, if laboriously, endeavoring to express what he believes. The reader who desires to be informed begins at the beginning and reads to the end. The frivolous and superficial begins anywhere and ends nowhere.

P. H. SCULLIN.

VANCOUVER, B. C.

CHAPTER I.

SOCIALISM AN INFECTIOUS DISEASE.

"Ne'er did Faith with her smooth bandage bind
 Eyes more devoutly willing to be blind
 *In his own cause—never was soul inspired
 With livelier trust in what it most desired.

* * * * *
 Faith, fanatic Faith, once wedded fast
 To some dear falsehood, hugs it to the last."

Once a man embraces the Socialistic creed he is outside the pale of all logical reasoning; he will not listen to anything excepting what pertains to the propagation of his own dear, false belief. He has no time to listen to those who do not believe as he does. He wants to do all the talking, and he takes care that he *will* do all the talking. He *doesn't want* to be convinced; he is already convinced beyond all hope of change. His mission henceforth is to convert, not to be converted. However patient you may be you cannot get in a word. He never tires; he talks to you, at you, over you, and all around you, but he never listens. What's to be done with him then? Just leave him alone, that's all; he'll die sometime. But let us try and save the rising generation from imbibing his false economic doctrine.

Socialism in its present stage is a creed, a faith, a blind, unreasoning belief amounting to fanaticism. They teach that they have founded the only infallible, economic religion by which the working man may or can be saved from oppression and injustice. They have their share of hypocrites and unbelievers who preach their gospel for no other reason than to make an easy living, but I believe there are others who have embraced higher and holier creeds, who are equally imposed upon, but the preaching imposter does not, nor can he, detract one iota from our admiration for the honest believer who sits, listens and believes both in the preaching and the preacher. Why, then, blame the Socialist, if he does but honestly believe?

Socialism is a disease. It is a disease of the mind, and what is worse, it is an infectious disease and anarchy is but an acute stage of the disease. It is, from the first, all but incurable, for the simple reason that in its insidious development it blinds the moral perception as to what is just and what is unjust. It strikes its devotees with moral blindness. This is the most hideous feature of this new political faith.

People wonder at the spread and growth of Socialism, but why? Simply because they wonder without thinking. When the follow-

* In virtue's cause.

ers of Joseph Smith could be brought to look on the bestial institution of polygamy as a religion; when Dowie, the ex-convict, could make thousands not only believe that he was Elijah II., but could get them to surrender their wealth in evidence of their faith, what then? Is not Socialism promising the workingman a heaven here on earth with a choice of broad highways to reach the next?

Any man who has made a study of Socialism, mixed with Socialists, reasoned with them and has himself remained healthy, will confirm my statement that it is an infectious disease. But if it is a disease of the mind, why does it not attack the rich and well-to-do? Easily answered. The subject must be in a receptive mood or it is impervious to disease of any and of all kinds. There are men who could not take smallpox, yellow fever or the mumps. Poverty has ever been responsive both to disease and malignant influence.

We do not find fault with a man for having a fever, smallpox or diphtheria,—not at all. Instead we call upon the most eminent doctors and medical practitioners in our midst to care for the patient and safeguard the community from the spread of the disease.

But what have we ever done, either to cure the diseased Socialistic mind or check the growth or spread of Socialism among our otherwise healthy and well-disposed workmen? I answer, nothing and worse than nothing. Not content with our neglect at home we are engaged in the business of importing the foreign article. Every vile concoction of international human filth is being dumped upon our Canadian and American shores. We see the Mafia, the Carbinaria, the Black Hand, the Socialist and the Anarchist take root, grow and flourish in this our land of liberty and equal rights. We see the imported product of foreign nations come to our country and in a *few short years*, through influence gained in irresponsible organizations, becoming dictators in the political field, dictating to native-born citizens the men for whom they shall vote, and assailing our laws and the dispensers of our laws.

The worst enemies of all free governments and their institutions are the men who are trying to array one class of citizens against another. The Scriptures tell us that a house divided against itself must fall. Yet, in spite of the warnings of the Scriptures and experience; in spite of our own better judgment; and in contemptuous defiance of what may and will follow if we persist in our past and present indifference to existing conditions, we sleep on.

In the present condition of society, where only wealth or eminence can gain a hearing, where the average business man has neither the time to read nor to listen, it is little short of folly on the one hand and presumption on the other, for the unknown to give expression to thoughts, fraught though they be with importance in relation to our country's future; yet would I call upon our representative men to pause and think, and I would have them do their thinking now, this very minute. There is no tomorrow. It

is only the fool that says tomorrow will do. The Socialist, the Anarchist, the professional agitator, the social and industrial disrupter of our peace and unity does not wait for tomorrow. He used up yesterday; he is using today, and he will be here tomorrow also, with only this difference: Tomorrow there will be two where there is one today. If there is one evil in our country to be deplored above another, it is our individual indifference to community interests, and the future of our Nation. No one seems to have a moment to spare for the safeguarding of the best interests of all, and yet if we but took a sane or common-sense business interest in our own children's future how easy it would be to hand down to them and theirs, in perpetuity, that National stability which we have enjoyed and whose very foundations are threatened today. And threatened by whom? By irresponsible, glib-tongued orators, who are spreading abroad the spirit of discontent and instilling in the mind of ignorance the poison of class hatred. They are successful in their mission of evil because of our indifference, but let us not forget that if their converts are not endowed with an overplus of intelligence, they are at least endowed with muscle, and that infuriated ignorance loses little time in its deliberations over who shall be its victims. It strikes first and deliberates afterwards.

While it is my intention, in the near future, to treat at length and in a separate pamphlet, the cure for the evils I have pointed out, I believe this exposition of Socialism, its methods and designs, would be incomplete did I not endeavor to interest our thinking business and professional men in some specific and earnest movement to counteract the evil that is being done to the present and coming generation, by the false and materialistic education of today. This question of Socialism and Anarchy can no longer be considered merely a passing delusion. It is here. It is a disease and it is spreading. It is insidious, and like a cancer or leprosy. When it takes the patient he is incurable. What, then, should be done to safeguard society from the dire results that are sure to follow in the fullness of time? There is nothing, absolutely nothing, that can be done except that which the Socialists themselves are doing, namely, *educate the people*. What our country wants, needs and must have is a well-organized and systematic plan of wholesome economic education. Socialistic and Anarchistic literature is, at the present moment, being printed in the United States and Canada in seven different languages and is being distributed by the ton. Emma Goldman and Anarchist Berkman distributed 135,000 anarchist pamphlets to the working men of Chicago and New York during the Labor Day parade of 1903, and are today lecturing all over the country, hiring our most expensive halls and stopping in first-class hotels, being interviewed by special reporters, and are given whole columns of advertising in the public press. The *Appeal to Reason* has 250,000 subscribers and is read by probably 1,000,000, including women and children. There is a

Socialistic newspaper in every city of any size in the United States and Canada. They have their public lecturers by the thousands, from Debs down to the curbstone orator on the street corner. In the workshop they include the Workmen of the World and the Western Federation of Miners. Their latest move on the Pacific Coast is the offering of money prizes to our public-school children for the best essays on SOCIALISM. This is for the nefarious purpose of inducing our children to read their own literature to the end that their young and impressionable minds may become poisoned or inoculated with the Socialistic virus of today.

In my varied experience of sixty years as an observing man I know of no public evil of which we have been so neglectful. I know of no menace to community interests, to public or national welfare or to the well-being of coming generations to which we have shown such utter indifference. Other disease kill the body only. This disease affects the mind, destroys all peace, blights hope and hurls the souls of men to perdition. In page 26 of *State Socialism and Anarchy*, it says: "We look upon divine authority and religious sanction of morality as the chief pretexts put forward by the privileged classes for the exercise of human authority." "If God exists," says Proudhon, "He is man's enemy." In all other affairs of life we are most watchful, ever on the alert to checkmate, prevent, eradicate and banish from our midst anything and everything that might be hurtful to either the individual or the community. If crime is rampant we add to our police force and pass more stringent laws for the suppression of vice. If typhoid fever is epidemic we immediately improve sanitary conditions. If contagious disease appears we establish quarantine hospitals. Our scientists are forever delving into the mysterious chambers of the unknown to find the means of relieving pain, renewing health and prolonging life, not to speak of the infinite service they have done and are still doing by their classification of microbes, to the end that the good microbe may eat the bad one.

We permit a fool his liberty so long as he is harmless; we do not interfere with the faith and prayer healers so long as they do not neglect to call in the doctor, but the moment the fool becomes dangerous we send him to an asylum, and should the faith curist neglect to call in the doctor and the patient die, we immediately put the man of prayer in jail. There is just one protection against Socialism, and that is to beat the Socialist at his own game. How? Simply by an honest, earnest campaign of wholesome economic education, free from every bias, non-partisan, logical and clean. I feel certain that if some man of standing would only take up this question of combating Socialism in the way I have suggested, not by fault-finding, suppression or harsh treatment, but through rebuttal and by showing the fallacy and degradation of the entire Socialistic structure, great good would result from the effort. There are thousands of wealthy and patriotic citizens who would be glad to give the movement their warmest support. For the entire ten

years that I have been before the people, working for industrial peace, both business and professional men have been saying to me, "Something must be done, Mr. Scullin; something must be done." Here they leave the matter.

And now let me ask everybody who reads this pamphlet: Who is going to do it? Or, who is going to help to do it? Or, who is going to begin to do or even make a try or show an interest? Or, shall we leave it to our children to battle over the results of our indifference?

