

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA
LIBRARY

AUTHOR ...McIvor, William John.....

TITLE ...Revolutionary socialism.....

.....

.....

Thesis ...M.A. 1912.....

Dep
Cale

V

Revolutionary
Socialism W.J. McIVOR

M 1895

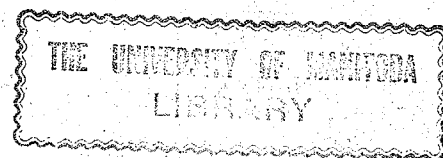
DEGREE CONFERRED
1912

Literature.

- Reyband, Etudes sur les Reformatures in Socialistes Modernes.
- Robert Owen, New Views of Society.
- F. M. C. Fourier, The New Industrial and Social World.
- Karl Marx, Labor and Capital.
- Louis Blanc, Social Democracy.
- Proudhon, Anarchic Socialism, also Bakunin.
- La Salle, Social Democracy.
- Radbertus, National Socialism.
- Schaffle, "Quintessence on Socialism."
- R.T. Ely, "Socialism and Social Reform."
- Wayland's Monthly, April 1908. February 1905.
- H. Quelch, in London Justice. What is Socialism?
- Engels, Socialism Utopian and Scientific.
- C.H. Kerr, Chicago Publisher - Socialism.
- P. Bliss, Encyclopedia of Social Reforms.
- Commander Peary, Eskimo Tribes.
- Samuel K. Cowan, M.A. Belfast Weekly. November 11, 1910.
- Karl Kautsky, "Road to Power."
- C.M. Flandrau, in The Bell Man.
- Prof. Rauschenbush, Christianity and Socialism.
- Prof. Peabody, The Social Question.
- Le Rossignol, Orthodox Socialism.
- The Inter Ocean, April 4, 1910.
- The Belfast News Letter, September 16, 1910. Sociality not Socialism
- G.W. de Lunzelman. B.Sc. Civilized Selfishness.

ACCESSION NUMBER

75685



Chicago Daily Socialist.

December 14, 1909; December 8, 1909. The
Dawns America Feb. 1, 1910. Feb. 16, Feb. 23.
Why not Collectivism, March 29, 1910.

Belfast Weekly,

November 11, 1909, Politics and Small
Holder, E. A. Pratt.

Christian Socialist, Chicago, Rev. E. E. Carr, 1. Socialism and the Sex

2. Social message of Jesus

Roosevelt vs. Socialism, Daily Socialist.

The Independent,

November 4, 1909.

Chicago Record Herald,

November 23, 1909.

The Standard,

August 21, 1909.

Chicago Daily Tribune,

October 18, 1909, December 27, 1909.

Chicago Daily Journal,

April 18, 1910.

L. Abbott,

Evolution of Christianity.

D. O'Brien,

Introduction to Socialism.

N. P. Gillman,

Socialism and the American Spirit,

E. S. Robertson,

Socialism.

Kidd.

Social Evolution.

Lecky.

Democracy and Liberty.

W. A. Prosser. McKee, Rocks, P. Teachings of Socialism.

Minneapolis Journal,

August 26, 1909. Socialism's Awful Menace
Shown.

Bishop J. Spargo.

Spiritual Significance of Modern Social-
ism.

J. D. Long, D.D.

The Economics of Jesus.

P. Engels,

Socialism Utopian and Scientific.

Box, Ethics of Socialism.
Rea, Contemporary Socialism.
Sombart, Socialism.
Ferrer's Principles.
Pittsburg's Manifesto, International Working Peoples Association.
P. E. Burrows, New York.
S. Plantz, Lawrence University. The Church and Socialism.
Robert Flint, Socialism.
Bishop Spaulding, Christian Socialism.
Mrs. S. F. J. Linn, A. Lay Sermon,
E. W. Weeks, What the Christian Socialists stand for.
Dr. R. Frohlich, Working Class and Alcohol Question.
Prof. S. Dickie, McCormick Seminary, Christianity and the Hope
of Social Redemption.

Revolutionary Socialism.

INTRODUCTION.

