EDITORIAL

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By DANIEL DE LEON

The afternoon of June the 24th was given over by the House to speeches in eulogy of the deceased Senator from Virginia John Warwick Daniel.

The hour to adjourn having arrived, Representative James Hay of Virginia asked “unanimous consent that all gentlemen who desire to do so have leave to print remarks on Senator Daniel”; and, no objection being raised, it was so ordered.

The nine Representatives who had spoken pronounced speeches of the regulation laudatory funeral oration type—words, words, words, interspersed with poetry, poetry, poetry. Unconditioned “leave to print” having been extended, and the leave having been availed of by several of the Members, it was to be expected that the “first and only Socialist in Congress” would not have missed the opportunity to put some sense into the twaddle, and justify his claim of representing Socialism, with a funeral oration worthy of the occasion.

Indeed, the occasion demanded, urged, ordered a speech from a Socialist Member somewhat to this effect:—

“Mr. Speaker, I also wish—I deem it incumbent upon me—to contribute my tribute to the memory of the late Federal Senator, John Warwick Daniel.

“In doing so I yield not to the weakness of a desire to be on a popular side in this House; I am prompted by no sentimentality regarding naught being due to the dead but praise; nor yet am I animated by the ambition of attaining immortality by connecting my name with the illustrious dead. I speak in all solemnity—in all sincerity.

“Such a posture on my part—on the part of a Socialist—moreover, on the part of the first and only Socialist elected to this Chamber—the sole representative on this floor of the International Socialist Movement—might seem paradoxical. It might
even seem contradictory. It is neither.

“Socialism is not a breath of Anarchy, which sees not an knows nothing of the Compulsory Logic of Events. Socialism in a breath of Science—and Science is the child of Evolution. As such, in the measure that Socialism is fascinated by the coming social glories of which it is the apostle, it recognizes the debt it owes to the preceding, the present, the capitalist social link, without which those approaching glories would be impossible.

“John Warwick Daniel contributed mightily in forging the capitalist link from which alone Socialism, the next link in the social evolutionary chain, could at all evolve.

“His was not the acre on which the Rockefellers, the Carnegies, the Woodses of textile celebrity, the Douglasses, the McCormicks, the Wanamakers, in short, the ‘Captains of Industry’ plowed—the economic acre where small production was weeded out, and the ground cleared for the stately oak of the Trust with its possibilities of bountiful economic blessings. Not that was his acre.

“The acre that John Warwick Daniel plowed was the equally important one of the Political State. On that acre he labored with singular abnegation. Easy was the task of his fellow workers, north of Mason and Dixon’s line, on that particular field. With them, traditions and habits of thought combined to attune their minds for the dictates of progress. With them the task was easy of laboring for the establishment of a strong, well centralized political government over the whole United States, without which the course of social progress and the triumph of Socialism would have been indefinitely hindered. It was exactly the opposite with him. With John Warwick Daniel tradition and habits of thought bent his mind the other way; and, true to the convictions bred by such circumstances, he unsheathed his sword; and brave, like all men of convictions, be battled for the cause of State Rights. The crippled body that he carried off that battle field bore for life the stamp of his convictions—and of the error of his youth. All these impediments notwithstanding it is to John Warwick Daniel, more than to any other one person, that the Cause of Progress in the United States owes it that the military achievements of Grant and Sherman did not remain barren. It is to John Warwick Daniel, more than to any other one person, North and South, to whom Socialism is indebted for locking the
switch that would have led away from, and to cause the engine of the State to run straight towards its goal—the terminal of the Political State, the portals of the Industrial, or Socialist Republic.

“Of what avail was suppression of political Secession in the South if economic Secession was to be tolerated in the North? Gov. Altgeld tried the feat under the second Cleveland administration. It was a critical moment in the Nation’s life. Then it was that John Warwick Daniel rose to the full, the giant height of his intellectual and historic inches. While Secession, after its defeat in the South, raised its hideous head, thirty years later, in the North, in the very state of Grant and Lincoln, John Warwick Daniel, the ex-Confederate Adj.-General, rolled off his being the slough of the past. It was he who steeled the tremulous arm of Cleveland, imparting to it the gesture of command, at which the Federal troops marched upon and occupied Chicago,—and canceled the State militia.

“And he did more.

“It was John Warwick Daniel who, thereupon, seized the laboring oar in the Senate, and there shielded the Executive against the attacks of Southern Senators of smaller intellectual stature, and of Northern ones who weakened under the strain of the emergency. The unity of the Nation was saved. The economic and the political achievements of capitalism were rescued from being washed back into the deep by the threatening wave of reaction that set in from capitalist quarters themselves—and, rescued, the future birth of Socialism was assured.

“It matters not that it was not love for the Working Class, not love for Socialism, surely not solicitude for the success of the Social Revolution, that animated Senator Daniel;—it matters not that what animated him were sentiments exactly the opposite of these. What does matter is that, of all the pillars of capitalist society it was John Warwick Daniel who, at that emergency, alone rose to the height of class-consciousness, the class-consciousness of his own class, and, breaking with all his own past traditions, saw the demand of the hour, and bravely voiced it, and made it good.

“The class, whose interests Senator Daniel saved at that critical hour, is the very class that Socialism is to-day in the field against. In now rendering tribute to the memory of John Warwick Daniel, and doing so in the name of Socialism, I am
not rendering tribute to mere valor, tho’ the valor be displayed by a foe. In rendering tribute to the memory of John Warwick Daniel I am rendering tribute to a brave man for an act of bravery that was essential to the perfection of a Class System, upon the perfection of which is predicated the final emancipation of the proletariat, and thereby of the human race—the Socialist Republic.”

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Mr. Berger flunked again. Although chosen umpire of the Republican and Democratic Congressmen’s baseball match, he muffed the ball thrown into his hands by Representative Hay of Virginia. The opportunity, tendered to him to insert in the Record whatever he wanted, was missed.

The preceding twenty-nine misses record but a small fraction of the misses perpetrated in the special session of the Sixty-second Congress by the “first and only Socialist” in the Federal House of Representatives. The series may be fitly closed with this “Miss No. 30.” It summarizes those recorded, and the many more left unrecorded. As such it sums up the indictment of a Great Opportunity Lost.