For all the years that I have been before the public I have never ceased in an earnest endeavor to awake the public conscience to the menace of the extensive Socialistic propaganda being carried on in every labor union throughout the country; asserting that if the people remained indifferent it was but a question of time until the entire labor movement became a Socialistic movement, or a bitter and unreasoning war of labor as a whole against capital and the employers of labor generally. This was not a prophecy; it was a foregone conclusion, arrived at by an intimate knowledge of the trend of thought in the ranks of organized labor, and the distribution of Socialistic literature amongst union men. That my warnings went unheeded has been through no fault of mine, as my many pamphlets and lectures on the subject gives ample proof. But whether the conditions I pointed out as inevitable, if your people remained indifferent, are here or are not, may be judged by a perusal of the different extracts from the public press, contained in this pamphlet. In a short time every labor leader will be a Socialist, as indeed nearly all of them are already; nor could it be otherwise, as the reader will see by the perusal of chapter VI. on the Socialistic manipulation of the Union.

SOCIALISM MEANS SLAVERY FOR THE WORKING MAN

CHAPTER II.

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

To begin, we must define Socialism. What is it? This definition I leave to Benj. R. Tucker, of New York, a professor, writer and thinker; a gentleman who has graduated naturally, logically and easily from Socialism to Anarchy. He says that State Socialism may be described as the doctrine that all the affairs of men should be managed by the government *regardless of individual choice*. Take notice—regardless of individual choice. Karl Marx, and all Socialistic teachers, take this definition as the ground-work of their teaching.

Let us see what this means, and to that end we will assume that Socialism is here and that the entire Socialistic machinery of the State is in perfect working order and that it has free and unlimited control. What then? First of all the State is the law, makes the law, represents the law and administers the law. Its voice is law and the law *must* be obeyed. I wish to impress this indelibly upon the minds of all, and especially upon the advocates of this form of government. Everything must be done according to law.

We must have law. I will deal with every fact as I reach it in the order in which it presents itself and endeavor to show the utter absurdity of the entire proposition as a means of improving the conditions of labor, of administering justice, or of elevating the human family.

Furthermore, I hope to show to the entire satisfaction of every thinking man that if Socialism were established, Slavery, rank, cruel and debasing, would be inevitable; that its every step would be retrogressive, requiring but time to blot out every vestige of freedom and progressive civilization; that in this inconceivable change of government the very first thing to suffer would be justice; the first to go to the wall, the honest man; the first and only one to rise and fatten upon honest toil, would be the rogue, the schemer and the unscrupulous.

Any attempt to prove the foregoing assertions, by combatting in detail the glittering generalities of the Socialistic expounder, would be a mere waste of time for the simple reason that the Socialistic teachers, be they writers or lecturers, have ever asserted the ideal conditions that would prevail under a Socialistic government but have *never once shown how* their theoretical government could be made operative. Not a single exponent of this delusive, and to unthinking men alluring, doctrine, has ever yet attempted

to show how justice would be done, or the laws administered, or how equal rights would be maintained, or how production and distribution would or could be managed, either justly or unjustly. This most important of all questions, production and distribution, they simply ignore; because they find the problem impossible of solution, as I will also prove. But to do so I must do that which the Socialistic teacher hates as implacably as he does an honest day's work or his fellow man who happens to be better off than himself: *I must reason*, and to this end I ask all who may read this pamphlet to be patient with me, even should it be found that much of what I say might well have been left unsaid, for to my mind Socialism is at the present moment such a menace to society, to established law and order, that nothing should be omitted or left undone to show the working people the utter fallacy of this political creed that is fast and furiously drawing onwards toward revolution, deterioration and stagnation.

To begin my reasoning upon the fallacy of Socialism I make this assertion: No matter under what form of government men may live together the individual man must work out his own destiny, or remain forever among the toiling masses, and as all men desire to rise above their fellows, either honestly or dishonestly, let us see how those incontrovertible traits of human nature would work out in Socialism.

To begin with we must realize that life is real and not a dream and that man is a selfish animal. We must start in our reasoning, if we desire to arrive at logical conclusions, taking things as we know them to be, not as they should be, might or may be, but just as they are. Man in his very nature is selfish, and it was so intended in the scheme of creation, else we would not advance. It is man's selfishness that is the spur to exertion. It is this that gives him the desire to achieve, to acquire, to excel. The instinct of self, guided by wisdom, elevated by cultivation, controlled and governed by our higher attributes, is a virtue. But if denied the exercise of its legitimate prerogative, honest individual advancement, may become not only a scourge to the possessor, but the source of a baneful influence upon all with whom he comes in contact or over whom he has authority. Let no man think I am dwelling needlessly on this phase of human nature. It is necessary to the working out of my contention, for the essence of Socialism is self-sacrifice, the very ethics of Socialism being that man must rise superior to the injustice of the Creator in His unequal distribution of intellectual wealth, energy, enterprise and capacity for doing things. According to their theory, the man who has been endowed with a superior intellect, untiring energy and the ability to execute, must, in order to rectify this injustice of the Creator, contribute to the support of his less favored brother. This is no far-fetched reasoning. If it were not for the fact that most of the Socialists deny God, all of them would be denying His justice, as they deny His wisdom,

forethought and beneficence in creating man fitted by temperament, taste, intellect and predilection to fill every position, to embrace every vocation necessary to the support, cohesion, development and advancement of the human family to that high plane, the altitude of which no human mind can ever approach. This particular phase I will take up later in a chapter dealing with the Socialistic claim that *all men are born equal*. In our blind indifference to the future of our country we are content to look upon Socialism as being nothing more nor less than a new political creed; *but it is not. It is a new religion*, based on class distinction, class hatred, materialism, the complete overthrow of our present social order and the extinction of all belief in God, Himself, and yet *we will not think*. We read, but we never analyze our intellectual food. We bolt it without mastication as we too often do our victuals. We are all in such a hurry, and as we choose our victuals, so we also choose our intellectual food to suit our palate with a total disregard for consequences. The business man will not read Socialism. Why? Because he dislikes Socialism. The working man does read Socialistic literature. He also attends the Socialistic lectures. Why? Because both promise him something for nothing, or something at present hopelessly out of his reach, without any effort on his part,—except the casting of a ballot, and nearly everybody would like that. So the working man, being the only one considered by the Socialists, is the one talked to and talked at, and it is for him the future Elysian fields are painted, his present location being described as but a desert in comparison to that so easily reached just by casting a ballot. Who then will blame the average working man for being a Socialist? He reads—but I deny that he thinks—and herein lies the danger. His reading brings conviction, and I assert that the two most potent enemies with whom society must contend in the future are the working man's faith and his utter unbelief; his implicit faith in the demagogic economic teachers of today, and his belief that his only hope lies in the strength of overwhelming numbers combined in opposition to the moneyed interests and employers. And why shouldn't he believe just this, and scarcely anything else? This and this only is the kind of education he receives, and his perpetual struggle for a living keeps him continually in a receptive mood for just such education. Let us not deceive ourselves—the working man's unbelief is also a menace to the future of our country. He no longer has any faith in the humanity of his employer, nor can he bring himself to believe that the employing class have any interest in labor whatsoever, other than a commercial interest. He feels, and with altogether too much reason, that as a working man if he stands not in unison with his fellow working men, *he stands alone*. The Church, too, has lost its softening influence, for, much as our clergy, with all good men, may deplore the fact, the working men are not represented in our churches of today; and while our commercial men stay close to their chambers of commerce, our college

professors to their colleges and our clergy to their Churches, *where the working men do not go*, the Socialists are obeying the commands of Christ, in at least one thing: They are going out into the highways and byways. They are preaching and teaching to all nations, and to all men. They are working early and late *and at all times*. They are giving from their hard earned wages the money which goes to propagate their doctrine; defraying the expenses of halls for lectures, free literature and salaried lecturers and educators. In a word *they are sincere*, however mistaken. They work. We growl and condemn, but *refuse to work or educate*.

Knowing, then, full well the rank indifference of the average citizen to every community interest in which he is not a special beneficiary, and knowing also the set beliefs of the average working man, his prejudices and desires, why do I trouble myself to study, read, write, or endeavor to awake a dormant and apathetic public conscience to the necessity of an active educational campaign, to save, if not themselves, at least their children, from the dire results that are sure to follow the unchecked Socialistic teaching of today? I answer that any honest effort made for the public good, however weak, is never altogether lost.

CHAPTER III.

THE LAW AS APPLIED UNDER SOCIALISM, AND HOW IT WOULD AFFECT WORKING MEN.