This subject is one of great importance in this day and age. The Socialists are agitating most enthusiastically for Industrial Revolution. The writer has had many conferences with leading Socialists in the United States and after much careful thought wishes to indicate the course of the argument as outlined:

1. Its Origin.
2. Its Modern Task.
3. Its practicability.
 - (a) Its introduction, strength and power.
 - (b) Collectivism versus Individualism.
 - (c) Its relation to surplus value, and machinery.
4. Christianity and Revolutionary Socialism.
 - (a) Christ and Socialism.
 - (b) Its spiritual significance.
 - (c) Its hostility to the Church.
Its harmony with the Church.
The Church's proper attitude.

Conclusion.

I Its Origin;

The name has been derived from the Latin socius a companion, and is scarcely sixty years old. It was a term used to denote a class of persons opposed to the present organization of government and seeking to introduce a new distribution of property and labor in which organized co-operation rather than competition will be the dominating principle. Socialism like many significant phenomena of the 18th century is a product of the French Revolution, or at least is a development occasioned by that crisis in thought and action. It was rooted in the feudalism of the Middle Ages, the furious hatred of the court and of the aristocracy, the passionate love for the people, for humanity, for liberty. Though called forth here by special circumstances, it contained virtually the germs of all later, proposed, modern organizations. This movement then assumed an anarchic form and in immediate action tended to anarchy. The first shape that the modern spirit of industry took was not Socialistic but individualistic and found its natural expression in such word proverbs.

"Everyone for himself and God for us all." Though this was a strong protest against class legislation and the assertion of the absolute right of the individual to a share of the general welfare of society. Yet we find it did not recommend itself to an intelligent mankind.

The term was first used in connection with the later agitation of Robert Owen from 1830-1840. He advocated extreme industrial Revolution, having machinery made subservient to human well-being. He advocated that families to be uniform should be sub-

jected to discipline, and should be carried out in parallelograms. His ideal was high, so high that the principle of selfishness would then cease to exist. He commenced one but it was never finished.

The term was first popularized in Proudhon's *Etudes sur les re-formatures in Socialistes Modernes* in 1840, to express the general tendency to develop a communal organization of society in place of the present existing competitive state. It is not to be identified with an expansion of the functions of the state. Revolutionary Socialists upheld fraternalism and have opposed governmental paternalism in the state.

St. Simon, a Frenchman advocated positive re-construction. The St. Simon's recognized two kinds of epochs.

1. Negative : marked by a spirit of criticism, anarchy, and war.
2. Constructive : where religion, love and spirit of association were dominant. Those holding higher positions should they held, receive higher remuneration? St. Simon attempted to realize communism in phalanxes of four hundred families with a result that they were subjected to imprisonment on a charge of undermining morality and religion.

Fourier advocated "Liberty" and capital in private possession, thus securing a fresh guarantee for freedom, but providing against the abuses of private capital by placing it under social control. This also failed. Up to this time they knew little or nothing of the principles which determine social development and this perhaps more than anything lends an air of unreality to all their speculations. Their theories never really took root in the practical life of the time.

Karl Marx was founder of Socialism in Germany. A socialistic phil-

-osophy, an individualistic political economy, the traditions of a paternal state and a spirit of democracy and of revolution in the younger minds, were the influences out of which has come German Socialism. Karl Marx was most radical and held that labor was the whole source of capital which is still held by radical Socialists. He based his teaching on the evolutionary doctrine of the century in which he lived.

Louis Blanc, founder of Socialism in France the advocate of Social Democracy held that the state should be the banker of the poor. It was said that Louis Blanc was human, and had not robustness of character or enduring political influence to enforce attention to his plans.

Proudhon was more revolutionary, and first associated Socialism with anarchy. The goal of society for him was freedom from Government. He was one of the storm birds of the Revolutionary period of 1848. We are told he was too shrewd and kindly to take part in the rising of June of that year.

La Salle founded Social Democracy in Germany, he had philosophical and historical erudition but was inferior even to Louis Blanc in simple integrity of character. He captivated the working men of his day by fiery and persuasive eloquence.

Rodbertus, a Russian, lawyer, and a shrewd landowner advocated some kind of National Socialism. He did not expect its fulfilment for five centuries of educating influences.

