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United States Constitution and Socialism

By SILAS HOOD

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United States Constitution and Socialism

by

SILAS HOOD *c.l.e. Henry T. Jones*

Author of "REVOLUTION"
"PLUTOCRACY", Etc.

Brief History of the "Patriotic" Achievements
of Our Fore Fathers

*Statesmen of the Twentieth Century are not
wise enough to frame a Constitution
for the People of the Twenty
First Century*

Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Statesmen
formed a Constitution for their great,
great, great grandchildren



MILWAUKEE
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1911

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¶ *This little volume is dedicated to the memory of the working class of the revolutionary period of 1776 who fought, bled and died to obtain freedom, but who, after their unselfish sacrifice, were robbed of the fruits of their struggle—robbed by the cunning conspiracy of an exploiting master class of the heritage that should have been theirs.*

NO. 100
ANNEX 10

"The world has never had a good definition of the word liberty, and the American people are just now in want of one."

— Abraham Lincoln in 1864

The time is not only ripe for a change, it is rotten ripe

INTRODUCTION.

In this brief history of the recital of historical events, which preceded and followed the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, it is not the purpose of the writer to attempt to destroy any of the patriotic spirit of which every true American should be proud to boast. On the contrary, it is the purpose of the writer to stimulate patriotism—*real patriotism*.

We have listened long and patiently to the "patriotic sentiments" expressed by our Fourth of July orators, who in the same breath have showered so much eloquent praise upon the "glorious provisions of the United States Constitution." We have heard the beautiful song so many times, and we have been taught so much in our public school histories of the exalted purpose of our revolutionary forefathers that it has seemed almost like sacrilege to even hint at a word of criticism regarding their work.

But a careful search of the pages of history shows that we have been worshiping false gods and institutions.

There is nothing more terrible than the truth, and at the same time there is nothing more beautiful than the truth, and the truth herein is told, notwithstanding the fact that some of our "revolutionary heroes," whom we have long been taught to revere, are stripped of some of the halo that surrounds them.

There were tens of thousands of real heroes engaged in that heroic struggle of revolutionary days, but the bourgeois historians have failed to recognize the great part those heroes played in the battles for freedom, and have showered praise where it did not belong.

And there are just as many patriots—real patriots—in proportion to the population, here today as there were in those revolutionary days. And these revolutionists will arise in the near future—will go to the ballot box—and overthrow a combination of capitalist rulers *who are more arrogant and more oppressive today than King George III ever dared to be*. And the result of this revolution will be decisive and sure, for the working class cannot longer be deprived of its own. The Socialists are both hopeful and defiant. ~~The future belongs to us, and it belongs to us because it is right that it should belong to us.~~

SILAS HOOD.

CHAPTER I.

PATRIOTIC CONSPIRACY.

For more than a century the people of America have been taught to have reverence for the Constitution of the United States and to revere the memory and applaud the acts of the men who made possible the laws under which we are now living.

It is the purpose of the writer to show that a careful examination of the historical data, that can be found in hundreds of public libraries of the nation, will prove that the famous constitutional convention held in Philadelphia in 1787, instead of being a gathering that was called to accomplish something that would result to the advantage of the people as a whole, was dominated *and controlled by the commercial buccaneers*, such as exist today in the shape of such persons as J. Pierpont Morgan, August Belmont, Andrew Carnegie, Victor Lawson, Theodore Roosevelt, Charles Pfister, H. G. Otis, Whitelaw Reid, Ogden Armour, J. D. Rockefeller, J. J. Hill, Henry Frick, the Guggenheim brothers and other prominent citizens who regard the workingman solely as a source of profit.

It is also the purpose of the writer to show by undisputed records of history that the majority of "the great patriotic forefathers" were not patriots at all and that they at all times represented the interests of the "well born," the commercial, and the landed interests of the states.

The constitutional convention was the result of a conspiracy of the monied interests of the nation to build up a strong central government so that the rights of property would be more than these capitalist exploiters found them to be under the old articles of confederation.

Thirty-nine names of "revolutionary patriots" were signed to the sacred document when it was forwarded to the various legislatures to ratify, and not one of these men had any more authority to frame the document as they did than the National Civic Federation has to say whether miners or mill workers in 1911 shall wear rubber boots, moccasins or go bare-footed.

The delegates were the selection of the rich and the members were exclusively of the aristocratic class and were made up of lawyers whose clients were the wealthy slave holders, owners of large landed estates, rich merchants and money lenders.

Not one representative of the working class was among the number of conspirators, and when Patrick Henry was selected as a delegate from Virginia he declined to go, saying that it was plainly the purpose of those fostering the idea to attempt to deprive the people of what little rights they had been able to secure under the articles of confederation. After the constitution was made public Henry denounced it as "pernicious" and declared that its provisions meant the inauguration of an impolitic and dangerous system. Under it, he said, neither the rights of conscience, liberty of the press, nor trial by a jury would be secure. "An aristocracy of the rich and 'well-born' will spring up under it and trample on the masses," he said. And history proves that Patrick Henry was right. The poverty, unemployed, low wages and "charity" of today is evidence that the constitution has not protected the masses.

CONTEMPT FOR INSTRUCTIONS.

The delegates had been empowered to revise the old articles of confederation or to make amendments to the provisions of that document, but the instructions were ignored and as one historian expresses it, were consigned to the wastebasket.

The first thing the delegates decided (and there were less than thirty of the gentlemen present on this occasion) was that the vulgar public was to be excluded and that none of the proceedings of the gathering was ever to be made known. *Every member was sworn to secrecy* and how well the conspirators kept the oath is understood when it is known that James Madison, fourth president of the United States, and last survivor of the delegates, was in his grave before the proceedings of that remarkable gathering were known. In his "Journal of the Constitutional Convention," found in every well equipped public library, we learn of the contempt with which the working class was regarded by our patriotic forefathers, and instead of the report of the proceedings revealing the men in the light of venerable statesmen we see that their purpose solely was to

establish a government that would permit the building up of a commercial aristocracy and an unlimited number of wage-earners, renters and subservient workers.