According to the Socialists, all the affairs of men should be managed by the government regardless of individual choice. Who would make the laws is the first thing to be considered. The people, of course, say the Socialists. Well, that of itself, could not improve things, for that is just what they are doing now in every country blessed with a constitutional government. Yes, say the Socialists, but under our system there would be no incentive to corruption. Our representatives could not sell our interests to the corporations. There would be no corporations to sell to. The people themselves would own everything, hence selling the people, or legislative corruption, would be impossible. Every incentive to corruption is eliminated because of the fact that no man can or will be allowed to accumulate. Everything is to belong to everybody. Just so, but as everything is to belong to everybody and everybody is to share equally with everybody else, it follows that there must be established an elaborate system of both production and distribution. This system must not only be established by the government, but must at all times be under government supervision and control; and, as production comes before distribution, I will deal with production first as governed by law for the best interests of all the people. The State, being the supreme power, would also be the

supreme and only judge of what was best for all the people, as it would also be the sole and only employer. Therefore as a business proposition and in justice to the State it must put its employees to work at the kind of work for which they are best adapted in order that each shall do that which is for the best interest of all. This is not alone a logical deduction, but the doctrine propounded from the Socialistic platform. Do not pass this phase of the question lightly. This is where slavery begins. The boy leaving school at a certain age specified by law, must begin to contribute his quota to the State's support and could not choose his own calling or attempt in any manner, by his own determination and effort to realize the future of his boyish dreams or youthful ambition. He is not to be the judge, neither shall his parents interfere. He and they are blotted out. Neither he nor they shall even assist in his destiny. *He belongs to the State.* Every individual human desire, however high or holy, if not considered by those in authority to be for the best interests of all, must be crushed and obliterated. The budding genius, the fore-ordained poet, painter or sculptor must go serve his time to be a bricklayer, a plumber or a horse doctor, dig in a quarry or work at any other occupation that the wise men in authority may decide he is best adapted to. I shall have something to say about these same wise men directly and how they got there.

I hope there is no difficulty about understanding that under Socialism *neither man nor boy could choose his own vocation.* They assure us that every man must work, and as the State would decide the kind and quantity of the work to be done, it would also select the employees which it considered the best adapted to perform the different kinds of work necessary for the proper support and comfort of society.

Cannot any average intelligence grasp the fact that this in itself would be slavery black and damnable? Each toiler, in whatever calling, performing an allotted task at something in which he had no choice, perhaps, against which his every inclination was in rebellion. *And all for what?* That he might live? No, but that he might exist. That he might eat, drink, and sleep like a hog today, to the end that he could do the same tomorrow. The man of education, culture and refinement, however high his aspirations, or truly God-fearing and religious, or however competent and energetic he may be, if he is so ordered, he must work, and so associate while working, with men of vicious habits and have his ears polluted with blasphemy and every coarse, ribald jest that passes for wit and humor among the coarse and depraved, and when his day of intelligent and energetic toil is over everything he has produced is to be gathered into the common heap, together with that of the lazy, indolent shirker, who ever tries how little he can do, and from this same heap his share is to be doled out by somebody else who doesn't even know him, excepting by a number, just as men are known in the penitentiary. This, my deluded

Socialistic dreamers, could alone be the practical working out of your working man's Utopia. No hope of better things; no gratifying of honest pride in wife or child. No lifting up of those he loves through the ennobling process of hardships suffered and toil endured in behalf of hearth and home and those that go to make that home the toiler's all in all on earth. But all this is but an introduction to the slave market. Let us see how this system is to be inaugurated and conducted. To do so I must go back somewhat to be clearly understood.

I have never yet heard the most advanced Socialist advance the theory that human nature could be changed by either a majority vote, a united vote of all the people, or by legislative enactment. I think I am therefore justified in saying that human nature is a fixed and unalterable quantity with which even the Socialists would have to deal. What, then, is the source from which flows every injustice of which we justly complain? Is it not the inordinately selfish desire of the unscrupulous and dishonest to get the best of their fellow men? This is the very thing that the Socialists themselves declare they are going to checkmate, and especially do they complain of and condemn the politicians as professional human cormorants, gorging themselves at the expense of the people whom they betray. Well, how is it that these bad men get into office? Has not every man a vote? And is it not we that elect these very men of whom we complain?

I will tell you, my Socialistic friend, and you, business man, They get there for two reasons. First, because they want to; and secondly because we, the complainers, don't care a straw about our neighbors or the community's interests. It's ourselves that we are interested in. Let me pause here for a moment to ask the Socialists what they are going to do with all those unscrupulous, scheming politicians against whom they are ever hurling invective; how are they going to prevent them, or *any* man from either running for office or getting elected? Are they going to kill them off, or have they got some hidden antidote that will purge humanity of its every evil propensity, or will not poor human nature remain just the same corruptible flesh and blood under any form of government whatsoever, and as I will clearly prove, Socialism as a government would but cultivate, foster and propagate to the utmost every servile meanness and cunning which justice and honor abhor.

Take away from man the incentive to accumulate, and thereby deprive him of the chance, hope or opportunity to gratify his tastes or desires; leave him without the chance to rise through enterprise in commerce, labor or the arts, and to what will he turn for an outlet for his natural energy and laudable ambition to climb above his fellows? (This is an inborn desire in the heart of man that even slavery cannot quench.) He could only turn to politics. As the only preferment under Socialism must come through the State, all would of a necessity be political preferment. Then would we

become a nation of politicians and office seekers. Now, here is what I want to ask the Socialists, the working men or any man: Who do you think would get there under Socialism; in a word, who would rule; who would at all times hold the reins of power and conduct the affairs of the State? As a matter of course, it would be the very class of men who have ruled the world since the beginning, and will rule until time is no more; the men of intellect and force of character, and the more forceful and unscrupulous, the surer would they be to rule, as ruling would be the only outlet for their ambition. Neither would there be any other occupation or diversion for the viciously inclined, the rogue, the cheat, the sneakthief, the hold-up man and all their kind, except that of turning their ability and cunning to the gaining of office, as henchmen to political aspirants. They and their kind would become the overseers and foremen whose commands the honest workman must obey. To preserve order and conduct business there must be men in authority, and the men in authority must receive their commission from the government, granted of course through their political influence. How positions and political preferment would be obtained and the demoralizing effects of office-seeking under Socialism will be shown in the following chapter.

CHAPTER IV.

SOCIALISTIC DESPOTISM.

To my mind there is just one method, and only one, by which the State's business could be carried on; namely, the system under which the Roman legions were organized, or the government of the Incas in Peru. There would be chiefs of departments all the way from the President, cabinet or head governing Council down to the veriest petty foreman. Let us say a corporal, who would have charge of ten men. The corporal would be responsible and report to a sergeant, who in turn would be over ten corporals. The sergeants would report to their captains; the captains to the colonels, and so on up to the highest authority.

Working men, pause here and just think a little about what such a system would mean to you. Every man in authority from the corporal or foreman up would represent the law. *He would be the Law.* He must of necessity enforce his every command, or all law would be at an end and chaos and disorder would follow. He would be a soldier or policeman, and must arrest all lawbreakers or law defiers, and to disobey him would be to defy the law. The average man is not an angel, but what would be the condition of the country if the cunning and unscrupulous sought office and desired to rise in office by a display of vigilance that might pass for efficiency? What kind of a hell, I ask, is the honest working

man who embraces Socialism, trying to create for himself? The State or Nation would become one vast system of militarism. Every working man would cease to be a man and become a thing, a pawn on the political chess board, to somebody higher up whose position is something and whose office is somewhere. This is the promised Utopia where all men are to be equal and all are to be treated upon the equality principle.

I will now deal with this same equality and how it will figure out when we come to distribution. Under Socialism every honest man at least is entitled to the same treatment, and to an equal share of everything, and why not, if he is an equal owner in all wealth?

Now here is one of the Socialistic problems that I cannot solve: How are they to give the people something that is not? There is no such thing as equality, either in Heaven or in earth. Are the Socialists going to manufacture it? Can they make the earth produce fruits of equal flavor, or make every part of a steer, sheep, goat or hog, equally tender, palatable and acceptable? Can they produce enough silk, satin and fine linen to clothe all the people? I think they will admit that they cannot do all or any of these things. There are hundreds of other things they cannot do, yet equally necessary to be done before we could begin to think of an equal distribution of this world's wealth, but the above is enough for my purpose. I would now ask the advocates of Socialism or any thinking man: who will wear silk, satin and broadcloth, eat the porterhouse steaks, lamb chops, fried oysters and turtle soup, drink champagne and ride in automobiles, and who will eat the plainest and poorest food, drink the cheaper grades of tea and coffee, wear overalls, hobnail shoes, and hickory shirts? Will it be the politicians and the office holders, the men in command, their wives and children, or the men commanded, that will have the choice? Who will live the better, the man of honest toil, or the scheming trickster, the man who lies and fawns and carries stories, the inferior who reports your every weakness, your every shortcoming, and, worst of all for you at least, reports your every opposition to the powers that be? What a prospect lies in the change!

Working men of any nation, what is the most sacred, the most cherished, and, as it ought to be, the most highly prized thing of which you are in possession of today? In spite of all your hardships, poverty and perpetual struggle for existence, IS IT NOT YOUR INDEPENDENCE AND YOUR LIBERTY, your right to work for whom you choose; your right to refuse to work at any kind of work you do not like, or for any man whom you dislike; your right to strike against injustice? In a word, your right to assert your manhood and your independence as free men? Could you do this under Socialism? YOU COULD NOT. To combine or form a union to protect the laborer against real or fancied wrongs would be an act of conspiracy and treason against the

government. To protest upon the public platform would be sedition. TO STRIKE WOULD BE REBELLION. Every Socialist expounder asserts that under Socialism labor will not only have justice but that poverty will disappear and that Jack would be upon an equal footing with John. But not one Socialist has ever defined the plan by which they propose to operate, and in all friendship and with every respect for their blind faith in their mythical cause, I challenge them individually or as a body to formulate and present a working plan whereby Socialism could be made operative, while leaving to mankind that which has cost him so many thousands of years to achieve: His Liberty, Individuality, and Personal Independence.

