

A system that says to labor: "You shall take what I offer you without a word of remuneration, without any conference as to its justice; you shall take it or you shall move your family two hundred miles before you earn a dollar," is as real a system of slavery as anything that was ever endured in the north or any of the southern states, for the man is utterly unable to resist his circumstance.—Wendell Phillips.

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The Commonwealth

A SOCIALIST WEEKLY

WE CANNOT TRAFFIC IN OUR PRINCIPLES, WE CAN MAKE NO COMPROMISE, NO AGREEMENT WITH THE RULING SYSTEM. WE MUST BREAK WITH THE RULING SYSTEM AND FIGHT IT TO A FINISH.—LEIBKNECHT, "NO COMPROMISE."

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"A hundred years from now someone will speak of socialism and people will stand and wonder what it was."---Father Saindon.

Yes, for THEN they will know what it IS. And one of the greatest wonders will be that in the dim and distant past, in 1912 in Everett, Wash., a man who claimed to understand and to represent the Carpenter of Nazareth, raised his voice in the pulpit, in opposition to a natural and inevitable step in the evolution of struggling humanity.

A Socialist Answer to Father Saindon

By Joseph T. Hazard.

It is in accord with human nature to be curious. A growing curiosity as to the Roman Catholic argument against socialism has resulted from the ever increasing array of press notices in the capitalist papers, of "Romanist" opposition to our propaganda. When at last we were informed that Father Saindon of the Bayside Roman Catholic church of Everett, Washington, had announced a sermon against socialism, to be preached on Sunday, September 22, we determined to gratify our curiosity and to give publicity to the adverse argument. To make sure that we could deal with the subject with fairness and accuracy, we secured the services of an expert stenographer who attended the services and later furnished us with a copy of the sermon transcribed from shorthand notes. This sermon as far as it deals with socialism appears in the three middle columns of this page.

Before beginning our reply, allow us to make clear the socialist position on religion. Religion, as such, is not a concern with the socialist party any more than it is with a union or a capitalist corporation. To us it is a matter which concerns the individual and individual belief. The socialist party is international and has for its foundation motto, "Workers of the World, Unite." We welcome any class-conscious worker to our ranks, be he Catholic, Protestant, Mohammedan, Buddhist, or Sun Worshipper.

We recognize Father Saindon as authority in matters religious—we do not recognize him as authority in working-class economics. It is only when he passes the bounds of his authoritative knowledge and meddles with economics and working class politics that we take issue with him. And when we do so, it is without rancor or bitterness.

"Do you mean to say that all men have an even amount of intelligence, an even amount of intellect, an even amount of justice? That all are good or bad, that all are physically strong, equally courageous, equally brave? Or are we all of the same taste? That is the way we would have to be to be socialists."

No, Father Saindon, you are certainly mistaken. We do not say these things. You are hitting at a "straw man" of your own manufacture.

We, on the contrary, teach the class struggle. We teach that men are not equal in intelligence, justice, or physical strength. We give the reason why they are not. It is from lack of opportunity and the private ownership of those things which control opportunity and the resulting classes in society.

In the centuries past the "workers of the world" have created a surplus value above their mere physical existence—it has been taken by the master class, and by its possession the strong have been made stronger, and the weak have remained weak.

It is only with the modern school system, with its general spread of enlightenment, that the working class is developing the power of resistance, and the desire to come into its own.

Under socialism, after a few generations of equal opportunity with proper environment, the present exaggerated differences in intelligence and physique would disappear.

And, even now, Father Saindon, the working class is really superior to the master class, except in knowledge of its power and its interest.

"If we wish to have civilization, good society, good government, must there not be men to govern us and must there not be men below to be governed? Where is the equality of that?"

Now, really, Father Saindon, by the quotation above, you consider the working class as a lower class, that must remain "below" and "be governed." We agree that there is no equality in that, in fact either. We are living, you must remember, in the twentieth century. The working class is below in pay and political power, but it is the HIGHEST MOST USEFUL CLASS in existence. It is the only class powerful enough to rule and by that rule to

abolish classes forever and to inaugurate a new era of equal opportunity.

"The socialists will divide up property, they insist. That is something which is certainly ridiculous and impossible."

