Our Mental Enslavement

By HOWARD H. CALDWELL

Capitalists are not strong enough to chain the bodies of their wage-workers, but they are shrewd enough to enslave their mind. Moral codes are used to make slaves act as their masters desire.

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OUR MENTAL ENSLAVEMENT

CHAPTER I.

WHAT IS MORALITY?

In tracing the history of society down from the tribal system to our present Capitalistic state, we find the people guided and controlled by laws, some of which were written, some founded upon custom, and still others framed upon religious teachings. In all these different periods we find that the dominant class, in each period, not only framed the statute laws, but also molded the customs and laid down the code of morality for the people to follow. We also find these laws were always designed to govern the whole people for the selfish interests of the ruling class, regardless of whether these rules were for the betterment or for the harm of the rest of society.

All down through the ages, history shows us a series of class conflicts based upon the struggle
for the wealth created by those who work. Codes of morality are always built to protect the ruling class in their possession of property, which they have wrung from the sweat and blood of the working class. When the worker asks for justice, he finds the statute law, a two-edged sword turned against him. It has been made by the ruling class to govern him, and to protect the robber from the robbed. He turns to his religion and his religious teachers for comfort. He finds that the wealthy and powerful are influential in the church and that the supposed follower of the lowly Nazarene stands as the priests did nineteen hundred years ago, upon the side of the rich and powerful and against the working class, with whom Christ worked and whom He sought to uplift. The minister says to the worker, "Be meek and humble. Bear your burdens. Be content with the skim-milk here. The cream shall be given you after you die." It will be a terrible misfortune to the workingman, if that same minister happens to be helping to manage the affairs of the "world to come." He will still be promising the workingman an Elysium hereafter, and giving Mr. Rockefeller the good things.

To give a clearer idea of the relationship of our code of morality to the material interests of
the ruling class, I will give the different codes of morality which have succeeded each other down through the ages, tracing each to its material base, stripping off all the Idealism and showing the Im-morality, as far as the workers were concerned, of our code of morals; and showing the positive harm they often worked upon the majority of the people, in the interests of the minority.
CHAPTER II.

THE PRIMITIVE PEOPLE.

Authorities differ slightly upon the length of time man has lived upon this earth, as a being superior to, and rising in intelligence above, the animals about him. All agree that for over two hundred thousand years, man has walked upright and maintained some social institutions. The investigations of Lewis H. Morgan, Frederick Engels, August Bebel, Bachshofen, Cunow and others, have given us a fair idea of the social institutions which have succeeded one another (as the means of getting a living changed) from time to time.

We find in different parts of the world, even within the memory of living men, remnants of almost every stage of social development. We find in Europe and America a highly developed civilization, with machine production multiplying the wealth of the ruling class to a point beyond the dreams of Croesus. A part of our population is highly educated, and even the working class, upon whose back society rests, contains
in some countries, less than one-half of one percent of illiterates. At the same time, in Russia until 1882 was found the feudal system of Baron and Serf, as the dominant institution of that country. In the southern portion of the United States and in some other parts of the world, chattel slavery was still in existence. In Africa, many parts of Asia, and some of South America, the tribal system corresponding to European development of five thousand years ago, was still extant. In the Hawaiian Islands, a more primitive form of society, in Australia and New Zealand, a still more primitive form, and in Borneo and some of the mountainous portions of India, the actual wild man, who fled to the trees when discovered and who practically possessed no social organizations which rose superior to the desires of the individual, were still to be found within the life of the present generation. This wild man lived for himself and by himself alone. In fact, there seemed to be no family life among those wild people, the children resulting from accidental meeting of the sexes in the wilderness. So you see, with all this fund of material at hand, within the last fifty years it has not been difficult to reconstruct the social and industrial history of the human race, and to discover the
code of morality used to govern the people, during each stage of the development of the race, from savagery to civilization. The code of morality among the undeveloped savages, was a very egoistic one. It started and stopped with the letter I. The savage did just as he chose, in so far as he was physically able to carry out his desires. The wild animals and the snakes were his enemies. He fought them, picked fruits and nuts to eat, and sought the refuge of a tall tree in which to sleep and to protect himself from night marauders. In the course of time, the idea grew in his savage brain, that if he gathered about him some others of his kind, through the affinity based upon blood kinship, he could better defend himself from the wild animals about him and the even wilder men.

We now see the first social organization appearing. With it came a code of morality regulating the relationship of one individual to another, made necessary by their inter-dependence upon one another. As there was no master and no slave class, their rules were essentially democratic. This code of morality contained very few planks. There were no laws in regard to marriage. Promiscuity in the horde prevailed. As the horde shared in common all property which
they possessed, there were no laws forbidding stealing, as no one could steal that which was already his. There were no laws prohibiting lying in those days, as lying is the slave’s method of avoiding punishment. *You never lie, unless you fear something.* There was no occasion to bear false witness against your neighbor, because there was no private property. You could not covet your neighbor’s property, nor his ass, nor his wife, nor his maid-servant, for all these things, with the exception of the servant, were the property of the entire horde. There were no servants at this stage of society’s development.