In trying to paint conditions as they surely would, and must, exist under this kind of governmental rule, I am wholly unable to place before others my realization of the horrible state of injustice, indignity, suffering and slavery that would inevitably be the lot of the toiling masses, could Socialism prevail. I do not write this because I am afraid of Socialistic control, but in the hope that I may be the means of keeping some honest men, however few, from blindly joining in a propaganda they do not understand, simply taking it for granted that the promised change will be for the better as far as they are concerned.

CHAPTER V.

GOVERNMENTAL SOCIALISM DEGRADING AND DEBASING.

In dealing with conditions under a Socialistic form of government in their different aspects I must not overlook its incentive to political corruption and *despotic rule*. As I have already endeavored to show, there could be no goal towards which a man's ambition might soar excepting it be to rule, as a director, manager or office holder, conducting the offices of the state. This being so, let us see how it would affect the political situation, our freedom, our independence and our manhood generally.

Let us suppose that a Socialistic government is in complete control. I think I am within the limits when I say that no matter how honest, able or conscientious might be the men in power, they would not be able to please everybody; and I may go further and say with equal truth, that those who were not in power would not only like to be, but would move heaven and earth to overthrow those in power in order to get there themselves. Hence there would not only be an opposition party but there would be dissension, discontent and opposition political parties just as there always has been, is now and always will be, excepting where the party in power has become so despotic as to crush out all opposition, and that is just what would come to pass under Socialism, as I

propose to prove. There are two things that I desire to impress upon the reader before going further: First, that there has never been a government or political party in power that didn't use *every* means at its command to perpetuate itself in office. Second, there never has been, and it is my opinion there never will be, a political party that won't become tyrannical, and defiant of the people's wishes if permitted to perpetuate itself for the length of time necessary for selfish human nature to assert itself in its dominant desire *to rule*, independent of the wishes of the ruled; hence the blood and treasure that has been offered up as a sacrifice to liberty in all countries where a constitutional government obtains; and so it is that when the party in power, in any free country, dares to run counter to the wishes of the people, the people deprive them of their power, throw them out of office and elect others who at least promise to rule in keeping with the desires of the people.

COULD THIS BE DONE UNDER SOCIALISM? IMPOSSIBLE. SOCIALISM WOULD BE DESPOTISM.

Why? Because the state would be the sole employer; the sole producer, the sole distributor, the only educator, the only dispenser of justice, the only dispenser of patronage and the only conferrer of favors. The government would have the right, as I have shown, to say who should do the meanest kind of manual labor, and every step upwards would and must come to every individual toiler and petty officer through or by political influence or preferment.

Now let us be sensible for a moment and ask ourselves as men who know something, both of politics and human nature, what chance would there be of ousting the party in power under such a system of government? Every government official from the President or Governor, down, would be promising the man below him something better *just before election*, if the party in power was but successful in being returned to power once again, and every man holding an office from the pettiest foreman up would be afraid of losing his snap if the government that employed him was defeated; besides, we know men and things too well, from experience, not to know that where promises failed, coercion would be employed in a hundred different ways. The government that can promote to higher station in social or industrial life can also lower and degrade.

Where, then, will the voter be found, who, holding office under such a government, will dare to be found in opposition; or where is the employee, who holds a job or position, by the grace of this government, above the meanest toil, who will have the moral courage to oppose the powers that be, when this same government, if successful at the coming election, would assuredly, in order to strengthen itself, reward its friend who voted it into power, by giving better jobs previously held by those who might have been honest enough or rash enough to be in opposition?

Our Socialistic reformers tell us that they will have the initiative,

the referendum and the recall. Well, under a constitutional government, where individual liberty is guaranteed, I have no objection to any or all three, but under such a government as the Socialists propose, *where all the affairs of men shall be managed by the state, irrespective of individual choice*; where could men be found crazy enough to sign *anything* that did not have governmental sanction, and what man in the government (once he got there) would stand for the recall, or yet for the initiative or the referendum? They would do all the initiative business. The people's part would be to vote as they were told and then obey orders. There their political privileges would begin and end. There would begin and end their independence, their manhood and their individuality, but not their degradation. In the very nature or order of things we would, if we desired to rise, become sycophantical, hypocritical, cringing story-tellers and liars, plotters and everything that is abasing, in order to curry favor with those above us, to the end that we might shirk an honest day's work in exchange for an easy snap, obtained through political preferment.

The veriest child can see that under such a form of government honorable manhood, uprightness of character and sturdy independence, instead of being an asset towards advancement, would become the very opposite, and that every man so endowed who dared to assert himself, instead of rising in the social scale, would be sure to sink through his opposition to conditions of which he disapproved. Destroy the individuality of man and you destroy liberty. Take away from man the hope of personal reward for extra achievement and you kill progress. Take away from man his personal reward for labor done or duly performed and you immediately make him a discontented slave. It is only the hope of reward, according to ability and amount of labor performed, that makes the daily grind of toil and worry endurable. Reward, either in hard cash, or the glory of achievement, is the only incentive to progress which man has yet acknowledged. *Any* form of government that would lessen these incentives could but multiply unhappiness, curtail production and make our every step a retrogressive movement.

CHAPTER VI.

THE RETROGRESSIVE AND ILLOGICAL ETHICS OF SOCIALISM.

Up to the present I have treated this question purely from a material point of view, knowing as I do full well the utter absurdity of discussing the moral aspects of Socialism with a Socialist, but as there are many good Christian men who do not look at Socialism from a purely political standpoint, I would call *their* attention to its anti-Christian tendencies and its direct onslaughts upon the Church, the pastor and the priest. Their open and well-nigh threadbare gospel of today is that the Church has held labor in bondage, and by her teachings has steeped the mind of man in superstition. They broadly assert in their writings and from the public platform that our clergy are the subsidized hirelings of the rich, paid expressly to preach and teach to the working men obedience for no other purpose than to keep the working men the obedient slaves of his oppressive taskmaster. They utterly deny and repudiate the gospel and teaching of Christ, "Render unto Caesar that which is Caesar's." Many of their leaders and teachers scoff at marriage, advocate free love and promiscuous intercourse, denying at the same time any and all responsibility for the maintenance of their own children, all responsibility being relegated to the State.

With them man begins with desire and ends with death. They deny God in denying the teaching of Christ and His Church. They hurl anathema at everything that other men revere or hold sacred. Their every quest is after material things; their highest aspirations are gratification of the flesh and the giving of free rein to passionate desire, the curbing of which and keeping in subjection is the most ennobling characteristic of the true Christian and the true gentleman. Does the painter seek his subject in the brothel or the poet his inspiration among toads and slimy, creeping things that make a shiver of repulsion vibrate through every nerve of his being? Does the lion mate with the jackal or the eagle with the buzzard? Do we seek a draught of pure water from a cesspool, or edification in the society of the coarse and vulgar boor?

As well might we expect to find any or all of these things as to find either improved social conditions, progress or elevation in the leveling creed of Socialism. Away with their cant and pandering to the animal passions, the vanity and the cupidity of the unthinking and the improvident in their declaration that all men are equal. Never in the history of the most superstitious age or of the blindest idolatry has man, until now, been asked to believe such a self-evident, glaring and ridiculous falsehood. Robert Burns says, "A man's a man for a' that, and a' that." Quite true, and so is a horse a horse "for a' that and a' that," but a mustang isn't an Arab steed; neither is the animal, usually to be seen in a clam

peddler's wagon a lady's palfrey; the cart horse isn't a thoroughbred. A dog is a dog, but there is a wide difference between the noble St. Bernard and the yellow-haired mongrel cur. And so it is with men. So it has been and so it will be. We may and can improve each generation, but never will all men be equal, other than in the sight of God and the laws, for the simple reason that if all men were in all things equal, there would be no such thing as social cohesion. Every rung of the social ladder would either be at the very bottom or at the very top, just as we choose to designate it; for as a logical fact there would be neither a top nor a bottom to it. Everything would be on a dead level. No man could climb; there would be no place to climb to.

If all men were equal, just for the sake of making this point clear, who would choose to dig in a sewer, carry the hod or tend hogs, in preference to being a doctor, a lawyer, or a college professor? Nobody would choose to do these things, and everybody being equal, nobody could or should be compelled to do them; yet is it not necessary that each shall be done? What would it avail to have learned doctors or a Board of Health if we had not men to both dig, build and keep clean the sewers of our cities; of what use our architects if we had not our bricklayers, hod carriers, carpenters, plumbers, plasterers and painters? What would it avail the commerce of the world to have captains versed in navigation, competent to walk the quarterdeck of the finest ships afloat if we did not have sailors whose place and only place was in the forecandle? Just here, my Socialistic friend, I propose to show the superior wisdom of God in creating man just as he is, and the utter futility of your puny efforts to improve on His handiwork by unsettling His evolutionary scheme, conceived in the beginning, not alone for the development of man but for the cohesion, development and preservation of society itself. God saw in the beginning that in time men would come to live together, and knowing all things He knew that a necessity would exist for men who would fill every position in life contributory to the welfare of all. God also knew that to make men equal in all things, intellect, aspirations, desires, tastes, likes and dislikes, nothing but chaos, disorder, disintegration, social war and injustice could follow, and yet to make one man to till the earth and another to work at the forge, while to others was given control of the finances of the world, and to others yet was given the higher office of teachers and rulers of the people would surely have been unjust if God in His Wisdom did not compensate in His own way every man, seemingly denied a natural gift that had been bestowed upon his brother.