You are partly right, Father Saindon. "Dividing up" is "certainly ridiculous," but not "impossible." The workers and producers have been dividing up since the dawn of chattel slavery. Since man first began to live by the sweat of another man's brow (and now of the sweat and tears of women and children) the worker has been "dividing up." He has produced more than he has used and some idler has collected this "surplus value." To such dividing up, socialism says STOP!

The Standard Oil company pays dividends each year of \$4,000 for each worker in its employ. Each worker produces his wages plus an average of \$4,000 surplus. He then "divides up," giving an idle class the \$4,000 he has produced, and keeps mere wages for himself. He wants this to stop.

"Socialism offers you \$2,000 a year and a six-hour day for your vote," not a vain promise in view of the statistics of 1910. Uncle Sam tells the worker that he produces about \$2,400 and gets about \$500. He "divides up" the other \$1,900. This is "ridiculous" and some day it will be "impossible."

"Dear beloved, I wish you to make a clear distinction between socialism and socialists. Socialism is a system that is false. Socialists are persons, individuals who join the party and who believe the system of socialism is the remedy for existing evils."

You are wrong again, Father Saindon. Modern socialism reflects the mass development of the modern worker. As the working class evolves, socialism will evolve.

The socialism of the future will be the resultant of mass development of future socialists. Evolution is in charge of the whole thing, and evolution never ceases.

"It is not a sin to be rich. It is not a sin to be a capitalist. But to be an unjust rich man, to be an unjust capitalist is wrong."

Why, father, the Carpenter of Nazareth did not teach that. We cannot understand you. If we produce \$2,400 and get \$500, what difference does it make whether the world calls the man who collects \$1,900 of what we produce, a good man or a bad man? He is a "good man" for himself, but a "bad man" for the worker. But the wise man doesn't blame the capitalist; he blames the ignorant worker who votes to let the capitalist do this.

"Beloved, you may think that socialism is something new. But socialism is as old as the world, as old as there have been false systems. There were socialists in the time of Christ. Even the disciples themselves formed a society of which we might call communism."

Wrong again, father. Communism and socialism are two radically different things. Socialism promises to each worker all he produces; if he produces a lot he will get a lot—if he produces a little he will get a little. Under socialism Judge Hanford or Harry Thaw would have to change their ways or they wouldn't get anything.

You are an authority on religion, father; if you see fit to criticize the "Disciples" for trying "Communism" we acknowledge your right to do so. If what you say about them is true, we will agree that they were at least foolish. But then these matters about the disciples belong entirely to you.

"The church has always fought and even legislated for the poor, and has charitable institutions for the poor."

You know, father, charity is an insult to the working class. It usually means that someone gives something he didn't earn and should not have, to some one who is humiliated by taking it.

And usually the humiliated one wouldn't need charity if he had received what he has produced.

"The socialism of today is very tame and different to the socialism

A ROMAN CATHOLIC SERMON DELIVERED AGAINST SOCIALISM

BY FATHER SAINDON OF BAYSIDE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH OF EVERETT, WASHINGTON

Do you mean to say that all men have an even amount of intelligence, an even amount of intellect, an even amount of justice? That all are good or bad, that all are physically strong, equally courageous, equally brave? Or are we all of the same taste? That is the way we would have to be to be socialists. There is inequality all through the human being. The unit and the whole make this world good, and whole and perfect. God is creator. There are different amounts of intellect, different qualities that make up the human natures, in this world.

If we wish to have civilization, good society, good government, must there not be men to govern us and must there not be men below to be governed? Where is the equality of that?"

Now there are those who advocate this system of socialism. They are certainly wrong when they take this view of it that we are all equally good and have equal justice before the civil and the religious law.

The socialists will divide up property, they insist. That is something which is certainly ridiculous and impossible. The more you think of it the more easily you will see its impossibility. Some will govern, some will squander, some are greedy, that is all human nature. And how can you remedy that? Take all mankind, remove the different natures, the different nature from the one God gave them and you might make a man of this kind. But it is impossible. Some have nature to accumulate, some have greed, some are swayed by power and other motives. Can you make those things even with everybody else today?"