Their code of morality in that period was practically as follows:

1. Thou shalt do thy share of the joint work of securing sustenance for the tribe.

2. Thou shalt share equally with the tribe in all things thou securist.

3. Thou shalt not injure in any way, any of thy tribesmen.

4. Thou shalt give thy life if necessary for the common protection of thy tribe.

5. Thou shalt not respect the rights of any man, not a member of thy tribe, for he is prey come unto thy hand, yea, even food-stuff if thou securist him (for cannibalism was common in this period).
As you will notice, there was no ruling class. The tribal life resembled the life of one large family, in which the elders were respected for their greater wisdom, but matters of policy were decided in tribal council. Men and women shared equally in control of affairs. Women were rather the more respected and powerful of the two sexes. Descent was not traced from father to son, but backward through the female line, where its authenticity could not be questioned. The "mother right" was the social order, until a little over five thousand years ago. For over two hundred thousand years, woman was the leading half of the human race. As her rule was based upon love, such as a mother bears her child, the social institutions of that period probably brought greater happiness to the human race than the slave institutions later introduced by man.

In this primitive state of life, the matter of securing food all the year round to support life, was a most serious one. There were no domesticated animals, no cultivated food-stuffs, and even fire had not been discovered. The people were compelled to live within the Torrid zone to insure sufficient sustenance.
CHAPTER III.
FROM SAVAGERY TO BARBARISM.

The discovery of the use of fire made possible a fish diet which could be secured in the streams at all seasons of the year. The people could now leave the Torrid zone and travel into the temperate climates, that were more fitted for their development into a higher civilization, and grew out of the almost animal life which they led in the more tropical climate. The invention of weapons and pottery, the cultivation of plants and the domestication of animals, solved for them the food problem; and the population increased very rapidly, causing many social changes, which altered in many ways the code of morality of the earlier period. The introduction of agriculture changed woman's status to the rest of society, and submerged her into a slave-like position, in which she had no rights that man was bound to respect. Because of the sub-division of labor, incidental to these developing methods of securing sustenance, through the
fact that woman in her position as mother of the race, would be at certain periods, unable to follow the hunt, she was assigned the duty of attending to the camp fire, doing the domestic work and cultivating the soil. The children tended the herds and the men followed the hunt. Woman evolved into a laborer, man into a hunter and warrior.

As the flocks grew in size, new pastures became necessary. The men, as the hunters and warriors, started out to secure them, attempting to drive the tribes that were occupying them, from the land. It became a struggle for life. Pasture lands and tillable soil were necessary to the life of the increasing population, so rival tribes killed each other, showing no mercy to their opponents.

With many of the earlier tribes, prisoners of war were killed and eaten by their conquerors. The scarcity of meat, making cannibalism a social institution and thoroughly moral. Some of the old savages, while saving up their captives for Thanksgiving Day, or some other holiday, found that the captives could be forced to work, helping the women till the soil, and that their labor would produce, in a season, much more than their weight in food-stuff.
In a mental picture, we can see the old savage with his warclub, lying beneath the shade of some branching tree, watching several of his captives with forked sticks, scratching in the earth and toiling that he might have food without the sweat of his own brow.

As he lay there he was forming a new code of morality. You know it required a great many men-at-arms to hold these slaves in subjection. It would probably take three hundred armed men to keep one thousand slaves in subjection, as the weapons of those days were crude, and very slightly enhanced the value of the armed men over the unarmed.

The inventive genius of the captor presently worked out a system of *mental chains* for his slaves, by which one priest could keep a thousand slaves in abject submission. A code of morality for the slave reads something like this:

A good slave must be,
1st—humble,
2nd—industrious,
3rd—contented,
4th—love his master,
5th—respects his master’s Gods,
6th—he must not steal,
7th—he must not lie.
The breaking of any of these rules of morality were supposed to send the slave to some eternal torment that lasted from death, down through Eternity, in which the most horrible punishments the fertile brain of the priest could invent were to be visited upon the poor untutored barbarian, whose lack of scientific knowledge made easy his belief in these impossible things. You will notice that lying and stealing for the first time had come into use. The slave created all wealth and the master took it away from him. That was not stealing but strictly moral. When the slave took a little more than the bare existence allowed him, that was stealing. He was punished on this earth and hereafter. If he attempted to escape here by lying out of it, he was sent to hell at death.

There was a code of morality for the women also, intended to keep them in submission to man. Man was able to impose this code upon them through the power they (the men) had usurped by becoming the warriors of the tribe. The new code of morality wiped out all of woman's freedom and made her a slave to man, both as a laborer and a sexual being.

The men commenced to hold property privately separate from the tribal property and de-
sired to leave it to their own children, so enforced a woman's abstinence from other men but insisted upon absolute licence for themselves. Some men had many wives and concubines but all these women had to be faithful to that old polygamist or be stoned to death and then tortured down through eternity in a very hot and disagreeable hell invented for their especial benefit by man's priesthood.

Women to be "good" must be—
1st—hard workers,
2nd—obedient to father and then husband,
3rd—sacrifice every comfort to increase happiness of husband,
4th—be faithful to husband and avoid even conversation with any other man,
5th—consecrate their lives to bearing heirs for their husbands and to performing menial labor, avoiding all pleasure as frivolous and worldly,
6th—never aspire to social or political equality as it was unwomanly.

During this period in many cases we find the old democracy of the tribal system still the social system for the freemen of the tribe, and the code of morals of the men of course responded to it. Gradually the private ownership of slaves, women and wealth, obliterated all vestiges of
democracy, and individualism and autocracy became the social order. Then everywhere we find the people enslaved. The women at the bottom and every master having another rank above him up to an autocratic Emperor. Everyone feared someone and the Emperor feared assassination.