Every sage in every age has proclaimed that happiness is wealth. **IT IS THE ONLY REAL WEALTH.** Where on all the earth then is there more happiness to be found than in the home of the average honest, sober, working man? If his means are limited, so are his temptations, his cares and responsibilities. I am writing of men, not of wastrels. The working man, by divine compensation

for honest toil endured, is closer to his own fireside and nearer to the hearts of his wife and children and knows more of real joy and the God-like happiness of a clean life than any millionaire or crowned head that ever lived. It is not what we need that is the source of unhappiness; it is what we want and cannot get. The working man *may be* in want sometimes, but the rich man is always in want of something just beyond his reach. The working man enjoys more, loves more and laughs more than does his employer or his richer brother, and just in proportion as man rises on the social ladder, the ladder of wealth or distinction, so also does he assume responsibilities that will not be denied their toll of care and worry. To whom much is given, of him shall much be expected. Happiness is wealth, God's wealth, the only real wealth, and God has been and is just in putting within the reach of all men if they so desire, enough of this real wealth to compensate for any seeming loss of worldly endowment.

Let us try without ceasing to improve our present social structure instead of wasting our energies in a vain endeavor to destroy that which it has taken thousands of years of strenuous and patient endeavor to build, that on the ruin we may construct a something for which the Socialists themselves admit they have never yet even considered the plans; their only cry up to the present being: "Let us overthrow, Let us tear down"; their only tangible declaration being that they want that which isn't theirs.

CHAPTER VII.

SOCIALISTIC MANIPULATION OF THE UNION.

Have we any real patriots in America today among our men of wealth? Is it possible that all our foremost citizens in wealth, culture, business and enterprise are really ignorant of the alarming conditions that prevail in every industrial center in Europe, Canada and the United States, conditions that are steadily and surely becoming worse every twenty-four hours that pass by?

But a few short years ago, a few of our newspapers occasionally referred to Socialism as a sort of political weed that had made its appearance in Europe; a weed that could only take root in the soil of the oppressor; a weed that could no more live, let alone thrive under a free government, than could a banana plant at the north pole. The very idea that we should ever have Socialism as a political creed taught in this country would have been laughed at by the average citizen.

We heard of the Nihilists of Russia occasionally, but to us the anarchist had not been born. But after the advent of European Socialism, the anarchist came into existence. The Socialist says he does not belong to them; that he is a distinct species and stands alone. It may be so, but in passing I would remark that wherever

Socialism appears there also is found the anarchist, and that just in proportion to the spread of Socialism, so is the growth of anarchy and illegal consumption of dynamite, slugging and assassination. These are facts that cannot be contraverted; authentic statistics prove my assertion.

The doctor diagnoses a case before he prescribes a remedy. The doctor is a wise man. I will follow in his footsteps. I have already treated of Socialism as a cure-all. I will here treat simply of its plan of campaign for making converts in the ranks of organized labor and the manner in which it pursues its insidious, winding way until it obtains control, first of the local union and ultimately of the central body.

Every Socialist in a local union knows every other Socialist in the local as a Socialist; while every union man who is not a Socialist only knows him as a union man. Before ever coming to or entering the union meeting, the Socialists have in concert arranged their program for the evening, and under the leadership of one of their number they make motions and vote as a unit upon all questions.

When we take into consideration, also, the fact that in every local union the Socialists have trained speakers to back with specious argument and sophistry their every motion, it is surely easy for any man to see what a tremendous force this is in the union, especially when we consider that it is the Socialist's bounden duty in loyalty to his cause to attend every meeting, to come early and remain without flinching until adjournment.

THE MEN WHO ATTEND ALL MEETINGS OF ANY ORGANIZATION ARE THE MEN WHO RULE. But this is only the first step. They must capture the offices. How is this done? Simple and easy. The outsider may not know it, but there is a great deal of work attached to holding office in a union, and I know of no work that is so poorly paid as holding office in a local. Very few honest men care to hold office in a local. The office is very often thrust upon honest men, who take it out of pure loyalty to the cause. Not so with the Socialists. *They are workers*, and when their plans are matured and they feel ready for business, every office in the local becomes theirs in the following manner: When an office becomes vacant and nominations are called for, a Socialist immediately nominates his man, another seconds, and the third of this prearranged trinity clinches the office by immediately moving that the nominations close.

Delegates to central bodies and national conventions are today manufactured in the same way, and thus it is that central bodies and national conventions, while ostensibly representing the avowed sentiment of union labor, too often does nothing of the sort, but on the contrary simply represents the clique of manipulators. Nevertheless, these are the conditions that have not only to be considered, but have to be faced. Can I point to anything in proof of what I say? Most assuredly.

Here are a few samples. I am the man who, without pecuniary assistance of any kind, organized Local 131 of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, and remained a member for years while I worked at my trade. In 1900 this local had 800 members. For many years previous and up to 1897 I myself was an employer, and like other employers, all I knew about Socialism was that there was such a thing. I was ignorant alike of their tenets and tactics. After investigation it was proved that of those 800 members of this carpenters' union there was scarcely seven per cent of them Socialists, and yet it was Socialists of the most pronounced type that held and controlled every office in the union, from walking delegate to the president, together with the three representatives in the Central Labor Union and the three to the Building Trades Council. I sincerely hope that thoughtful men will just pause for a moment and think of what it means to have a Socialistic president entertaining, in so far as he can, every Socialistic motion made, and a Socialist recording secretary falsifying the minutes of the meetings when it suits his purpose. Take these facts and put them to one black and damning fact still worse,—namely, their obstruction tactics at the union meetings when they have a pet measure to pass. They never fail, by prearrangement, to use obstructive tactics during routine business until they wear out the decent married men who are not Socialists, and when they go home, one by one, as they do, until the Socialists feel themselves secure in their united and persistent strength, then the dark horse is sprung upon the remaining few and he never fails to jump the ditch. Then every member of the union suffers the odium of the trades union malefactors who put up the job.

Look at the last convention of miners held in Denver in June, which by a vote of 283 to 88 embraced Socialism as the union creed, and look at the National Brewery Workers' Union, which defied the American Federation of Labor and joined this same Miners' Federation. Look at the fight put up every year in the A. F. of L. by Socialistic delegates sent there as representatives of central bodies affiliated with the A. F. of L.

I can mention instance after instance where a handful of Socialists have captured a union local and then proceeded to profane the members thereof with their Socialistic sophistry and venomous literature. The honest, patriotic trades unionist has done more to repel Socialism, explode their false doctrine, fight their shifty tactics, and counteract the evil effects of their machinations against society than all the combined wealth of the United States with our educational institutions thrown in. I will prove this to be so against all who may take exception to my assertion, and yet we have men who hate the union, and for their own selfish purposes would destroy it if they could. Destroy the union, and anarchy and Socialism become rampant. Instead of employers fighting the unions as a whole, they should realize that it would be a much wiser course to cultivate the friendship and confidence of the average union man

who stands for law and order, together with the perpetuation of our national institutions.

I don't wish to be understood as condemning the Socialists wholesale as men; not at all. I have many excellent friends who are steadfast Socialists, honest according to their light and in deadly earnest. It is the thing itself which I condemn. I have nothing but pity and commiseration for the misguided men who work so zealously and blindly for a hopeless cause. And it is hopeless because it is in itself both unjust and impracticable, but its propagation and growth, if not checked through education and the plain demonstration of its utter fallacy, will surely work untold evils upon this entire country, and in the end must surely lead to a revolution.

I am not a pessimist and neither am I blind to the trend of coming events. I am not possessed of wealth, but am independent today only because I worked yesterday, and I cannot be accused of any motive other than that of a desire to speak what I feel and record what I know.

Let us look this thing honestly and squarely in the face: see why, if anybody, is to blame, or if there be a remedy; and if so, what? Why should any man blame the Socialists or find fault with them merely for being Socialists?

CHAPTER VIII.

THE NAUSEATING IMMORALITY OF SOCIALISM.

Lest some of our Socialistic teachers should deny the truth of my assertions, I offer the following from their own recognized teachers of national disrepute.

As a Christian, a husband and a father, I desire most earnestly to save our young and impressionable people from the contamination of this false and bestial doctrine of Socialism that strikes at the very foundation of civilization, progress, virtue and culture. In my feeble efforts to portray its rottenness I need but quote from their own founders, teachers and recognized expounders.

Bebel said in his speech in the Reichstag, February 3, 1893: "We Socialists are against all authority, both heavenly and earthly." Marx and Engels, in the London Manifesto, say: "In short, Socialists everywhere support every revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order of things." Marx says: "The abolition of religion is a necessary condition for the happiness of the people." Engles says: "Religion makes men weak and resigned to their fate." George Herron says or writes: "Christianity today stands for what is lowest and basest in life." Bax declares: "Socialism utterly despises the present religion." These are but a few of the expressions of a very few of Socialistic teachers, but it is enough to show their attitude towards God as well as man.

I now enter upon that phase of Socialism, which in all truth nothing but a sense of duty could induce me to even touch and which I dread to handle, a subject so nauseating and indelicate that I see no other course left, in dealing with it, except to attack it in the same unvarnished and brutal manner as its advocates, and again I will quote from their founders and teachers. Morris and Bax say in *Socialism*, page 300: "The family will be based on mutual inclination and affection, an association terminable at the will of either party." This means they can marry themselves for a day, two days or a month—just as they please. Marx and Engels say in the *Manifesto* that Socialism stands for free and irresponsible intercourse between the sexes, according as love or desire may dictate. Benj. R. Tucker, on page 27 of his pamphlet entitled "State Socialism and Anarchy," published in New York, 1899, says: "Nor does the scheme furnish any code of morals to be imposed upon the individual. Mind your own business is its only moral law. In accordance with this view we look upon all attempts to arbitrarily suppress vice as crimes in themselves. We recognize the right of the drunkard, the gambler, the rake and the harlot to live their own lives as they see fit. We acknowledge and defend the right of any man and woman or any men and women to love each other for as long or as short a time as they may, can or will. We look forward to the time when the love relation between these independent individuals shall be as varied as individual inclinations and attractions."