Madison's journal contains about 100,000 words of the debates and proceedings of the four months of the secret gatherings, and in all that mass of data there is *not a single allusion* to the rights of the working class or what would happen to the toilers when they became more numerous than the jobs. The patriots realized that this condition would arise in the near future and they gloried in such a situation, as they said it would put an end to troublesome black slavery, because the white wage-earners of Europe, who would be induced to come to this country by the glorious vision of freedom, would be only too glad to work for less wages than was at that time required to care for the chattel slave. What was to become of the black men in the event of such a contingency was not once considered—not even by Benjamin Franklin, who was the only delegate who raised his voice in the interest of the masses at any time during the convention proceedings.

Washington, according to the journal, once did express the wisdom of doing something for the great majority of the disinherited, but as he was a slave-holder and a possessor of large landed estates, he did not press the claim. He, too, had had his training on the battle-field. For a time he was opposed to the holding of the convention. At first he declined to be present at the gathering and had decided not to participate in the proceedings. But the commercial conspirators, realizing the hold that Washington had on the affections of the people persuaded him to accept. They insisted that it was a duty he owed his country and he reluctantly consented.

And when the representatives of the monied interests got him there they selected him as the presiding officer, and in this position he apparently found small opportunity to raise his voice as an advisor.

AN EXECUTIVE FOR LIFE.

Among the first of the plans to be considered was one providing for the appointment of a chief executive of the United States by the votes of the various legislatures, already controlled by the interests, for a life term. A motion to amend so as to provide for the election of a president by the people

direct was defeated by a vote of nine to one, even the state represented by Washington being opposed to any such power as that being delegated to the people.

One of the chief concerns of the delegates was that something should be done to check rebellions in the various states. A strong central government was needed, it was urged, to prevent further outbreaks similar to Shay's rebellion in New England. There the conditions had become so intolerable that the people had rebelled. When the soldiers of the continental army returned to their homes—the men who had fought the battles and had endured the hardships of the seemingly hopeless campaign—they found that the patriotic money lender—that type of men whose interests were now well represented in the convention—had been particularly busy and they were hopelessly in debt. And when they could not pay these debts promptly they were robbed of their homes by legal proceedings and thousands of them found themselves in debtors' prisons.

For more than fifty years after the declaration of independence the debtors' prison was an ulcer that the patriotic forefathers had not deemed it advisable to consign to oblivion, and in 1826, years after Washington had been in his grave, there were hundreds of prisons where deeds of cruelty were done that were worse than those which called for a just cry of horror regarding the treatment of victims who had suffered and died in the prison dens of the British ships and hulks. One den in Connecticut was known as the Newgate prison. It was an abandoned copper mine in the hills near Granby. There from 30 to 100 culprits, owing from 50 cents to \$50 were confined, their feet being made fast to iron bars and their necks chained to the beams in the underground black hole. The darkness was intense, the caves reeked with filth; vermin abounded and the victims were in worse physical condition than the sufferers of Anderson prison. In the dampness and filth their clothes rotted on their bodies; sores made by the chains became putrid and foul smelling, and the helpless inmates died of gangrene. And some of the men in those dens had carried muskets in the war of the revolution. Even in Philadelphia at the very time the patriots were drawing up the constitution there were debtors' jails where the exploited were further enslaved by the ruling commercial class.

CHAPTER II.

POWERFUL EXECUTIVES FIRST CONSIDERED.

Immediately after the members of the constitutional convention had decided upon the rules of procedure, had sworn every member to secrecy and had decided that the newspapers would not be permitted to print the proceedings of the gathering, they proceeded to accomplish the business for which they had been selected by the moneyed interests of the nation.

Mr. Edmund Randolph, of Virginia, had already prepared articles and this document no doubt had had the approval of the J. P. Morgans of that day. The first thing the delegates decided upon was the necessity of a strong chief executive. Congress, under the articles of confederation, Mr. Randolph pointed out, could not check rebellion in any state, and national laws were necessary so that any aggregation of agitators who protested against the oppression of the ruling classes could be crushed by the national authority with an iron heel.

With this end in view it was decided that it was necessary to have a rich man for the office of chief executive, and that his wealth should not be less than \$100,000. It was also proposed to pay him a large salary. This Mr. Franklin objected to, he claiming that the chief executive being a rich man should serve without pay. It was also proposed that members of congress should be men with property qualifications—men possessing less than \$50,000 not being eligible. When the conspirators decided that any such qualifications as this might make a bad impression with an already dissatisfied people it was further decided that the property interests of the nation could be protected by the members of the upper house who would be men of wealth and would always be a check upon any probable liberal attitude of the lower house. How well the patriots planned, for today! We have a millionaire club in the United States senate, and if the representatives elected by the people should make a mistake and pass any bill in the real interest of the people the American house of lords defeats the measure and the people have no redress, as the senators are not within the reach of the people on election day.

HAMILTON THE CHIEF CONSPIRATOR.

Alexander Hamilton was the chief representative of the aristocracy and the ruling master class at the convention.

Hamilton was the principal legal advisor of the moneyed interests of New York and Philadelphia. He was the Elihu Root of that period. There was nothing too oppressive for the working class according to his view of the situation. The wealthy were the only ones to be considered and there should be a standing army, well paid, that could be depended upon to prevent uprisings among the discontented at home. Foreign foes were not feared. It was feared that the people might insist upon some rights. Therefore Hamilton was in favor of appointing United States senators *for life* and also the chief executive and the supreme court judges. The English model, he said, was the only good one on the subject. He saw evils in the states which must soon cure the people of *their fondness of democracy*. And the patriotic forefathers listened to that kind of talk from one of their own kind, without a protest with the exception of the aged and feeble Dr. Franklin, who later urged that some concessions be made in the interests of the common people.