The slave had no rights that the master was called upon legally or morally to respect.
CHAPTER IV.

THE CHANGE FROM CHATTEL SLAVERY TO
PEUDALISM.

The system of chattel slavery prevailed for several thousand years and the ancient empires around the Mediterranean Sea were all founded upon this system. Many slave revolts occurred, the revolt of the Roman gladiators under Sparticus being the one most widely commented upon, as he, with three hundred thousand escaped slaves, held back the armies of Rome for ten years but was finally conquered and the remnant of his army crucified along the Appian Way. This was a cruel and brutal age and love had very little chance on account of the warring private interests and the almost universal slavery. Lust was the substitute for love, meekness the substitute for respect, and lying the method for avoiding punishment for any pleasure taken by the slave.

There was one defect in the chattel slave system that the master was not able to rectify: he had to do his own fighting if he started a
war with another people. If he put weapons in the hands of a slave, the slave would use them to fight for his own freedom. This fact led to the downfall of chattel slavery as a social system in Europe and the establishment of serfdom, as a better method of enslaving men. The system of serfdom made very little change in the code of morals of the slave. One additional plank was added as follows:

"A good serf will fight for his master and shed the last drop of his blood for his master's interests."

The serf was allowed a little greater freedom than the chattel slave. This, the master found, encouraged him to work harder and it cost less to keep him in submission. The serf was permitted to marry and could erect his own house upon his master's land. He would work probably four days out of each week for the master, and the other three to support himself and family. He also rendered military service whenever the master called upon him to do so.

He had no rights the master was bound to respect. His daughter, before marriage, was, by custom and morals, compelled to sleep the night before the wedding, with the baron; or in lieu of this duty, a money payment or its equivalent
at the option of the baron. The women of the baron's family enjoyed very little more in the way of privileges, than the serfs on his estate, everything being dependent upon his good will. Most of the romances into which any real love entered were outside of matrimony. And the tales of the knight and his lady-love were sung by the troubadours of that time. We hear very little in history about the wife.

The married women of the higher classes were merely heir-bearing slaves of the feudal aristocracy, corresponding very closely to Roosevelt's idea of woman's place in society. During this period, Christianity in Europe had largely replaced the Pagan ancestor worship, or system of household gods, which had preceded it.

For three hundred years after Christ the Christians were hounded and murdered and thrown to the wild animals by the ruling class. The cause of this was that Christ and his followers taught (on the economic side) the ethics and code of morality of the ancient communal society of the early tribes. It was a religion of brotherhood and of democracy, and it opposed slavery in all its forms. It was naturally embraced by the slave class and its followers met to worship in secret places, in the old stone quarries of Rome
and in the catacombs. After three hundred years of this persecution, which was marked by a rapid growth of the new religion, we find the ruling class of Rome, led by Emperor Constantine, adopting it as a state religion, but bending and corrupting its code of morals, to be used as a means of controlling the slave, rather than as a means of freeing him. We find the priest licking the hands of the powerful and combining with them for the purpose of exploiting the worker. These last were the supposed followers of the lowly Nazarene who had no place to lay his head, and whose whole life upon this earth was engaged in helping the lowly. We find them (the priests) siding with the state and the ruling class against the workers, just as did the priests in the time of Christ, who combined with the state in crucifying Him because he was with the working class.

The feudal system lasted several hundred years and commenced to decline about the time of Cromwell's Revolution. Its disappearance came from the fact that a better way had been found to exploit labor than either chattel slavery or serfdom made possible.

The quarrels between the Barons, as during the period of the "War of the Roses" in England,
made it necessary for the Baron to drill many of his serfs to carry arms. When the "War of the Roses" ended, and the King had by force of arms, maintained peace among the feudal Barons, they discharged many of their expensive armed retainers, making them freemen. But they were made free and left without ownership of land or other means of making a living. They complained bitterly about being driven from the land. The serf at least was sure of getting a living. They were not.

The introduction of sheep-raising into England and the high price of wool caused the Barons to drive many more peasant farmers from the land, turning the land into sheep walks. These discharged serfs gathered in cities and learned handicrafts, as a method of earning their living, also manufacturing and trading. So within the dominant feudal system we find the seeds of a new social order, with different ideals and a changing code of morality.
CHAPTER V.

THE MORALITY OF THE EARLY CITIES.

The workers when driven from the land, learned trades: shoemaking, weaving, armor-making, blacksmithing, tailoring, or any one of numerous trades followed by the now rapidly increasing manufacturing class.

They formed guilds or unions of each trade, or rather joined those already in existence as long as three thousand years. There had been much interference with the guilds and many were destroyed during the period from Julius Caesar to the Cromwell revolution in England.

We find within the cities a new code of morality forming, based upon the material interest of the freed men. The people were divided into three classes, namely, masters, journeymen, and apprentices, each one being a step to the one above and each being absolutely certain of progress from apprentice to journeyman, and then into the master class. The ownership of the tools with which the people worked was vested in the worker himself.
The tools were individual in operation, and each man made a complete pair of shoes, suit of armor, or any other product, without assistance. There being no monopoly of tool ownership, the only line separating the three classes, was the degree of skill. Each craft had its own Guild organization which arranged the hours of labor, rate of remuneration, and conditions of apprenticeship. These guilds reflecting the interests of all those employed within that handicraft, were democratic in their control and ethical code. The guild attended to the disposal of the product, set aside sums of money for the care of aged and invalid members, maintained many beneficial features, carried on fraternal relationship with other guilds in other cities, and took part in the government of their own town. The secret societies of today, with their fraternal moral code are but a replica of the ancient guilds out of which they grew.