My fellow citizens, and especially you, my fellow working men, I feel that it would be the deepest insult to your intelligence, your sense of justice, and your high appreciation of woman's virtue, did I offer comment upon this beastly teaching. No words of mine could, nor has it been given to man the power to add one word in condemnation of this monstrous dogma; yet I cannot pass it by without a word of comment, and would, therefore, ask any man—really or honestly desirous of ever seeing better social or industrial conditions in his own life, or of contributing to that which would eventually bring improved conditions, if it is within the bounds of reason to expect or to hope for the same from a political policy inaugurated by men who deny the very existence of God, scoff at virtue to the brutal extent of sparing neither mother, sister nor daughter; men who avow themselves opposed to authority, heavenly or earthly; opposed not only to all restraint, but who are ardent, boastful advocates of man's right to the gratification of every desire? Where, I ask, would the weak or lowly seek protection from injustice under the rule of such a system? Where would the maiden seek protection for her innocence, or what principles of morality would or could be taught under such an inconceivable state of social degradation? The sanctifying love of one man for one woman and the love of both for their offspring is to be obliterated. This holy and heaven-born love of home and children is to be eradicated; this pure love which, joined to an unswerving belief in

God, has lifted civilized man to his present high estate, is all to be swept away and be replaced by sexual relation so abhorant that some of our savage tribes of today inflict the penalty of death for that which our Socialistic reformers so unblushingly advocate.

These would-be founders of a Utopian dreamland declare that the father shall have no claim upon his offspring or children brought into the world under those conditions, nor they upon him, nor is it considered at all desirable that there should be any closer relationship between the children of the same mother than that bestowed upon them by the mother herself. Here is what Bernard Shaw says in an address in Caxton Hall, London: "It is evident that we need the entire abolition of property and marriage. There ought to be a serious effort to make the whole community intermarriageable and to widen the sphere of sexual selection and in order to do so we would have to make provision by which women can become mothers without having to live domestically with the fathers of their children."

I suppose Mr. Bernard Shaw and his fellow advocates of this bestial doctrine would feel insulted if told that, with all their education and sovereign claims to the distinction of the highest place in the animal kingdom, they do but rank with the lowest specimens of all our brute creation, as evidenced by their teaching. Almost all the males of the feathered tribe are true to their mate by instinct; feed, protect and care for their young; and the male elephant and many other animals will suffer death in their efforts to protect their young; the wolf will fall upon his wounded fellow wolf and rend him to pieces, devouring him with relish and lick his chops in satisfaction, and yet this same wolf is true to his wife, not only for a season, but often throughout a long life, and has been known to mourn for months upon her death. These same wolves hunt for and feed their young, and afterwards train them to both hunt for themselves and avoid the hunter. I, at least, have no patience with such human social devils who would feed lust by devouring virtue, who would thus in the name of reform brutalize and degrade the human race below the level of the wild dog who eats his fellow dog before he is even dead.

And now, my fellow toilers, why have I gone to all this trouble, labor and study? It is because that every pulse beat of a heart that must soon be still has ever been and ever will be in accord with the legitimate aspirations of honest toil to improve its conditions. In my experience of over sixty years I have seen, met and fought so many fakirs, demagogues and grafters, from the snide politician to the working man's friend in organized labor itself, that I desire to save, in so far as I can, the working man from losing sight of the substance to follow a will o' the wisp shadow. Stay by your union, keep politics out of your lodge, keep well informed in the trend of trade and the cost of living. Never go on strike if it can be avoided, and never, under any circumstances, until you have appealed to the public by repeatedly offering to

arbitrate all matters in dispute; keep every agreement inviolate, a man or his union is no better than his or his union's word or pledge; and don't ever think for a moment that you are helping organized labor by trying to ruin a man's business by the boycott. Everything that tends to alienate public sympathy does but injure your cause; every business man and business concern tries might and main to stand well with the people. Their very existence in business depends upon their reputation for fair dealing and the keeping of all contracts and agreements inviolate. And, above all, let each man do his own thinking. Investigate all questions or issues for yourself and then act upon your convictions as your judgment and conscience direct, and never, never ask for changed conditions just because you may be in a position to enforce your demands.

CHAPTER IX.

NOTHING COULD BE MORE UNJUST THAN AN EQUAL DIVISION OF WEALTH.

The most advanced Socialists of to-day admit that a man is entitled to own for his very self, or give away, that which he himself creates, makes or produces; in a word, that it is his to dispose of as he pleases. This being admitted, it is an easy matter to expose the fallacy of their scheme of equal distribution and their absurd attacks upon rent and a legal rate of interest, and in order to do so I will come down to mother earth for simple and convincing proofs, easy of understanding, yet convincing as the fact of two and two being four.

Everybody will admit that society is composed of all kinds of men. We have the lazy man and the energetic man, the ignorant and intelligent, the man of method who thinks, plans and works and the man who just works but never plans, never investigates or looks ahead; we have also the thrifty and saving as we have the extravagant, the spendthrift and the shiftless. From among those and the many other types I will choose three to typify society as it is to-day, and as it will continue to be, in so far as the eye of the human mind can see. To simplify my reasoning I choose the farmer. One of my three is an intelligent, energetic man who has studied farming, both practical and scientific. *He knows*; he uses his knowledge, works both early and late and in the beginning at least denies himself many things in order to succeed and accumulate. The second farmer is thrifty; he is also willing to work both late and early, but he does not bring scientific knowledge to his assistance; neither is he willing to sacrifice his present individual comforts or desires to his future hopes. I am sorry to be compelled to introduce the third farmer, but we all know him; he is in evidence everywhere; he is in the mer-

cantile business (for a short time); he is in the workshop; he is clerking; he is in politics; *he is everywhere*; and, most unfortunate of all, there are too many of him. He is ignorant or lazy, or both; he will stop his work at any hour of the day to gossip with a neighbor or a passerby; he puts no value on time; he will leave his work for a day's fishing or a day's hunting any time in the week, or week in the month, or month in the year; to-morrow is always time enough for him to begin ploughing, seeding, cultivating or harvesting; his fences are down, but he'll fix them by and by; there are a few shingles off his roof, he can't fix it until it quits raining, then he forgets all about it until it rains again; as a general thing this kind of man don't care a hang for luxuries, he is not fastidious, but he is usually a good judge of whiskey and he can tell you everything about his neighbors' affairs for miles around.

Having these three men in mind, we will give each of them a farm, equal in size, fertility and situation.

Farmer number one, through hard work, the application of knowledge and self-denial, supplies all his own wants and each year sends a considerable surplus to the market, which he turns into cash. He is thus enabled to provide himself with all the latest improvements in labor-saving harvesters, cultivators, plows and seeders, to the end that each succeeding year he becomes more prosperous.

Number two is prosperous, too, or what we call well-to-do, just in proportion to the knowledge, energy and thrift he has observed. He represents the middle class, putting past a little each year for a rainy day.

Farmer number three cannot be expected to thrive and he does not. He finds that out when the second or third spring comes around. He is short of seed. Farmer number two has plenty for himself, but no surplus. Farmer number one has abundance *and to spare*. Number three goes to number one and makes a bargain whereby he agrees that if number one will let him have what seed he requires he will in return let number one reap a specified amount of his harvest in return.

What is to be the fair and logical result? In a little while this lazy, good-for-nothing farmer not only mortgages his crop, but the farm itself, and in the end is compelled to sell his farm and everything pertaining to it. The farm is put up at public sale and farmer number one buys it at its market value. He now has two farms and number three has nothing. One is wealthy and independent, the other is all but a pauper, and is a dependent. My Socialistic friend, which of these two men is the most honest, which the most commendable citizen—the farmer who used his talents to advantage, assisted nature to produce and multiply, accumulated wealth, paid his just debts, and made comfortable provision, not only for the present but the future of his wife and family, and ultimately took a leading place among his fellow men

in the conduct of progressive enterprise and public affairs, or the lazy, good-for-nothing wastrel, who, instead of assisting Nature in the production of wealth, actually prevented Nature from doing her share, to the injury of society at large, and more particularly to the direct and cruel injury of his own wife and family and the tradesmen who trusted him, and to whom he now owes money which he never will and never can pay? Not only has he made himself a dependent seeking employment from his brother of thrift, but he has made dependents of his entire family, and thus are the sins of the father visited upon his children through future generations. Longfellow has summed up and presented the entire situation in a nutshell when he tells us that:

"The heights by great men reached and kept
Were not attained by sudden flight;
But they, while their companions slept,
Kept toiling upwards in the night."

Men, like water, may descend to lowest depths without an effort. Like water, too, they may rise to giddy heights above their own first level; but neither water nor man can or will take the ascendant without the application of energy and the more intelligently applied the higher the ascent.