BRITISH PLAN FAVORED.

Hamilton said he had no scruples in declaring, "supported as he was by the opinions of the wise and good," so long as the mob on the outside could not hear him and that they would not know of his candid opinion of the employed class, that the British government was the best in the world and he doubted if anything short of it would do in America. Hamilton acknowledged himself not to think favorably of republican government and he urged on the convention to "tone their government as high as possible." He said that nothing like an equality of property existed and that inequality of property would exist so long as liberty existed, and that it would unavoidably result from that very liberty itself.

That sounds like sound plutocratic logic. No wonder the banker Republicans of Chicago and the financial and steel interests of Pittsburg have their Hamilton clubs. A magnificent preceptor was Hamilton for these haters of republicanism to pattern after.

It is also to be regretted that Patrick Henry, a product of the working class, had not undertaken the task his constituents had urged of attending the convention and have raised his voice in righteous protest against the conspiracy that was to be successful in *wiping out the sacred promises as guaranteed in the Declaration of Independence*.

The farm laborers, mechanics, laborers, and all others of the working class, when their services were needed to fight for the success of the revolution, were liberally supplied with copies of the Declaration of Independence and when they read the radical announcement that the new government would recognize the fundamental truth that all men are created equal and endowed with certain inalienable rights and that all governments should derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, they believed they had something worth fighting for and they deserted their plows, left their families to shift for themselves and went forth like the real patriots they were and fought the revolution to a successful conclusion.

REAL PATRIOTS IGNORED.

And when these real patriots, who had been denied the privilege of anything like a liberal education, returned to their homes to renew the struggle for existence, they left the new arrangement of government to the men who had subscribed to the Declaration of Independence, naturally expecting that the class which had fought, suffered, bled and died for the cause of liberty would receive the consideration that was their due. But not one piece of legislation was inaugurated in behalf of the rank and file of the army of the revolution—the working class. The manufacturers' societies—organizations that were known by that name in Philadelphia and New York—proceeded to get busy in the interest of trade, and as a result debtors' prisons flourished as brazenly under the rule of the wealthy forefathers as they did under British oppression. And it was these manufacturers' societies that started the plan for a constitutional convention that would devise a form of government that would give the wealthy better protection over the property which they had not accumulated by honorable labor.

Washington, a careful search of the records shows, was in 1776 accused of stealing 30,000 acres of land in the Ohio valley from the British government when he was employed as a surveyor, and at the breaking out of the revolution he was being investigated under the "Quebec act," and the disclosures at the investigation might have resulted in a criminal prosecution. So there may have been other reasons besides patriotism that influenced Washington in throwing his influence with the rebels.

TEA PARTY FRAUD.

One-fourth of the signers of the Declaration of Independence were merchants or ship masters, and in some way were connected with the profitable business of smuggling. John Hancock, the delegate who has the most prominent place on that famous document, was known as the prince of the smuggling crew. The tea that was thrown into Boston harbor and of which patriotic act our school books speak so glowingly, *was not thrown overboard because it was taxed*, but it was thrown into the sea *because the tax on the tea had been removed*. The East India Tea Company found it could not do business in competition with the Hancock gang of smugglers and it petitioned England to remove the tax. This was done and the people of the colonies were about to reap the benefits of cheap tea. But Hancock and his criminal associates saw at once that as soon as the tax was removed from the tea that their business would be ruined and like the patriotic protectionists of today in our congress they objected to the plan that would prevent them from robbing the people by selling them tea for 30, 40 and 50 cents a pound that cost them 15 and 20 cents a pound in Holland. (These figures are not intended to be accurate. They represent the profits of the smugglers as accurately as we can give them). The tax that the British government demanded had the same effect as our protective tariffs do today. As long as the tax remained, Hancock and his brother smugglers could do a profitable business.

But when the tax was removed or the protective tariff was no longer in force, then Hancock & Co. could no longer make money with their infant industry. So there was a most urgent reason why Hancock should become a patriot and make known his indignation against British tyranny. So as soon as the English despots removed the tax on tea and granted the opportunity for the people to get tea cheaper than the Hancock smugglers could sell it the latter aggregation of patriots dressed themselves in the guise of Indians, boarded the East India ship one dark night and pitched the *untaxed tea* into the salt water of the ocean. And at this very time Hancock was contesting suits in the admiralty courts that involved penalties of \$500,000 and criminal prosecution. The revolution put a stop to all such unpleasant proceedings in his case as it did in the case of Washington and others.

So it is evident to the unprejudiced that some of the revolutionary heroes had more reasons than pure patriotism for joining hands with those who were willing to fight for freedom.

CHAPTER III.

PROFITS FIRST, LAST AND ALWAYS.

The majority of the men who made up the delegates to the constitutional convention were learned men. They were men of the Elihu Root, Theodore Roosevelt, Chauncy Depew, Joe Cannon and W. R. Hearst type. They were either men of considerable fortune or the legal representatives of wealth. Their selection had been guided, if not actually made, by the landed and trading interests of the states and old colonies, and their sole aim was to devise a plan they could by political trickery or brute force put in operation so that the rights of property would be more secure.

And that is just exactly what was done. A careful reading of the constitution with all its amendments up to date does not give the people a chance to rule. The rights of property against the rights of the individual have always been uppermost in the minds of the alleged statesmen who have designed the plans of government. And the constitution at the time the patriotic forefathers got through with it was a more formidable document of oppression than it is today. And the working class was more brutally exploited and despised then than it is now. And the only reason it is not despised today as it was then is because the working class commands respect and is able by some degree of organization and solidarity to demand some of the fruits of its usefulness.