The executive officers of each guild met together in town council and legislated upon those questions that were of general interest to all the guilds, and was the forerunner of our present city councils. The presiding officer of this central council became the mayor or burgomaster of the town. In a matter calling for quick execu-
tive action the mayor would call the town council, or act upon his own initiative in the interval between meetings. A militia was inaugurated for protection against the robber barons outside the city, who when they needed money would try to lay the town under tribute. The guilds limited the number of journeymen any master could employ, and as all could compete in the selling of goods, and each man owned tools to work with, there was very little profit made from the labor of others while this system of handicrafts prevailed.

The moral code at this time was fraternal and democratic, and the word liberty was the rallying cry of the industrial workers in their struggle against the feudal system.

The appearance on the scene of the steam engine in 1768 was the most revolutionary invention of the world's history. It broke down the guilds, brought the capitalist class into being and then into power, destroyed the feudal system, threw down monarchies and established republics, made governments more democratic, and created a new form of slavery. The modern wage-worker displaced the self-employing craftsman. Revolution shook the world and a new code of morals was born.
CHAPTER VI.

THE BIRTH OF CAPITALISTIC SOCIETY.

The use of the steam engine in America developed very rapidly. Raw material was at our doors. Political refugees from every country were pouring in upon every ship looking for employment. A master workman who was lucky enough to be able to purchase a steam engine and attach to it power-driven machinery had an advantage over the hand worker.

Every machine displaced several men who had been self-employing handicraftsmen. A power driven machine operated by one man would possibly do the work of ten hand workers, with but the cost of feeding one man. The dispossessed hand workers were compelled to seek employment of the machine owner, competing with each other for the chance to work. Inability to secure work meant poverty and possible starvation. This competition for employment held wages down to the bare cost of living of those doing the work. The balance wheel which held the wages at this point was the fact that if wages rose
above the cost of living some of the unemployed men would take the job at living wage rather than have no income at all. On the other hand if wages dropped below the cost of living the workers would refuse to work, striking individually or collectively. The individual striker, now known as a tramp, appeared. The labor unions were now organized, differing from the ancient guilds in the fact that they admitted no masters into membership but were organized along lines of the new class struggle between the working and capitalistic classes.

As the capitalists retained all the worker's product above the cost of feeding and clothing the worker and his family, their wealth increased rapidly. The capitalists continually invested their profits, hiring those displaced by machinery to build more machinery and larger factories.

The workers produced all the machinery, factories, railroads, and other means of producing and distributing wealth, but under the wage system, only received a living and owned scarcely any property. With the advent of power-driven machinery and the steam engine the wage system became the most profitable method of robbing labor ever discovered.

The slave owners of medieval Europe would
have stared aghast at the wealth of Rockefeller and Croesus never dreamed of luxuries enjoyed by the present ruling class.

The whole history of the capitalist system has been the displacement of hand labor by machine labor, and a gradual divorcement of the worker from the ownership of the tools he uses. Society is now dividing into two bitterly antagonistic classes whose interests are opposed upon nearly every point. It is to the interest of the working class to keep their product if possible. It is to the interest of the capitalist class to buy the worker's labor power cheap and sell him his product at the highest possible price. The capitalist lives by profit.

Profit is the difference between the worker's product and his wage.

If the capitalist's profit increases it reduces the share of the worker in the product. Anything that redounds to the capitalist's benefit can only do so at the expense of the working class. Very soon after the introduction of the steam engine the newly appearing capitalistic class gained sufficient economic strength to carry through successful revolutions in most of the European countries. The American capitalist showed the way in the American revolution of 1776.
The fetters of feudal laws and customs and the old code of corality was thrown aside. New laws, new ideals, and a new moral code, all reflecting the material interests of the capitalistic class were promulgated. A new code of morals intended to control the worker in the interest of the capitalist was taught through every means of imparting general information.
CHAPTER VII.
OUR PRESENT CODE OF MORALS.

The working people are nowadays told they must be: first—honest; second—industrious; third—sober; fourth—obedient to authority; fifth—patriotic; sixth—religious; seventh—contented; eighth—conservative; ninth—loyal to employers; tenth—truthful.

Down through all the ages, the code of morality has reflected the material interests of the ruling class, and the present code is no exception to this rule.

While the enumeration of this list of good and bad things appears upon the surface to resemble the previous code of morality its capitalistic interpretation makes some fundamental changes. Upon examining closely each commandment in our present code we find that it reflects the wishes of the ruling class and is usually to the detriment of the working class. We will take them up in rotation.

"Be honest." This looks very nice upon the
Our mental enslavement surface, but let us see if our present teachers in our colleges, schools, editorial chairs and pulpits teach us that all kinds of stealing are bad. If a capitalist is possessed of land and machinery that the public must use to produce food that they may live, and if he denies them access to it unless they agree to give to him under the wage system, all they produce above a bare existence, it is not called stealing. It is called business. If a rich man takes advantage of the workingman's necessity and employs him at a wage that amounts to one-sixth of his product, this is not stealing but good business. And when the capitalist class have piled up the goods the workers have produced, they only securing wages sufficient to buy one-sixth of their labor's product, and the capitalists are unable to consume it themselves, it fills the storehouses and the capitalists close their factories, saying to the workers, "I cannot employ you until I sell the goods you have already made."