Dear beloved, I wish you to make a clear distinction between socialism and socialists. Socialism is a system that is false. Socialists are persons, individuals who join this party and who believe the system of socialism is the remedy for existing evils. Some of these individuals mean well—he sees that there is wrong somewhere and he wishes that it were remedied, to be corrected. He thinks that socialism will correct this wrong. Now he is perfectly sincere and honest. I wouldn't say a harsh word against the man that wishes to correct the evils. There are evils existing today, no one doubts that. But how are they to be corrected? The last thing on earth to correct evils that exist to

day is socialism. If they could only see that. Those well-meaning people, if they could only see that the greatest friend of the working man, the only institution on earth today that can and will correct the evils is the Catholic church.

It is not a sin to be rich. It is not a sin to be a capitalist. But to be an unjust rich man, to be an unjust capitalist is wrong. Those men who are unjust and control capital, those men who control labor are unjust and they do not look to a just God. Then who is going to remedy that? Not socialism, but the Catholic church.

Beloved, you may think that socialism is something new. But socialism is as old as the world, as old as there have been false systems. There were socialists in the time of Christ. Even the disciples themselves formed a society of which we might call communism. You read of that in the Bible. You even read where the apostles had a community of property. How long did that community of property last? Just a few years, and then it was done away with. That is how socialism came into life.

I want to impress upon you the necessity for the study of the history of the Catholic church. I want you to study of what she has done for the slave in all the centuries and for the working man. The church has always this object in view; the church has always been guided by that principle. The church has always fought and even legislated for the poor, and has charitable institutions for the poor and have work for those working men to have their just wages.

The socialism of today is very tame and different to the socialism of the thirteenth century. In the thirteenth century they went on their own way for awhile until they finally fell into the iron hand of the civil law.

Now the church has been hampered in her work all through the ages, has been lied about and at these times the good that she has done in the past has been forgotten about, and all the good acts and charities have been covered up. She has been prevented in her work. Look at those nations that have not been Christianized; in Central Africa, in China, and other countries. The highly polished nations of Europe to

day would be where these nations are today if it had not been for the work of the church.

Socialists say we do not believe in those things, all we want is the government ownership of utilities. Let the government do that and they would do it right and everybody would be benefited by it. The capitalist can't wrong the poor man then. That is what they want. Well, is that a religious question or is it a governmental question, or what is it? I think it is a combination of all. I may ask you, let the government run this—is that what they want, the government to own the public utilities? Now what is the government? Just what is it? I will ask the socialists that. Who is going to run the government and what is it? It is nothing, it is an abstract idea. It is like the wheel on the road. Would it move itself? There must be some power behind it or some man. Who is going to run the government? Now come back to the first idea—the man who runs the government must be a good, just, sincere and conscientious man, and when a good and just and sincere and honest man holds this office we have the best form of government in the world.

Suppose all capitalists today were good, just, religious men, what would it be then? We would not need socialism if those capitalists were good, honest, sincere and religious men. Things then would be different. If they would come to the church and let the church teach men to love God with all his soul and to love his neighbor as himself and in that way he would correct this great harm and great misery today. The unjust man, the un-Godly man that is full of greed, that is human nature. What is going to correct that? It is bow down and be obedient to the laws of the church and love God and your neighbor. There is the remedy. From shifting one man from the government you will be just as bad as you are now.

A hundred years from now someone will speak of socialism and people will stand and wonder what it was. You will speak of something that has passed and gone. But even then there will be other, enemies of the church, still preventing her and placing obstacles in her way. But still the church goes on; she is a living principle.

COMMONWEALTH ON LIQUOR PROBLEM.

The next issue of the Commonwealth will contain a discussion of "The Liquor Traffic" from the socialist standpoint. Local "wets" and "drys" should secure the October 11 Commonwealth.

STATE—SOCIAIST.

Goldbar, Wash.—Everett Commonwealth, Everett, Wash.: Wanhope spoke here in Goldbar tonight. He made a splendid talk for two hours, holding the minds of his hearers as if by magic and leading them along the road of evolution in a manner that was instructive to the most radical mind.

The collection was liberal. Literature sold well. Comrade Watson furnished some literature for free distribution after the speaking was over.

I think that we can see the fruits of the socialist efforts in November.

Yours for the revolt,
RUFUS WREN,
Organizer Startup Local.

EVERETT SOCIALIST NOTICES.