At the time of the secret convention gathering the white slave traffic was still flourishing. Poor whites were induced to come to 'free America from Europe and "soul-drivers," as they were called, was a familiar sight throughout the country in the vicinity of the seaport towns. Men, women and children were brought to the United States by these dealers in human white flesh and the victims not being able to pay their passage

signed papers, according to laws sanctioned or arranged by our patriotic forefathers, which bound them to the service of contemptible wretches engaged in this traffic.

BLACK PAGE OF HISTORY.

The true story of this brutal white slave traffic makes one of the blackest pages of history of revolutionary times. For fifty years after the signing of the Declaration of Independence this crime flourished, and that our patriotic forefathers who signed the document of the constitutional convention were aware of its existence and provided for the further exploitation and brutal treatment of these helpless victims will be made clear in this chapter. That Washington, Hamilton, Rutledge, Pinckney, Morris, Madison, Gerry, Randolph, Sherman, Dayton, Dickinson and the other deputies knew of atrocious practices of selling whites into servitude is manifest when the following was adopted at the convention, Sept. 17, 1787:

“No person held in service or labor in one state under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor; but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.”

FATHERS PROTECT THE SLAVERS.

And this was not adopted to protect the owner of black slaves. It was adopted to protect *the owners of white slaves and to further encourage the inhuman traffic.*

At the very time the patriots were deliberating on the glorious provisions of the constitution which we are now enjoying so liberally under the present regime of wage service and high prices, as well as trust rule, white slaves were being sold in Philadelphia to the highest bidder, and gangs of white victims were in chains in control of the “soul-drivers” and were being marched about the country to be bound out to well-to-do farmers and others who could afford to buy a servant. And at this very time also the delegates had these white slaves of Europe in their own homes to be worked, beaten, poorly fed, and ill treated by the wives and other members of the household of the aristocrats and brutal land-owners.

This white slave crime was started in the early part of the seventeenth century *and that it was kept up until fifty*

years after July 4, 1776, is an historical truth that should cause us to forever cease to have reverence for revolutionary patriots who would permit such a trail of blood and shame to be marked across the period of their time. A summary of this awful traffic is well described in Oneals' "History of the Workers in America." One Scotchman was sold into servitude in Philadelphia for \$80 and in return for this amount he was bound out to work for his master for seven years. And according to law of the states his master was privileged to flog him, and in nine-tenths of the cases the victims were treated worse than were the black slaves, especially at a time approaching the end of their time of slavery. This brutal treatment was more severe at these times so as to induce the wretches to flee, and when captured, *according to law as prescribed by the fathers in the constitutional convention*, they could be hunted by the authorities and sentenced to *serve two more years* in the hands of the brutal master for presuming to try to deprive him of the services that was due. Read that resolution over again and remember that both Washington and Franklin sanctioned it when they placed their signatures to the document we have been taught to revere.

PROFITS IN FLESH OF BABES.

Two-thirds of the immigrants to Pennsylvania during the eight years of Washington's term as president were white slave victims who had been lured from Germany and Holland principally. There is proof that the ancestors of the revolutionary patriots were engaged in the awful traffic, and there is a record which shows that in one year 1,500 children were kidnapped in the ports of Europe, and the youthful victims were brought to America and bound out to service in the homes of Puritan, Pilgrim and other respected ancestry of which the proud America is fond to boast of today. It was always the children of the poor of Europe who were kidnapped, and when they protested to the authorities over there they obtained no redress as the kidnapers bribed the officials of the small coast towns to assist them in the inhuman traffic.

WHOLESALE KIDNAPING.

Finally the kidnapping became so notorious in England as well as America, so many children of the poor of Bristol being spirited away by the child-thieves, that a law was passed

under the direction of British rule making it a penalty of death for this kind of crime. The law was passed to satisfy the parents of the victims and those who were naturally opposed to the traffic, but at least five historians present proofs to show that 10,000 persons were kidnapped annually after the passage of the act and the business did not cease until it became no longer profitable. *And it was profitable for fifty years after the signing of the Declaration of Independence*, and the sale of white flesh did not cease until Washington had been in his grave nearly half a century. And it ceased then because it *was no longer a game of profit*.

More of the horrors of the white slave business of our ancestors who were of the trading class, business men and the "well-born" or were able to purchase a servant will be told in the next chapter. It is a tale of horror that the modern historian has almost ignored, but there are enough proofs to show that you are fortunate if you can trace your ancestry back to the working class, or that you cannot trace the connection back to the "well-born" and the wealthy exploiting class.

CHAPTER IV.

MURDER AND ROBBERY.

The horrors of the African slave traffic has been told and retold. Filthy ships were crowded with blacks and the poor wretches died by the score of smallpox and scurvey. But a death on the voyage meant a distinct loss to the slaver and he always made an effort to get the negroes ashore alive. But he was not so much concerned about the whites. If one in a family or two in a family died the survivors were held responsible for the deaths of the victims, and if the living disclaimed relationship they were denounced as liars by the traders. In this way many survivors paid the expenses in servitude of a brother, sister or other relative they never had. Childless men and women were held responsible for the burial expenses of children that belonged to some one else or that never existed, and in servitude they paid these manufactured debts. At the steamship landings they were sold to "soul-drivers" engaged in the traffic of selling white flesh and the ignorant dupes were

frequently bound out for twenty years or to a life that meant servitude for life, because they were never paid a cent and were frequently kept in ignorance of the date of their expiration of servitude. Their clothing was the cast off rags of their masters, who in many cases later belonged to the poverty class owing to the mortgage sharks. But they clung to their human property like madmen.