The capitalist and his family then at their leisure consume the wealth that is the result of the worker's past labor, while the worker and his family starve.

The workers search from place to place for employment as there are not as many jobs as
there are men looking for them. Some are inevitably left unemployed. The children grow hungry. The father in desperation breaks into storehouses and takes some of his own past product to feed his children. The capitalist calls him a thief. The courts convict him. The law imprisons him. The churches damn him. Society ostracises him. His children have the finger of scorn pointed at them. He is a thief.

The capitalist who labors not, but exerts his wits to take from those who work all they produce over an existence, is an "Eminent Gentleman." He is respected. He is a pillar of the church. If he takes a whole state he is sent to the United States Senate. If he steals the railroad system of the country from the people and draws tribute from the entire Nation, the Public Officials, the Priest, and the Minister bow down before him. He is a respectable business man. Wholesale robbery is respectable; taking food when hungry is a crime.

Working men are employed as salesmen and taught by their employers to persuade the buyers to pay more than the value of an article—they are called good salesmen—this is business and it is moral. The more they steal from the public for their employer the higher they rank as sales-
men, but should they take five cents from the cash drawer they are called thieves. It is evident that the workers can steal for but not from the capitalist.

Both the statute laws and the code of morality are made to protect the robber class from the robbed class. Both the capitalist and the priest call the Socialists bad because they desire to inaugurate a system of publicly owned industry so that the workers may be paid their full product, and the robbery of the poor by the rich be stopped. Anything that jeopardises the selfish interests of the predatory class is immoral.
CHAPTER VIII

GOOD WORKING MEN ARE INDUSTRIOUS.

The wages of the working people of the United States if added together will be found to be a little less than the cost of the living of these same working people, which means the average pay of the average worker is less than the average cost of living.

The workers produce all the wealth. They produce thirteen times as much per capita as they did one century ago. One century ago they earned a living. They only get a living now. The difference between their living and their product has made our multi-millionaires. They are taught to be industrious. The more industrious they are the more wealth they produce. All they produce above a living goes to brother capitalist. It is good for brother capitalist to have brother laborer very industrious. Is it good for brother laborer to be industrious?

Insurance statistics show us that after passing childhood the average worker lives to be thirty-
five years of age. And the average member of the capitalistic class fifty-five years. Brother laborer’s industrious habits kill him off twenty years sooner than his employer.

Brother laborer must get up and go to work in the morning in all kinds of weather, whether he feels sick or well and must work to the limit of his strength, rain or shine.

Brother capitalist gets up when he feels like it, leisurely eats his meals, goes to the office if he feels like it, and leads a life of ease and luxury. When any one of this class works hard it is widely commented on in the daily press, and even though that work may be spending long hours scheming how to get someone else’s goods, it is cited as sufficient excuse for having in his possession untold millions of the worker’s wealth. Our present code of morality says it is good for the worker to be industrious. It is—for the capitalist. The capitalist prefers golf, yachting and monkey dinners at Newport.
CHAPTER IX.

SOBRIETY.

The third plank in our code of morality says, "A good working man will be sober."

A sober working man will do better work and more for his day's wages than one who is partially drunk. He will report at the factory every day, where the intemperate one is sometimes absent when wanted. This is the principal reason why the capitalist desires the working class to be sober. There is another reason, however. It is that drink is a luxury that has to be paid for out of the working man's wages. The competition for employment holds the wage at the price the average man in each industry considers the bare cost of living. If the average man believes drink a necessity he will insist on having enough wages to buy both drink and food. If the employing class can convince the working class that drink is superfluous, and get them to stop drinking, the competition for employment soon reduces the wages to eliminate that amount paid for
drink. The employer then has a more efficient and cheaper worker. It is good for the employing class to have their workmen sober.

The capitalist often spends more for campaign in one night than one of his workmen would spend for beer or whiskey in a whole year. Scarcely any big social function takes place without the liberal use of expensive drinks. It is quite common for both men and women of the wealthy class to drink themselves drunk and have carousals that last far into the night. They can sleep as late as they desire the next day, or even take two days to sober up, and it is all right.

They justify their conduct by saying, "the more money we spend for luxuries, the more prosperity for the people."

You can scarcely blame the working man for drinking when you consider the nerve-racking pace at which he has worked, the exactions of a hard task-master over him, the impossibility under the present system of escaping this daily drudgery, and the feeling of absolute exhaustion creating a strong desire for a stimulant.

The average working man's home is not often fitted to receive visitors, and the most convenient place for conversation with his friends is the sa-
loon, where he is welcome with his old clothes on and is not intruding upon a congested family circle.

While the writer believes that it is not good for any one to be intemperate, if he believed this capitalist system was to continue forever, he would be tempted to get drunk and forget that he was a slave.

The use of alcoholic stimulants as well as cocaine, opium, and other habit forming drugs is a result of the nerve racking struggle for existence in a society organized upon a competitive system.

Socialism with its assurance of peace and plenty, bringing safety to the children and the aged, and co-operation instead of competition, will to a great extent eliminate the use of intoxicants.

Whether it is good or bad to be sober we have sobriety preached to us because it is profitable to the capitalist to inculcate sobriety into the working class—except on election day.
CHAPTER X.

"A GOOD WORKING MAN IS OBEIDENT TO AUTHORITY."