Sunday, October 6—Distribution of Debs' Everett speech.
Thursday, October 10, 8 p. m.—George R. Kirkpatrick, author of "War, What For?" speaks in Liberty Hall.
Sunday, October 13, 2:30 p. m.—Fred D. Warren, of the "Appeal," speaks in the Coliseum.
Wednesday, October 16, 8 p. m.—Rev. H. A. Livermore delivers an illustrated lecture on socialism.
Sunday, October 20, 8 p. m.—Bruce Rogers, candidate for attorney-general of Washington, will speak in Liberty Hall. SETTLE FOR BERGER TICKETS.
Call at Liberty Hall for posters and tickets for future meetings.

In Skagit County

Are all ferrymen socialists? This question occurred to me during my travels in the upper Skagit River valley, where one after another of the men who work the ferries I found to be socialists. Whether other ferrymen are socialists or not, I cannot say, but certain it is that the long hours and small pay have set many in these parts thinking, with the result that in the spare time between trips they study the "Appeal to Reason," "Commonwealth," and other socialist literature, and join the movement.

My travels in that part of the country took me to Rockport, "the end of the world," as it is called—certainly at the terminus of the G. N. railway—at the very feet of the Cascade mountains. There one found socialists on the ranches, socialists in the woods, socialists on the railway and off the railway, socialists everywhere. With the help of some comrades at Sauk (near Rockport) we held a meeting and started a local. Sauk being centrally situated for the comrades in that locality. Quaint little Sauk! With its one mill, one hotel, one store, one ferry and one bear tied up in what appears to be its one straggling street—a friendly bear, like everything else in Sauk—all were friendly, all received me well, the comrades especially. As I stepped down into Sauk off the G. N. track, my mind took me back to bygone days, when I walked into many a Burmese village, situated exactly like Sauk on the brink of a river between the bank and the steep mountainside. The similarity extended even to the name, the structures built on piles and the many hounds. But there the similarity ends. Sauk is a white man's village and Sauk is already socialist and is going to be more so in the near future.

The same old report has to be made about it, really it is getting monotonous to have to say for the third time that socialists are increasing very rapidly in every part of Skagit county, but nevertheless that is what is the matter. H. A. LIVERMORE.

MAKING SOCIALISTS.

"Well," said the workman, "you can't make a socialist out of me."
"That's all right," I replied, "I don't have to. If I don't make a socialist out of you, some other fellow will."
And if some other fellow won't, some socialist paper will;
And if some socialist paper won't, your boss will;
And if your boss won't, the city council will;
And if the city council won't, the mayor will;
And if the mayor won't, the legislature will;
And if the legislature won't, congress will;
And if congress won't, the president will;
And if the president won't, the judiciary will;
And if the judiciary won't, the two old parties will;
And if the two old parties won't, the trusts will;
And if the high cost of living won't, the whole damned system will!
So you see there is more than one chance of your becoming a socialist. For some become socialists by their work of others.
And some are kicked into the socialist party.
But they get there just the same!

The infinite wastes of capitalism constitute the most stupendous crime against humanity. The utterly wanton destruction of the natural resources, the ravishing of forest and mine to rush out profits without the least delay, and by this reckless method wasting more than is utilized and destroying what should be the patrimony of future generations, cannot be excused upon any ground compatible with reason and sanity.

The criminal wastes thus involved in the capitalistic mode of production for profit are made strikingly manifest in the following excerpt from the address of J. A. Holmes, director of mines, to the miners' convention:

"In ten years thirty thousand men were killed and sixty thousand injured. . . . We have destroyed three billions of tons of bituminous coal and two billion of tons of anthracite coal since mining was begun in this country by our wasteful methods which leave so much coal unmined. In the last twelve months we have allowed to escape into the air four hundred and eighty billions of cubic feet of natural gas. That is the price of competition."

This closed a very interesting week's

CHALLENGES NOT YET ACCEPTED.

Judge Black has not accepted our challenge to debate Anna A. Maley on November 4. Judge Black distrusts either his ability or his message. In either case he is not qualified for the governorship.

Will he at least attempt to make good?

J. A. Falconer is as diffident as Judge Black. He was challenged to meet Alfred Wagenknecht in debate some time ago. We are really getting impatient. It may be necessary to send literature over the state inquiring why the most prominent "Bull Moose" insists in remaining in the darkness of the jungle.

DON'T FORGET to tell the merchant that you saw his ad in the Commonwealth.