The white slaves were always robbed by the slave hunters before they landed on American soil. The poor wretches didn't have money enough to purchase their passage across to the promised land in America. But some of them had a few valuable belongings and frequently a little money and extra clothing. Before the victims landed they found themselves stripped of everything they possessed except the clothing on their backs, and if one or more of the number made too much noise about the rascality of the slaver they were conveniently found to be among the missing when far out at sea. In other words *they were murdered by these dealers in white flesh.*

But real privation began for the victims when they were sold for dollars to their masters on American soil. Then began a life of toil and abuse that can scarcely be believed. To prevent the white slaves from escaping they were frequently chained together while at work out of sight of the master. Beating them to induce more work or faithful service was permitted by law and the records show that the cruelty of the masters of the black men of Uncle Tom's Cabin days was tame in comparison to the treatment the white wretches were forced to endure. One of these white slaves was arrested in the good old colonial days accused of murdering her mistress, the latter's daughter and her French maid. The prisoner admitted her crime and recited such a tale of cruelty on the combined part of the trio, and proved her story of persecution and abuse by physical evidence on her body that the jury hearing the evidence sent the young woman to an insane asylum. Soon afterward she proved her sanity, was released and later she married an industrious farmer and became the mother of children who no doubt fought in the revolutionary war. And if the truth were known perhaps the result of that union are now in the Socialist movement and are fighting the battle to be freed from wage slavery.

One of these white slave heroes was Deborah Sampson Gannette, a "bound girl," who to escape the ill treatment and abuse disguised herself in man's clothing and enlisted in the

army of the revolution. She knew she could not escape her tormenters by fleeing in her own attire as there were slave hunters engaged in the regular traffic of hunting down runaways. That is the reason the wise framers of the constitution adopted the resolution they did. It was to protect the masters who had purchased these white slaves.

THE TRADE OF MAN HUNTING.

Hunting runaway men and women and boys and girls from Europe, who had been sold into bondage by the slavers, was a regular trade and the brutes of men who were engaged in the business were the most disreputable types of humanity and the deeds of violence they perpetrated on the women victims they hunted would call for lynching today. But they were officers of the law *sanctioned by the constitution of Hamilton and his associates*, and Deborah Gannett, who was a victim of the traffic before the constitutional convention, knew that she was not safe from her cruel master or from the slave hunters, so she disguised herself in men's clothing and enlisted in the army of the revolution under the name of Robert Surtleff. She was wounded twice and her sex was not discovered until she became ill with fever when on duty in the Yorktown campaign. It was in the hospital that her sex was discovered.

But not once was the white-slave disgrace considered at the constitutional convention with any idea of abolishing it. The interests of the landed and wealthy trading classes were the only interests worthy of consideration by the fathers. All of them were either directly or indirectly beneficiaries of the sale and servitude of both white and black slaves and they did nothing that was in the interest of the poor workers as it tended "to unsettle business conditions," and business and *profits were of more moment then, as well as they are now*, than human life or human welfare.

In the next chapter the writer will show that the constitution was not ratified by the states until two years and eight months after Washington, Hamilton and their associates signed it, and that the majority of the people of the states were opposed to it and that the sanction of the various state legislatures was only secured by such fraud and political trickery that would in the way of political corruption and knavery show that the methods of Tammany, the Rose clique, and the Cook County Democracy, when compared with the tactics of the patriotic fathers, belong to the kindergarten class.

CHAPTER V.

FREE SPEECH SUPPRESSED.

And what was the attitude of the people of that period towards this constitution which all of our school and university histories teach us to revere? Did they welcome it with expressions of joy and regard the delegates as statesmen worthy of praise? The conspirators were in possession of the most powerful newspapers of that time and they loudly championed the cause of the Federalists as the advocates of the new constitution were called. But the people could read and there were a few fearless editors who were not afraid to tell the truth. One of these men was Victor H. Oswald, editor of the Independent Gazeteer of Philadelphia. He was arrested and was not given the opportunity of a trial by jury. He was convicted of contempt of court for the alleged refusal to answer questions regarding the contributors, subscribers and owners of the paper.

EARLY POLITICAL TRICKERY.

Every dishonorable means known so well today by the interests of our capitalist press was exerted to induce the people to have respect for the provisions of the constitution, but the methods failed and the constitution was ratified by the various state legislatures only after the most flagrant political corruption and political trickery, such as would rival Tammany tactics, had been resorted to. The people were not given an opportunity to vote on the matter, otherwise the document would have been revised in the interest of the masses. An illustration of the attitude of the people toward the historical document is shown by the record we find in A. B. Hart's "The American Nation," page 312. Dr. Hart is professor of history at Harvard university and he will not be accused of favoring the opposition. In fact he is a partisan of plutocracy like all the rest of the historians who have searched the records for existing conditions in those days.

But in his history we find that when the people of Rhode Island had an opportunity to express this opposition to the constitution they did it in one section by a vote of 2,708 against and 237 for the document. And this was the result in spite of the Federalists' activity to make a favorable impression toward the instrument. The vote was obtained in this way.

The state legislature had previously voted to have the constitution printed and distributed among the people, and this was done. Town meetings were held and the document discussed with the foregoing vote as the result. There was nothing legal about the voting. It was simply taken to ascertain the sentiment of the people, and it was found that the great majority were opposed to the work of the fathers who met behind closed doors.

In every one of the thirteen states the sentiment against the constitution was as strong as had been expressed in Rhode Island. And if the people had had an opportunity to vote on the merits of the measure they would have buried it so deep that it never could have been resurrected.