Ever since the passing of the ancient democracy of the tribal system, and the establishment of chattel slavery, then feudalism, and now wage slavery, the working class have always been taught obedience to, and reverence for, authority. Their continued obedience and respect for authority would make their slavery permanent. While discipline is necessary in industry, or in any organization composed of many units, there is a vast difference between democratic and autocratic authority. In a labor union where the members elect their officials and instruct them to carry out the wishes of the membership as expressed by a majority vote, they dare to question and call to task any of the officials. Almost perfect discipline is attained even during an exciting strike. A labor union is a democracy.

The Socialist party of Germany is noted for its discipline. Its machinery is perfect in its
operation. It has delivered in two hours literature to each house in the cities of Germany simultaneously. It also is a perfect democracy. The purpose of both labor union and Socialist party is to protect the interests of the working class. The interest of each member is identical. The final authority in both is a majority vote.

Industry, as at present organized, is autocratic in its government—there is no democracy. Industries are privately owned by a few capitalists and are run for the purpose of extracting profits from the working class instead of serving the public. A portion of the profits are expended in furnishing campaign funds for both Republican, Democratic and Reform parties.

The capitalist class desires laws to protect them in the ownership of these profit-making machines, and have the money to pay for legislation. The men who furnish the campaign funds always dictate the policy of a political party.

The politicians are subservient to the rich and our government has become an instrument of class rule. Our industrial magnates consequently are both industrial and political autocrats.

“Law and order” means the laws and the or-
ders of the capitalist class which the worker from childhood up is taught to obey, under penalty of imprisonment backed up by a threat of hell fire, coming from the ministerial profession. In time of strike and boycott the capitalist calls to his assistance his class government, with its injunction judges, police, militia, and federal troops if necessary. The newspapers, politicians and ministers then call on us loudly to obey the laws made by the capitalist to keep us in subjection.

Everything we do that would help us in a strike has been made unlawful, and we are threatened with everything from imprisonment to eternal torment, by those whose opinions we have been taught to respect.

You see that it is almost entirely by mental chains that the workers are enslaved.

We must break away from all the superstitions, orthodox beliefs, and moral codes of an old society before we can establish a new one.

The religious reformations in the past have been merely the reflex of a changing industrial system adopting a code of morality to reflect new class interests.

Previous to every revolution, orthodoxy in every line of thought was shaken to its founda-
tion. Revolution is simply the evolution of our moral and civil codes catching up to our industrial evolution.

When the ruling class find the class below struggling to break the bonds which bind them and endeavoring to establish a new social order, better adapted to their needs, all henchmen of the ruling class work overtime teaching law and order.
CHAPTER XI.

"Patriotism."

We are taught from the cradle up that it is a noble quality to be patriotic. When as little children, we go to school, the American flag is hoisted upon a tall pole in the school yard. We are taught to sing patriotic songs. Our histories teem with tales of war and bloodshed, in which the most successful killers of men are lauded as heroes. Our reading lessons are made up of selected poems and short stories, which teach us that it is a holy thing to be ready to die that the existing government may be saved. Blind obedience to government, and the word of command of your officers is taught in such poems as "The Charge of the Light Brigade." Such sentiments as "if any one tear down the flag shoot him like a dog," is handed out to the children as a lofty sentiment and one worthy of emulation.

Boys' brigades are organized in schools and churches, and little tender children whose thoughts should be directed toward love and
brotherhood are instead, organized and drilled in the art of killing men. Special holidays are set aside to be devoted to lauding the past revolutions through which the present ruling class came into power, and teaching the immorality of any further revolutions through which they might lose it.

It is good for the ruling class to have the working class patriotic and sing "My Country 'Tis of Thee." It means to them continued class rule, their class the rulers.

Let us now examine the actual condition of the working people. We find the majority of the working people devoid of ownership in any real estate, so consequently owning none of the country are compelled to pay rent to the capitalist for the privilege of staying in it. We find them without ownership in any means of making a living, forced to sell their labor to the capitalist class for an existence wage. They, like all slaves in the past, give all they produce over a living to the master class.

The worker who is supposed to share in the government of the country, voting under an apparent democratic system, is deprived of any real voice in the government by the following means: The constitution of the United States,
which was carefully formulated many years ago by members of the ruling class to prevent any real control by the working people under this government, stands as a bar against popular government. The United States Senate, elected by state legislatures, and not by direct vote of the people, reflects the interests of the satisfied property holding class. As no law can be enacted which does not receive the approval of the Senate, nothing antagonistic to the capitalistic interests can become lawful. The United States Supreme Court, an appointed body holding office for life, is absolutely beyond control of the common people. The Republican, Democratic, Reform and Prohibition parties are furnished their campaign funds by the business men of the country. The politicians, should they fail to represent the business interests, are punished by the cutting off of campaign contributions, as campaigns are expensive, the party without funds is defeated.

Each party struggles to render service to the class furnishing the expenses necessary to secure office. The interests of the capitalist class are directly opposed to the interests of the working class. They desire to hire the workers cheap and sell the product of the workers at the high-
est possible price. The greater the profits of the capitalist the smaller the share of the worker in his product. The politician cannot serve both of these conflicting interests, he must serve on or the other, as a result we find the law making, the executive, and the judicial power of the country in the hands of the capitalist class. The laws are made to govern the working class to force them to render the greatest service to the capitalist class. Blind obedience to these laws and blind patriotism in supporting their government, is conducive to the safety of the capitalist class, and continued slavery to the working class.