Bakunin, a Russian advocated Anarchic Socialism, which was characterized by atheism, materialism, and revolution. He condemned all forms of government advocated enlightened freedom, and every man to be a law unto himself. He persisted in advocating unsparing destruction of the existing society all future organization would proceed

from the free initiative of the people and will depend on the free consent of the people. The International which Marx founded was now broken up through the differences between that of Marx and Bakunin. The writer has quoted these popular men to show that the term Socialism was limited to the conception of a co-operative commonwealth, or as "the Nationalization of all public utilities". The cardinal principle of Socialism seemed to be that industry now carried on by private capitalists served by wage labor must be in the future conducted by associated workmen jointly owning the means of production, the order being first revolutionary afterwards evolutionary. But the Blanquist party in France professed itself then as atheist, materialist, transformist, republican, revolutionist, communist, and internationalist. What a variety?

Socialism entered Austria from Germany as a political force it had as an incentive a strong sense of oppression and a determination to improve the material condition of the people. It had two parties "Equality" and the "People's Press."

In Belgium it took the form of Universal suffrage and in Denmark was Marxistic. In Sweden and Norway it aimed to abolish private ownership of land and the instruments of production. It made some little headway but it languished for the want of funds. Socialism assumed an anarchic form in Germany in 1878 when two attempts were made on the life of the German Emperor.

The writer shall now quote the opinions of several Socialistic writers as to what Socialism in its essence really is.

Professor Schaffle, Quintessence on Socialism;

"The Alpha and Omega of Socialism is the transformation of private and competing capitals into one united collective whole."

Professor Richard T. Ely Socialism and Social Reform:

"Socialism is that contemplated system of industrial society which proposes the abolition of private property, and substituting collective property and management together with the distribution of social income by society and private property in the larger proportion of social income."

Waylands' Monthly April 1908.

"The Socialistic philosophy is based upon class antagonisms and consequent social divisions arising therefrom and postulates the ultimate abolition of classes through the establishment of socialized industry democratically controlled. Socialistic science analyzes the present capitalistic system of production showing that human labor is the source and measure of value. Its Ideal is a commonwealth based upon a socialized industrial system."

H. Quelch in London Justice says:

"Socialism means essentially and fundamentally, the social ownership, social control and social use of all the material means of social life and the abolition of class domination, and exploitation of the workers which is not possible under a capitalistic state."

Engels; Socialism Utopian and Scientific.

"Modern Socialism is in its essence the direct product of the recognition of class antagonism between proprietors and nonproprietors between capitalists and wage workers on the one hand and on the other of the anarchy existing in production."

C.H. Kerr Chicago Publisher :

"Socialism not a piece of mechanism, but a compact whole, one and indivisible striving for the freedom of the human race from economic bondage."

Rev. J. Spargo. Bishop and writer:

"Men have dreamed of an ideal social system, Isaiah, Plato, Sir T. Moore and Campanella. These contain much that appeals to every Socialist. Socialism he holds has a scientific parentage, a theory of social evolution. It means more than social ownership and control of the means of production, distribution and exchange, it is a philosophy of history, a theory of social dynamics."

Paul Lafargue, France:

"Socialism is the nature of historical discovery."

John S. Mill Political Economist.

"Socialism - joint ownership by all the members of the community of the instrument and means of production which carries with it the consequence that the division of all the produce among the body of owners must be a public act, and performed according to the rules laid down by the community."

Having given the popular ideas concerning the beginnings of Socialism the writer will now proceed to show that Revolutionary Socialism no matter how much understood is not a modern phenomenon. It is as old as human society. In the earliest times which history can trace, property, land was not held by private individuals, and more or less for the common good, it was held practically by the feudal head of the society and worked by his subjects mainly for his advantage. From this developed the communal families that still linger in out of the way places in France, Italy, and Eastern Europe. Athens as far as its free citizens went was a Socialistic city. It was democratically governed and the city as a city owned and operated the land. The whole Greek social conception was that the individual lived for the State, and not the state for the individual. The Hebrew Theocracy was more Socialistic in its ideal. Everyone who belonged to the theocracy must belong to the organization to gain its advantages. If a man was poor his property could not be kept from him over night. The law