P. HENRY REAL PATRIOT.

In Virginia Patrick Henry led the opposition. When denouncing the provisions of the document as being against the interests of the masses and criticising the secret session of the convention, he said: "Even from that illustrious man who saved us by his valor, I would have reason for his conduct." Listen to that dignified criticism of Gen. Washington from a statesman whose eloquence was usually in opposition to oppression and wrong. And this is the man the historians say did not possess any of the qualifications of a statesman.

Henry wanted a bill of rights amended to the constitution. He maintained that general warrants by which an officer may search suspected places without evidence of the commission of a fact, or seize any person without evidence of his crime, should be prohibited. He said the constitution made no such provision to insure such rights.

With respect to that part of the proposal which says that every power not granted remains with the people, he said it must be before adoption, or it "will involve this country in inevitable destruction." Regarding slavery he said: "Slavery is detested. We feel its fatal effects. We deplore it with all the pity of humanity. But if we are going to settle that question let's do it previous to adoption, and not afterward."

POWERS OF A SULTAN.

Another anti-Federalist described the constitution in this language: "Your president-general will greatly resemble the powers of the sultan of Turkey; the senate will be his divan and your standing army will come in the place of our jani-

zaries—your judges, unchecked by vile juries, may be with propriety styled cadis.”

The members of the legislature of Virginia were largely controlled by the business interests as they are today. The ruling class always took pains to be represented in every legislative body. Washington and Madison were on the side of the Federalists and they exerted all the influence they could to gain the support of the members. In fact, Madison at the time was a member of the Virginia legislature. It was a long time before the Federalists dared put the matter of adoption. And when it was finally voted upon the result was 89 to 79 in favor of adoption. And if the business interests had not used every art known to them to influence members, the defeat of the measure would have been certain. If the people of Virginia had had a chance to express their opinion on the constitution they would have repudiated it overwhelmingly.

In New York, where Hamilton was the arch-conspirator, the same opposition developed. George Clinton led a strong opposition party in this state. Sentiment in the cities could be found to express some admiration for the provisions, some of the historians report, but they admit the whole region of the interior was opposed. The same tactics as used in Virginia were resorted to and the opposition was defeated by a vote of 30 to 27.

And in Pennsylvania, where Franklin had placed his stamp of approval on the constitution, the vote in favor of it was 46 to 23, while in Massachusetts the vote was 187 to 168.

Under the articles of confederation the people had been denied the right to vote directly on measures affecting their welfare and in the case of the constitution they were equally helpless. Therefore, after years and months of corrupting and intimidating influences at work, the constitution was saddled upon the people, and it has been ever since a government of and for the ruling class *aided by its supreme court and federal judges* and always supported by the senate. And even the representatives in the lower house of congress have not been representatives of the masses. The senate was provided by the constitutional conspirators as a check upon any probable liberal attitude they might show the people. But very seldom has any of the members of this branch shown any consideration for the majority of the people. Every man elected to congress with the single exception of Victor L. Berger, of Wisconsin, has been selected with the view of perpetuating

the present order of wage service, profit, and the dominating influence of big business or the competitive strife of commercialism.

CHAPTER VI.

MONSTROUS SLAVE LAW.

Let's see in conclusion how wise our forefathers were in adopting legislation in the interest of the unrestricted pursuit of life, liberty and happiness. We already have seen how much of that consideration was shown toward the white slaves. Let's see what was done in the interest of the black slaves of whom Washington was the master of many. According to McMaster, a historian who was a great admirer of Hamilton, the first contempt of the members of congress during Washington's administration showed for the right to administer justice to the black man was when a committee of Quakers from Pennsylvania drew up an anti-slavery petition and presented it to the members for consideration.

The occasion for the activity on the part of this committee was due to a long series of outrages against the free blacks. Many of them had been liberated by generous masters, others had obtained their freedom through the generosity of friends who had paid the prices the owners asked and some had been born free. But none of them was safe and thousands of them were kidnaped by brutal white men and a regular organized gang of ruffians were engaged in the traffic of forcibly taking these free blacks to auction blocks of the south where they were sold to masters who disregarded their pleas and treated them worse than other slaves, as they declared that no black had any right to be free, even if his freedom were purchased.

And these swarms of kidnapers thrived because of a law passed by the congress of Washington's time. In 1793 the senate and house passed what was known as the fugitive slave law, and *this shameful piece of legislation remained on the statute books unaltered and in force for fifty-seven years and caused more misery, more injustice, more outrages and more violations of the rights of man than any other piece of*

legislation ever enacted in the United States. And this monstrous piece of legislation was sanctioned by George Washington, the father of our country, for he was president at the time and had the power of veto.

CHILDREN TORN FROM MOTHERS.

McMaster says, by the provision of this law, every slaveholder had summary power to seize, hold and drag back the alleged fugitive to the servitude, from whence it was claimed he or she had fled. And the abuses this led to were monstrous. Soon swarms of kidnapers were busy and masters who had lost slaves through flight were quick to recognize blacks it was impossible for them to have ever seen before. These kidnapers were soon busy in the towns of the north, where blacks had been freed for many years. Children were torn from their mothers, men from their wives and wives from their husbands. These victims were hurried into the holds of ships and when a sufficient cargo was aboard they were carried to a southern auction block and delivered into the hands of masters who approved of such measures.

Before the passage of this act by our honored forefathers of revolutionary time there were many negroes in the south who had been made free by their masters or had paid for their liberty through the generosity of friends and they were earning their living as wage slaves or struggling for existence on a little patch of ground they were working on shares. But even these creatures were not safe and there are records to show that all of them were forced back into servitude. They were chased day and night by men and dogs and forced to sleep in the woods at night and keep from starving by eating roots and berries. Virginia was the only southern state that would not permit these outrages and many of the victims fled there from North Carolina for protection. Patrick Henry was governor of this state at the time. Had Madison been in the governor's chair, the fugitives' chances perhaps would have been slim.