Previous to, and during the Revolutionary War of 1776, those who enlisted on the side of King George in the Colonies were called patriots. Those opposed to them and fighting on the side of the colonists were called Rebels and Traitors. During all revolutions the revolutionists are called rebels. The present day Tories are called patriots, and the present day revolutionists are called rebels and other undesirable names.

Not many years from now our present day rebels will have monuments erected to them and school children singing their praises. The pres-
ent day "Patriots" will be referred to as jingoes, reactionaries, tories, etc., and will be looked upon as hireling supporters of a slave owning aristocracy, and children will be as loath to acknowledge descent from them as the present American his descent from Hessian parentage.
CHAPTER XII.

"GOOD WORKING MEN ARE RELIGIOUS."

In America the dominant religion is Christianity. It may be divided into two sections, the Roman Catholic and the Protestant.

The Roman Catholic, which was the first established Christian church that became orthodox, adopted a ritual and promulgated dogmas. The various protestant religions each represent a religious revolution in which new codes of morality were adopted, or in which slight changes were made in the previous code, adapting it to the desires of a rising social class.

The Catholic church would then more slowly concede almost the same changes. While it remained autocratic in government, the other sects marked progressive steps towards the democratization of religion, keeping step with the democratization of government.

The centralized ownership within the Catholic church made the church the greatest property holding institution in the world. The money of
the church was invested, not only in property for religious worship, but in all kinds of industries as well as productive lands. Its investments in America in industrial stocks and bonds is much greater than the holdings of the Rockefeller group of capitalists. This fact alone places the interests of the head of the church in line with the other business interests of the country. We find the Roman church doing its utmost to prevent any revolution in which the working class would secure political control of the country. Their property interests place them absolutely on the side of the present regime.

The Protestant churches of various denominations are all democratic in their government, but the wealthy men in each congregation are more influential than the workers through their large donations.

The minister in each church must be very careful when touching upon economic subjects, not to kill the "goose that lays the golden egg." Should he, like Jesus of Nazareth, take the side of the lowly, he would find the property interests in his church arraigned against him. This would mean financial failure to his church through the withdrawal of the financial support of his wealthy members. He dare not quarrel
with his food supply. This is the reason we find the ministers lacking in backbone, but endowed with a large wishbone. They wish conditions to be better for the working people, but are as spineless as a jellyfish, when it comes to really advocating any change that will be of real value to the working class. We find the ministers as a class absolutely controlled by the present ruling class, teaching a code of morality that reflects the slightest wish of the capitalist class of America. When a minister casts his lot with revolutionary workers he is immediately punished by the capitalists, through withdrawal of financial support, and usually loses his job. We can expect less than nothing from the ministerial class in our efforts to inaugurate socialism. They are bound by their meal ticket to the capitalist system with its wage slavery, child labor, slums, prostitution, injustice and crime. As we find the American churches compelled by material interests to stand upon the side of the exploiting class, it is easy to see why we are told “A good working man should be religious.”

The writer is religious and believes in the immortality of the soul, and realizes that love is the great cohesive power which holds the human race together, creates and preserves life, and is
the foundation upon which rests all human happiness. We will learn to separate religion from dogmas and rituals, and find that religious thought is evolutionary and represents the highest thought that man’s imagination can picture in the forward progress of the human race.

Any one who is orthodox in his religious beliefs is called good nowadays. Those who dare break the bonds of orthodoxy and allow their religious thoughts to advance beyond the dogmas of our ancestors are called heretics, infidels, and dangerous persons, and are frowned upon by all capitalistic hirelings. They are dangerous revolutionists, threatening the very foundations of our present society.

Every revolution has had its religious martyrs who have suffered in the cause of progress. The capitalist desires the working man to be orthodox, and makes the path thorny for those who would step out of the old ruts.
CHAPTER XIII.

"CONTENTMENT."

Contentment has always been preached by those in power to those who were suffering under a system of class government. The chattel slave owner told his slaves to be contented with their lot, that it could not be changed. The feudal baron informed his serfs that God had ordained that he should be their master, and they would fly in the face of divine providence if they were not contented with their lot.

The modern capitalist, George Baer, during the coal strike of 1902, stated, "God in His Infinite wisdom has given the control of the property interests of this country into the hands of the Christian gentlemen who now possess them, and it is to them the workers must apply for any improvement of conditions instead of to the agitators who foment discontent and discord among the people."

We see here again the preaching of contentment to the slave. Slavery will continue only
as the slaves are content to allow it. Be contented, says the “Lion to the Lamb,” and forthwith the lamb becomes mutton.

Discontent is the mother of progress. It is discontentment with the existing conditions that has caused every forward step in the progress of the human race. If we had remained satisfied with oxcarts, we would not have achieved steam locomotion. Had we been contented with the “Pony Express” messenger, the telegraph, telephone and wireless telegraphy would be unknown. Were we contented with the scientific knowledge of the tenth century, we would still be living in comfortless huts and stone castles, steeped in ignorance and brutality, knowing nothing of the many comforts enjoyed today, and feeling none of the high ethical impulses that are permeating the minds of this generation.

Contentment means stagnation. It is good for the capitalist to keep his slaves contented. Contentment for the slave means permanent slavery. Let us hope for the slaves’ sake that we can make them discontented.

“Be conservative,” is also one of the capitalist commandments. We are lauded to the skies if we are conservative labor leaders, but called bad
if we are radical. Conservative means “slow to change.”

If the slave is slow to change the methods under which he is enslaved, he will stay enslaved a long time.