Growling will never produce an ear of corn. Let us cultivate our own farm to the best of our ability, whether it be in the country or the city, the workshop, counting house or public school. The man who lives to advantage is the man who does well that which he has to do. The grumbler has never done anything except make himself and other people unhappy. Destroy a man's peace of mind; make him discontented beyond reason, and you destroy his usefulness to himself, to his home, and to society. This is the only thing possible for Socialistic teaching to achieve.

In printing the extracts from the public press of England, Canada and the United States, it is my desire to call the attention of our thoughtful men and women to cause and effect, in regard to the spread and growth of Socialism, together with the present crying necessity for a counter educational campaign in order to counteract the evil influence that is being exercised upon the unthinking working men and women of today, who are being literally surfeited with socialistic and anarchistic literature, and whose minds are being kept at all times in a fevered state of rebellion against our present social order, by the expounders of this political creed.

CHAPTER X.

WHAT IS THE MATTER WITH A CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT?

For every evil that affects the body politic we attack and abuse the government. The parson blames the government for drunkenness because it tolerates the sale of intoxicants, and we all blame the government for allowing the trusts to oppress the producer and rob the consumer. While the political parties whom the people are keeping out of office are so deeply agitated over the manner in which their political opponents (in office of course) are sending the country to the bow-wows they haven't time to sleep of nights for telling the people how much better they could do things if only *THEY were in office.*

Then again, if only every individual one of us were the government, how lovely everything would be! There is just one thing that I have never found any man find fault with, it is only a small thing, but if there is any man whom it doesn't fit I hope he will notify me,—it is our delightful opinion of ourselves and how well we could manage other people's business, the government's included.

Poor, dear, old and very much abused, yet terribly sinful government! If one-half the things be true that are said about you, I'm afraid that on the Judgment Day you will surely be damned unless you repent and mend your sinful ways immediately. But if you should be, who cares? Who are you, anyhow? Where did you come from? Who made you, and who goes on making and unmaking you, or were you made a few hundred years ago after the pattern of some old fossilized and despotic monarchy which leaves you cramped by the antediluvian customs of a by-gone age, understanding not the wants of the present age, or, if understanding, caring not to comply with the wishes of the people whom you govern? Let us look into this matter in which we are so vitally interested, so vitally that the Socialists say nothing short of your utter and immediate destruction can avail.

Every man born in this country on reaching the age of twenty-one is entitled to vote, and every foreigner who declares his intention to become a citizen is also entitled to vote after a short period of residence. However rich or powerful a man may be, he is neither rich enough or powerful enough to be the possessor of two votes. In like manner I find that this same vote is a man's very own, a free gift bestowed upon him by the government of this country, to do with it just as he pleases, with one exception, *he must not sell it.*

He can give it to whomsoever he pleases, or if he is selfish he can keep it to himself, but he must neither sell nor barter it away for profit, or the prospect of profit. Let us remember this stipulation, for I find that this same vote is the identical and only material

out of which our government is built. Every few years we pull down the entire fabric and build a new one just to suit ourselves, and yet most wonderful of all wonders, after all our experience we are just as ready to curse and find fault with our latest piece of handiwork as we were with the one that went before. Surely every honest man who loves his neighbor and liberty and justice has become nauseated with this kind of whining hypocrisy, this systematic fault-finding with the constitutional governments where men are free, where the people themselves *are the government*, by their right and power to elect whomsoever they please as their representatives in the framing and passing of all laws by which the people themselves desire to be governed, let us stop our cant, our grumbling and fault-finding with our government representatives, which we have carried to such an extent that many honest, capable citizens refuse to enter politics and become a target for the venomous bolts of a disgruntled people.

If blame there is, it rests upon two classes or kinds of men, who, facetiously call themselves good citizens,—the man who votes for a consideration, either present or prospective, and the man who doesn't care and, as a consequence, doesn't vote. These are the men who are to blame for every ill we suffer; men utterly unworthy of the blessings of freedom.

The faults of our government, if faults there be, are our faults. Every free government is just as good as the people, neither better nor worse. It is the National Mirror in which we see ourselves. Let us refuse to sell our vote, or at least let us be consistent if we sell our vote at the polls, either for ready cash or the promise of political patronage or profit. Let us not blame the man who bought us, if he, in turn, sell both himself and us.

There is one rule in all courts of equity that it would be well for every reformer to follow,—namely, that the plaintiff must come into court with clean hands. Let us reform ourselves; let us be good and our government will be good. Let us honestly do our best with earnestness and energy to build up a pure government, using only a pure ballot in its construction. Then, and then only, will we have a pure government. That we can go on improving our government everybody will admit. That we can have a better form of government I deny, and the only end served by our eternal fault-finding, is the spirit of unrest in which our So-us be good and our government will be good. Let us honestly do our best with earnestness and energy to build up a pure government, using only a pure ballot in its construction. Then, and then only, will we have a pure government. That we can go on improving our government everybody will admit. That we can have a better form of government I deny, and the only end served by our eternal fault-finding, is the spirit of unrest in which our Socialistic friends delight.

THE VANCOUVER DAILY PROVINCE

February 2, 1912

UNION JACK IS TORN DOWN AND HURLED TO FLOOR

Incident Without Precedent in
Vancouver Occurs at Social-
ist-I. W. W. Meeting.

No Word of Protest Raised in
Any Part of Crowded
Hall.

Before a crowd of hundreds of Socialists and members of the I. W. W., who thronged Dominion Hall last night, the Union Jack was torn from the walls and thrown on the floor, where it remained until the end of the meeting, which was called to protest against the actions of the police in the street troubles last Sunday.

The incident occurred before the meeting started. Several men were going about the hall selling copies of the Western Clarion, the local Socialist organ, when two flags which framed the picture of Premier Borden on the wall above the platform attracted the attention of a short, long-haired Socialist who was busy selling papers.

He climbed on top of the table and tore both flags from the wall, taking out his knife to cut the rope, which fastened one of them to a nail. He threw them on the platform, and then when he got down off the table he picked them up again and threw them to the floor.

VICTORIA DAILY COLONIST
January - 1912

LABOR MEN ON SOCIALISM

Debate on Subject of Provincial Federation's Principles Overshadows Other Business—Resolution Passes.

The debate on Socialism overshadowed all other matters at the convention of the British Columbia Federation of Labor yesterday. It resulted in initiating a referendum to all the individual members of all trade bodies as to whether the principles of Socialism shall be adopted by the Federation as its platform. President Wilkinson's speech elicited much applause for its masterly expression of Socialistic aims and beliefs and the causes that make this system of life, in his opinion, inevitable.

"Socialism or Dynamite."

Mr. Wells said political action had failed for two years.

Mr. Heatherton was of opinion that after trying everything else and failing to better the condition of the working classes there would remain only two alternatives, Socialism or a policy of dynamite. He described the condition of the miners at Cripple Creek, Colorado, during the strike there, and also the conditions under which they worked at Cumberland; these were also described by Mr. Rowan. Mr. Pettipiece said this debate was the realization of dreams of a lifetime to him.

THE VANCOUVER WORLD February 3, 1912

The second annual convention of the B. C. Federation of Labor was held in the Capital City and was in session for five days last week.

Of the 80 delegates present not less than 65 were avowed Socialists, and the membership that elected them to attend the convention knew they were Socialists when they sent them.

(From St. Louis "Globe-Democrat,"
Sunday, July 26, 1908.)

DEBS PLANS CAMPAIGN

COVERING 10,000 MILES

Socialist Candidate Will Open Long Tour in Chicago August 30.

Special Dispatch to "Globe-Democrat,"

TERRE HAUTE, Ind., July 25—Eugene V. Debs, Socialist candidate for president, will make a special train campaign which will involve 11,000 miles of travel and twice across the country. The first of 240 speech-making points will be Chicago, August 30. From there he will go to the Pacific Coast, and up and down the coast all cities will be visited. The route from the Pacific to the Atlantic will be as far south as Tennessee. All the larger cities on the Atlantic are on the schedule. From the Atlantic Coast the train will pass through New York state, Pennsylvania and Ohio into Indiana for several big meetings in Mr. Debs' native state with a closing meeting the night before election day perhaps in Indianapolis. The train will consist of a sleeping car, a coach and baggage car. The latter is to be filled with Socialistic literature, and expert distributors will be on the train to give this printed matter away at each stopping place. It is expected to restock the car at Seattle and again at some point on the Atlantic Coast.

SAN FRANCISCO BULLETIN
NOVEMBER, 1912

HEARST OUTRUN BY SOCIALIST

New York Gave Russell for
Governor Third Highest
Vote.

NEW YORK, Nov. 11.—With California, New York and Wisconsin as their banner States, the Socialists have polled a vote of huge proportions and 60 per cent. greater than their vote two years ago.

In New York Charles Edward Russell, Socialist candidate for Governor, received more votes than Hopper, Independence League candidate, or William Randolph Hearst, league candidate for Lieutenant-Governor. His vote in New York city, will be about 27,300, and in the State about 65,000. Russell is a magazine writer.

In Buffalo the Socialist vote jumped from 775 two years ago to 3,000. Every part of the country shows Socialist gains except the lower Middle West. Milwaukee elected Victor Berger to Congress, Socialists' most notable achievement.

SAN FRANCISCO CALL

Thus, Mar. 7, 1912

SEATTLE, Wash., March 6, 1912.—That Socialist votes yesterday elected George F. Cotterill, mayor of Seattle is shown by a study of the returns.

Although the Socialists elected none of their four candidates, they polled a vote ranging from 16,882 for C. J. Jacobs, candidate for councilman, to 24,341 for E. J. Brown, candidate for corporation council. The Socialist vote last year was 4,680.