A PREMIUM ON MURDER.

One victim, so McMaster tells us, had his cabin broken into by a gang of ruffians and he was tracked for miles by armed men and mastiffs. He had been forced to leave his corn standing, which his pursuers later harvested and sold. When these outrages were presented to congress by the Quak-

ers it came out in debate that the feeling had become so bitter among the slave owners against allowing any black man to be free that they had offered \$10 for all free blacks caught alive and \$50 dead. This was placing a premium on murder.

And what did the congress of Washington's time do with the petition protesting against these outrages? The Quakers were insulted in open debate and some of the members who made a motion to place the petition on the table were interrupted by others who said the proper place for it was under the table.

Abundant facts were placed before congress to prove the outrages and yet the *patriots of that time, in January, 1797, voted that the petition be thrown out and not considered.* And the vote of disgrace was 50 to 30.

And if the disgraceful act of the fugitive slave law had not been passed by our wise and patriotic statesmen of George Washington's time it is the writer's firm belief that slavery would have died a natural death, as so many masters were freeing their slaves and so many of their friends were purchasing their freedom that they would soon have been in the ranks of the wage slaves and turning out just as much profit for their masters as free men and women as they were as chattels. And if this opinion is true it means that the civil war with all its strife and bitterness and its loss of a million lives was a needless sacrifice. And when we know that the revolutionary forefathers were blind to the wrongs endured by the whites as well as the blacks is it not about time that we ceased to listen to the adulation and praise that so liberally is showered on the wise heads of the patriots?

A search of the history of the world shows that the so-called representative government has always been in the interest of the commercial class as against the rights of the workers. New states coming into the union may adopt constitutions in the real interest of the people, but our magnificent constitutional government gives the powers at Washington the right to say that it shall become lifeless if they don't approve of such freedom as the initiative and referendum extending to all elective offices including the judiciary; blacklisting of workers by employers a crime, and other regulations in the interest of the masses. I said they had the right. No. they have not the right, but they do not do things by right at Washington. They do things in the interest of the same class that domina-

ted the constitutional convention more than one hundred years ago and if the working class wants anything in its own interest it will have to send its representatives to the national capital.

From barbarian barter down to the present stage of consolidation the exchange of products has been propagated solely in the interest of the master class or in the interest of an exploiting number, and all legislation in the interest of the majority has been opposed by the profit mongers. Sometimes the exploitation of the masses has been disguised under a false code of ethics; sometimes it has been accomplished in the open by brute force, but always has the exchange been accomplished in the interest of the master class to the detriment of the workers. And it always will be so until the capitalist plan of exchange of products is abolished.

The people cannot compromise either. Regulation of the means of life in the hands of a master class will not suffice. If you would properly regulate anything you must own it. And the workers having dotted the earth with the fruits of their industry are entitled to own what they have made.

THE REMEDY.

So workers of the world, and especially of the United States, we are calling upon you to profit by the awful trail of sweat, blood and tears the working class has left on the pages of history as evidence of their heroic struggle. Let's complete the battle so valiantly fought by our brothers, and may the future historian be kind to us for not sooner becoming aroused to our rights.

For centuries have the workers looked to the master class for relief and justice. And they have looked in vain. Profit by their experience. Look to yourselves—to your own class—for you, and you alone, have the power to throw off a government or any condition when it does not insure freedom and justice, and erect a better in its stead. And that better government is the Socialist Co-operative Commonwealth, and it is coming as surely as it has a right to come.

(The end.)

WHERE TO FIND HISTORIC TRUTH.

For the student who wishes to learn the truth in detail about the struggle of the real heroes of revolutionary days, and the conspiracy that was hatched and carried out by the master class, Silas Hood recommends the following works:

McMaster's "History of the People of the United States."

No copies for sale. May be found in many of our large public libraries.

McMaster is recognized as a bourgeois historian, but his histories contain so much of the truth that no public school or university controlled by the capitalist influence has been permitted to make use of his great work.

Conan's "Industrial History of the United States.

Fisher—"True History of the American Revolution."

Unterman—"World's Revolutions."

Oneal—"The Workers in American History." This book should be in every Socialist library. For sale by Social-Democratic Herald, Milwaukee, Wis. Price, 25 cents postpaid.

Bogart—"Economic History of the United States."

Simons—"Class Struggles in America."

Madison—"Journal of the Constitutional Convention."

Any public library.

Vision of the Future.

BY SILAS HOOD.

[Henry T. Jones.]

I am looking into the future and I see a nation not having one case of poverty—*not one*.

I see a race of men and women perfect morally, perfect mentally, perfect physically.

In that new world I see hundreds of millions of happy smiling faces of men, women and youth.

I hear the laughter of children, the songs of birds and the merry chirping of squirrels. The elk, antelope, hounds, cattle and lambs fraternize in joyous companionship, the huntsman's bullet and the shedding of blood no longer being a dread. The spectre of apprehension had long been unknown to man and beast.

This new earth is a garden of bloom, beauty and plenty; of music and song—a jewel crowned by man's skilled handiwork.

On all sides I see harmony of thought, harmony of action, harmony of relation, harmony of intention. I see cultured ladies and gentlemen, without exception, who would scorn to accept a service they would not be willing to return in kind.

* * *

And there are some things I do not see. I do not see one hovel, or one woman or child at work in mines, mills, factories, offices or fields. The twentieth century spectacle of disorder has been supplanted by model places of industry and million-acre farms and the world's work of the production of material things is being easily and speedily done by the harnessed forces of nature, automatically, or manned by men.