We have it dinned into our ears from all the varied mouthpieces of the capitalist class, “Be conservative.” It is good for the capitalist to keep brother laborer as conservative as possible.
CHAPTER XIV.

GOOD WORKERS ARE LOYAL TO EMPLOYERS.

When we are little children going to Sunday School, we take home books from the Sunday School library telling us about boys who through loyalty to their employers were promoted to the highest positions in the land.

Our family story papers furnish us stories built around the same moral sentiment.

In times of strikes those who become traitors to their fellows and remain loyal to the capitalist who is fighting the labor union are praised as heroes.

The head of a great American University, supported by endowments given by capitalists, comes forth with the statement "The scab is America's greatest hero."

From every source controlled by the capitalist class comes the call to American working man "be loyal to your employer." He is promised everything from pensions upon this earth to "mansions in the sky," provided he practices non-
resistance to the ever increasing demands made upon him by his employer.

In actual practice we find the less resistance shown by the worker the more he is imposed upon.

When the worker nears the age at which he has been promised a pension, he is discharged upon some pretense. After he has given his life in the service of his master and can no longer compete with younger men, they refuse him employment. He becomes an object of charity. Those who have taken the product of his labor during his life, pass laws to prohibit vagrancy, so they may not hear the cries of their victim.

Loyalty to the employer is fine—for the employer.

Loyalty to your fellow working men is the only hope for freedom.
CHAPTER XV.

"GOOD WORKING MEN ARE TRUTHFUL."

In the days of the ancient tribal system before the advent of human slavery, lying was a thing unknown. There was no cause for deception. Until the advent of private property the words mine and thine never entered our vocabulary. There was no occasion for deception between members of the human family.

When first women and then men were enslaved and robbed of their personal liberty and the product of their labor, every time they, without the master's permission, took more food or forbidden pleasures, they were punished. Their only method of avoiding punishment for taking things that was rightly theirs, was by lying to the master. Lying was an invention of the slave. Only those who have something to fear have occasion to lie. All lying on the part of the slave is called immoral, but with the business men it is different.

Since mental chains have been used to enslave
the people, and craft instead of force, the method of taking other people's product from them, we find the leaders of our present social order, from diplomat to petty business man, have developed lying into a fine art. The lying of diplomat and business man is called shrewdness diplomacy and high finance, and is moral and praiseworthy, while the slave's method of avoiding punishment is immoral and detestable according to our present code.
CHAPTER XVI.

CONCLUSIONS.

The Socialists are criticised by the non-Socialist for being radical, for being oftentimes opposed to the opinions of many worthy people in their community.

The author has tried to explain in this little volume the reason why a revolutionary party inculcates advanced views upon almost every subject, in its membership.

The working class can only secure their emancipation through the capture of political power. They must use that power, once attained, to regain possession of the means whereby they produce and distribute wealth.

The Nation must own and operate its industries, abolishing private capitalism, and manage the industries for the purpose of serving the people instead of exploiting them. They must build a new code of morality based upon the material interests of the whole people, co-operating in the production and distribution of
wealth. They must free our minds from the superstitions and dogmas of our ancestors, and permit our ideals to conform along evolutionary lines.

We must have the freedom to work, and be guaranteed by the Nation the full product of our labor, and stop the capitalist class from forcing us to divide with them. We must be guaranteed the freedom of speech, the freedom of the press, and the freedom of religious opinion.

Our government must become an administrative instead of a coercive government. It must be used to regulate the relationship of man to man under absolute democratic control instead of being an instrument of class rule as it is at present.

The working men and women of America must organize themselves politically, where numerical strength is overwhelming, and use the ballot or any other means found practical, to secure political power and inaugurate industrial freedom.

The capitalist system is a nightmare for the entire working class, but the giant labor is waking from his slumbers and rising from his bed of ignorance, and moving on to the conquest of the possession of the co-operative commonwealth.
You desire everything for which the Socialist party is struggling. Every plank in their platform reflects your material interests. You will study deeper into this question with a result that in a short time you will be found standing shoulder to shoulder with your comrades in the great struggle for human uplift. This is a good world and there is plenty of room upon it that every human being may live a happy and peaceful life.
PURITANISM

What is the economic basis for the demand, which we see occasionally cropping out even now, to limit the length of a girl's bathing suit by law?

Perhaps you have never thought of it, but the pious horror of a short bathing suit is closely related to early rising, political reform, Sunday baseball games, religious revivals, the "double standard of morality," the nude in art, woman suffrage, and the consumption of

MINCE PIE

If such a statement seems to you far-fetched, then you will derive instruction as well as enjoyment from a close reading of Clarence McVey's new book, "Puritanism," which is just off the press.

This little book will enable the American people, and the British as well, to understand themselves as they never have before, because we have inherited a large share of our ideas from our Puritan ancestors. It presents a fascinating study in that theory which has done so much to make clear to Socialists the meaning of life—the theory, nay, the fact, that the way people make their living largely determines their notions of what is right and moral and proper. No American should fail to read this book. It will enable him to understand the history of this country better than a library full of ordinary text books. It will clean out of his brain any remaining infection left there by past teachings and will enable him to see clearly through problems out of which our capitalist-minded lawmakers, preachers, professors, and editors are making a mess. A reading of this book will forever prevent any Socialist legislator from meddling with middle class "moral reforms." Attractively bound in cloth and well printed. Price, 60 cents postpaid.

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