From San Francisco "Examiner," Sunday, Dec. 11, 1911.

SOCIALIST VOTE SHOWS AN INCREASE

One Hundred and Twenty-nine
Per Cent. Greater Than
Two Years Ago.

LINCOLN (Neb.), December 10.—Outside Douglas county the Socialist vote on Governor shows an increase of 129 per cent. over two years ago. Harbaugh then received 2,356 votes outside Douglas county, where 713 Socialist votes were polled, and this year Wright received 5,406.

In 1908, for instance, Stebbins received 993 Socialist votes in the Sixth District. This year Chase's vote rose to 1,497. Larkey polled 512 Socialist votes in the Fifth District in 1908. This year Elliot's vote was 816. The Third and Fourth districts do not allow comparisons on Congressmen, as the Third had no Socialist candidate this year, whereas it had one two years ago, and the Fourth, which had no Socialist candidate in 1908, had one this year. Martin polling 570 votes there.

THE VANCOUVER DAILY PROVINCE

February 14, 1912

Socialists Hope to Be Able to
Dominate Politics of the
Country

London, Feb. 13.—Mr. Turner said the party had not done all it should have done, the fault lying in the fact that it lacked numerical strength. Its business now, he added, is to make itself the dominating, controlling, guiding and ruling power of the state.

The industrial unrest of last year resulted in great numbers of workers joining trades unions and Socialist bodies. Hence the satisfaction of the leaders with strikes, every one of which, they say, means more strength for the party.

Further impetus was given to the movement by the success of the Socialists in Germany, whom the Englishmen now hope to emulate.

The propagandists are busy in the country rallying men to the unions and threatening strikes unless non-unionists are prevented from working. Two labor daily papers are about to make their appearance. One, the Daily Herald, is to take the place of the Morning Leader, which is to be amalgamated with the Daily News. The other is to be the Daily Citizen, which will be the official organ of the party. A fund of \$750,000 is being raised to make a start, and the party has secured \$30,000 towards this.

The miners have set themselves the task of increasing the labor representation in the House of Commons from 42 to 142. With this strength, the party, they believe, can dominate both home and foreign politics.

LONDON ENGLAND PRESS

November - 1911

ANTI-SOCIALIST UNION OF GREAT BRITAIN

An appeal for funds has been issued by this union over the signatures of Mr. Claude Lowther (chairman), Mr. Wilfrid Ashley (vice-chairman), and Lord Abinger (hon. treasurer). The appeal says: "The results of the municipal elections prove beyond words that Socialism is spreading over the country like a deadly mania. Three years ago we recognized the disease had taken root, and that nothing but an organized national movement could save the country from Socialist rule and the wholesale horrors in its train. This grave menace engendered the Anti-Socialist Union of Great Britain. Our object is to make clear to the working people the chasms that exist between Socialist promises and Socialist government—between social reform and its blessings and Socialism and its terrors. In order to do this we have founded schools of anti-Socialist thought in London and the provinces. Thousands have passed through these schools; thousands of men and women are now competent to meet the specious arguments of the Socialist orator. We have held this year over 400 meetings a week. We have circulated and systematically distributed throughout the country many millions of pamphlets and leaflets. We have preached patriotism, true citizenship and those ideals which make for manhood of the race. Judged by the work of other political organizations we have achieved much, but, judged by the work—the vast and far-reaching work which our mission involves—we have done but little. We have taken upon our shoulders a mighty responsibility; we have declared war upon the master menace of the nation. We are not ungrateful for the support we have received, but,

compared with the magnitude of our task, and the colossal funds at the disposal of the Socialists, it is totally inadequate. The Socialists hold between three and four thousand meetings a week. At each of these meetings the monarchy is defamed and property is made a synonym for theft. The sufferings of the poor are ascribed to the wealth of the rich, and a Socialist state, invested with magic power, and an inexhaustible exchequer, is held up as a panacea for all evils. The situation is desperate—a million Socialist voters, a discontented proletariat with real grievances, nearly 100 Socialist candidates pledged to tax property out of existence, and hundreds of thousands of workers, flushed with the success of the recent strike, ready to rise to a man at the bidding of the first professional mob-monger. In the face of these facts, nothing can save the country from Socialist rule but immediate, vigorous and concerted action. We are in a position to put into the field 500 speakers to follow up Socialist demagogues, and to lay bare their facts and figures. We can send an army of missionaries (who have passed through our schools) into the workshops and factories to appeal to the common sense of those who have not already been won over to the Socialist ranks." The office of the Union is at 58 and 60 Victoria street, Westminster, S. W.

—San Francisco Chronicle, Dec. 19, 1910.

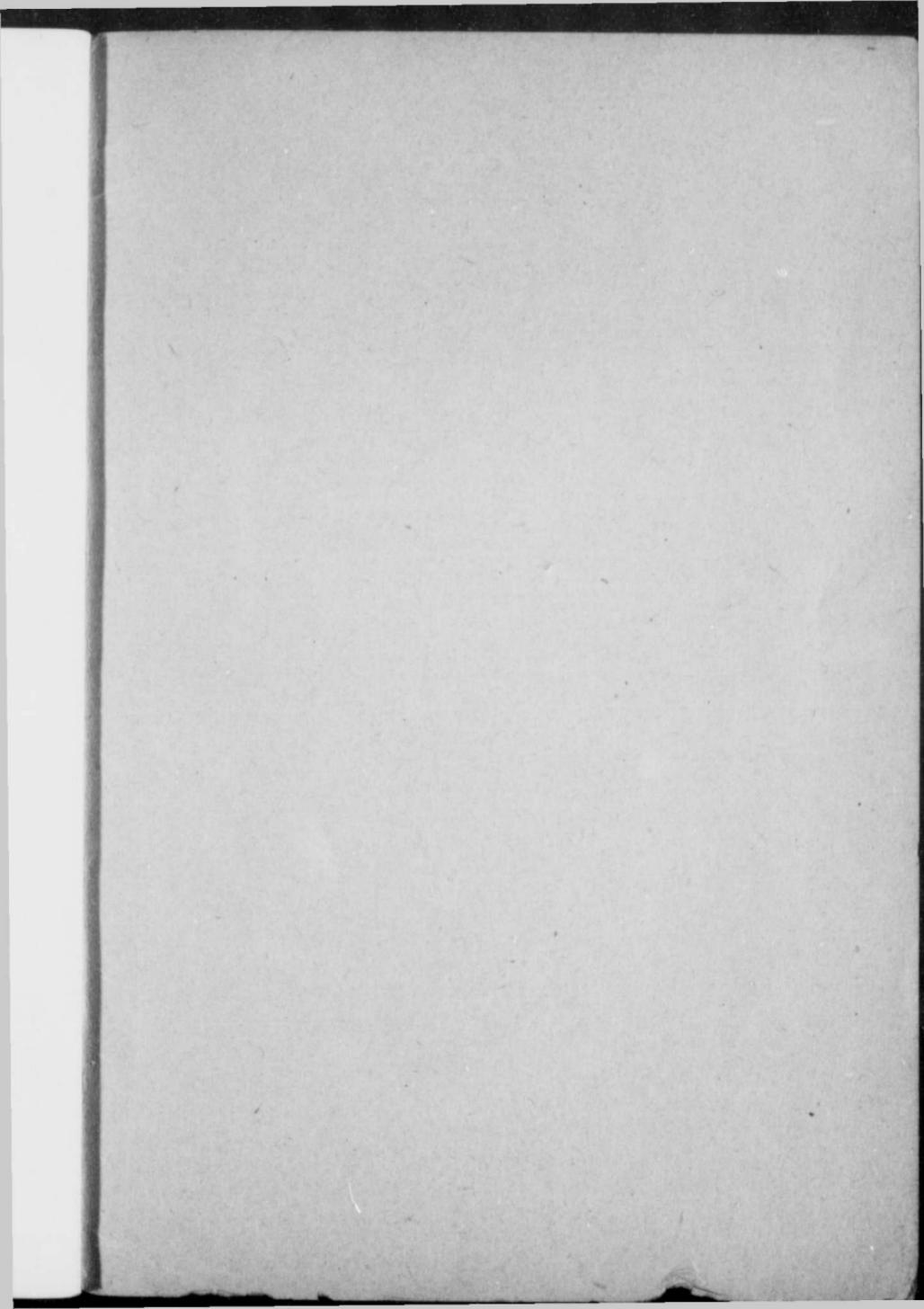
SOCIALISM CAUSE OF COSTLY ENGLISH STRIKE

LONDON, December 18.—The Boilermakers' lockout in the shipyards of North England, which lasted nearly three months, caused a loss of \$5,000,000 in wages. It came to an end last week as a result of an arrangement effected by the Board of Trade.

That Socialism is responsible for the lockout was admitted by Philip Snowden, the Socialist member of Parliament, who said the trouble was caused by the defiance of discipline by the Socialist members of the trade union. He added:

"If this sort of conduct is to be tolerated; if pledged word is to be lightly broken whenever it suits the whim to do so; if a handful of men are to be free to bring a great industry to a standstill and inflict untold privations on 10,000 innocent persons, and to do all this in the name of democracy, then democracy becomes an intolerable instrument of tyranny, and an ordered government must give way to anarchy and chaos."

"The lockout is one of the results of the spread of democratic ideas. The workmen have been lectured so much about their rights and their powers that they have forgotten their duties to labor and the Socialist movement."



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