* * *

Neither do I see one case of tuberculosis, typhoid fever, nor any of the other and all preventable ills which now infest

the earth. Health there is universal and the secret of longevity is known. Life is everlasting, and life is as sweet as it is long. All of the emotions of this superior life are positive, the negative emotional destroyers of the electrons of life having been lost in the revolutionary uplift. Death and disease are unbelievable and unknown in this harmony of soul and flesh. Music is everywhere, its harmonious force being a recognized life builder. The constitution of the cell and the ultimate unit of heredity is no longer a problem, and life is a mystery no more. Man knows what he is, whence he came, and what his destiny.

* * *

Prisons, jails, soldiers, police, warships, insane asylums, charitable institutions, cathedrals, mosques, hospitals, cemeteries, monuments, morgues, slums, saloons, courts, dirty streets, shoddy clothing, intemperance, brothels, politicians, bankers, grafters, money, profits, millionaires and mendicants, and all the other ulcers of so-called present-day civilization are forgotten history in this new world. The record of all such evidence of riot had long been consigned to the shelves of antiquity. In place of all this the face of bountiful nature is dotted with parks, amusement resorts, spacious homes, magnificent public buildings and *palaces* of industry whose harmony of design and color is in perfect contrast with the bestiality of those things now seen in our modern Coketowns and Pittsburgs in the shape of hideous sky-scrappers, industrial dungeons, crowded business blocks and rows of houses unfit for use or shelter.

And not one cloud of smoke do I see. Neither stacks nor chimneys adorn the buildings and the culm piles, once resembling great wounds in the earth, are now gardens of roses. It no longer is necessary to mine an ounce of coal. The forces of nature equipped by the genius of man now furnish light, heat and power without the aid of flame. A new world of scientific progress I see wherein the twentieth century laws of physics have been revolutionized. The energy of the sun is believed to be forever and forever enduring and that instead of a constantly disintegrating mass it is a never ceasing dynamo or force of constant dynamic energy which

forever keeps itself and the rest of the solar system in perfect equilibrium and harmonious relation.

* * *

In this new world, life is a joy, not a brutal struggle; life is pleasure not discomfort and strife. There I see life with art and life with industry. Life without joy there is known to be savagery, and life without art is known to be brutality. In art in this new world I see the complete expression of man's joy in his labor. The struggle for existence has long been dead in the dust of ages. It is unthinkable amidst such harmony of thought. Really great problems are being solved and their achievement is sure. And on and on through all the centuries new and greater secrets are wrested from nature and are molded into the beauty of life.

* * *

Ah, what a perfect race of men I see. I see a race so perfect as to be incapable of an impure thought to say nothing of committing an impure act.

I see man in this new world without envy, without malice, without vanity, without jealousy, without hatred, without impure desire, without grief and without fear.

I can also see the observance of a code of ethics so different from the modern standard. Many things we now regard as wrong are there recognized as right; and many deeds we now accept as right are known to be wrong. *Truth is enthroned and superstition is a corpse of forgotten time.*

I see before me a new world ruled by science and love.

* * *

I can also see traces of twentieth century cities in the way of parks, boulevards and squares, but not one statue of a war hero or a philanthropist do I see. There are figures of poets, composers, scientists and other benefactors of human progress, but the statue of but one nineteenth century statesman is preserved. Lincoln is the name I read.

But the earth is dotted with the statues of another figure. It is the figure of a man with bushy hair and bushy beard. The living representative was a Jew as was the carpenter of Nazareth. There are four letters on these innumerable works of bronze and granite. The first letter of the group is "M"

and the last of the group is "X." The inscription showed that this man lived and died in the nineteenth century. That posterity was indebted to him is manifest, and that his life work was recognized is equally sure.

* * *

I see but one race amidst the bloom, beauty, music, labor and song. Man there is of one color—white—the blacks and mongolians in the new environment having been assimilated by the more perfect expression of evolution centuries before. One language is spoken and each and all are citizens of the earth. There is neither Jew nor gentile, Mohammedan nor Buddhist, Catholic nor Protestant—the race is a unit—it is one.

And does this ideal world contain a race of satisfied men and women? Is the mind of this most perfect expression of the great law of nature content? No, the human mind there is not content and the proof is there that it never will be as long as the world survives. Scientific activity is constant and is encouraged and applauded by the collectivity. Competition is real and healthful. The rearing of a more perfect edifice goes successfully and unceasingly on and on and on. Discoveries have been made of which we had not dreamed and grains of what our scientists believe to be gems are discarded as dross. The greatest triumphs with—not against—nature are won. And still man found more wonderful glimpses of natural truth. The mind of man in this new world is constantly striving for higher, greater and better things. Man having been permitted to become so perfect morally, mentally and physically ever strives to make the world brighter than he found it. To seek to master the higher and nobler problems of life is *the incentive that is moving this new world.*

* * *

If man should ever reach a plane of complete satisfaction and content the world would go back into the night. But do not fear. Human nature is all right; it is not even part¹ wrong. We do not have to change human nature. It is the one certain powerful force in speeding man on toward the heights of truth and justice, and he will not—he cannot fail. With this powerful force completely attuned *there is nothing impossible for the human mind to attain if it is right that it should be attained.*

And that new world I see is coming as surely as it has a right to come.

And we students of philosophy who can see the coming of this new life that is to be, and who enjoy the majestic picture of the future so generously, have *no more right to the privilege of this glorious vision* than have you. Seek and learn. The proved treasures of man's master mind are for you as well as for those who have sought and found. The world is here for you to have, to hold and to enjoy. - We are pleading with you. So come! *Come!!*

* * *

But why is it that I can see this vision of the splendor of a future life on earth and you cannot see it?

It is because I am—but I'll not tell you. It might offend you, and perhaps you would not understand. But you who are really class-conscious and have studied life from the right point of view *will understand* and will *know* what I am.

Milwaukee, 1911.

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