by its institutions defended the fatherless, the stranger, the hireling the poor the oppressed and the widow. All through the ancient world were scattered religious sects, like the Essenes who lived in communities and had all property in common. Through all the early societies religion and communism were found hand in hand. Coming to the Christian era we have the early attempts at communism in the primitive churches and later the monastic institutions. In the middle ages feudalism was the prevailing social form. Before and after the Reformation there were many attempts at communism. In tracing the origin of Modern Revolutionary Socialism we see that back of it lies the altruistic impulse. It has essentially been a humanitarian movement. German Socialism was largely materialistic though with Marx, La Salle and Bakunin their Socialistic philosophy was derived primarily from Hegel. St. Simon, Fourier were profoundly religious though their systems failed. Owen in England was possessed of the humanitarian impulse. Socialists gave their lives believing in no Paradise save the one alone their children can enter. Altruism was the one great motive that produced Socialism. Sydney Webb, says "Socialism is one of the unforeseen results of the great industrial Revolution of the past one hundred fifty years." It contained three main elements, the aim at personal liberty, the effort to secure this through industrial co-operation and the recognition that this co-operation to be successful must include the whole community as a fraternal unit. We cannot distinguish when Socialism at any one time was Evolutionary or Revolutionary.

P. Bliss : Encyclopedia of Social Reforms, distinguished five great periods in the development of Socialism:

1. A Negative or preparatory Period beginning with the French Revolution.

2. A Formative or Utopian period lasting until 1848 including the schemes of Owen, St. Simon, Fourier, Lammenais. The Philosophy of Fichte and Hegel produced the materialistic movement of La Salle, Marx, and Engels.
3. A period of reaction or at least of inaction when Europe was lying fallow from 1849-1863.
4. The period of the International from 1849-1872 "Workmen of all countries unite" was the cry of the International Working Men's Association. The night of dreams was over the hour was come to act. In England it meant little more than Trade Unionism and when the workmen of England found it meant more on the continent they left it. In Germany it meant socialism. In other European countries under the influence of Bakunin it meant Anarchism - the gospel of pan-destruction. Falling upon the International it wrecked it and Marx doing the greatest deed of his life drove out the Anarchists from the Congress and thus wrecked the International ^{and} saved Socialism to some degree from the scourge that anarchism has proved to modern Europe and United States.
5. The present period of the Social Democratic movement commencing after the break up of the International becoming active outside of Germany in 1880-83. It assumed then a constructive evolutionary and political form. Its favorite name is now Social Democracy. It is now both national and International. The International failed but succeeded in spreading all through Europe in Industrial Revolution. In the modern view an artificial International has given place to a growing Internationalism but the question is How long will it take to grow?

The writer cannot close better this phase of Socialism than by citing Commander Peary's account in his discussion of the Eskimo

tribe, He said "he hoped that no efforts will ever be made to civilize them. Such efforts if successful would destroy their primitive communism which is necessary to destroy their existence. Once give them an idea of real-estate, interest, property rights in houses, and food and they would become as selfish as civilized beings, whereas now any game larger than a seal is common property of the tribe and no man starves while his neighbor is gorging It is the feeling of good fellowship that alone preserves the race." Commander Peary based his opinion on eighteen years of study and thought their civilization should stop with the fundamental principles of sanitation, care of themselves, treatment of simple diseases, wounds and other accidents. This account seems to show that people in an uncivilized state afford a more fruitful field for the realization of Socialistic Ideals than our purely modern forms of civilization.

11. The Modern Task before the Socialist.

The task before the Socialist is one of Revolution by which he means the overthrow of the capitalist class rule and domination of politics and industry by the working class which would then cease to be a class. The Socialists are Revolutionary because the social revolution is the end and ultimate purpose of their propaganda and effort. They differ from the various reformers in that the reformers never proposes the overthrow of the ruling class. The Revolution can take place peacefully and the master of their wage slaves will have to abide by the will of the majority. If they do not, Socialists say, it may be necessary to make them behave. Socialists hold that change of heart is not sufficient to bring about the Revolution. If the nation is to be moved it must be founded on Material revolution. For the present the Socialists favor present agitation for shortened work days, better wages, and better working conditions, this they think will educate the working man in organizing for and waging the fight for Emancipation.

Samuel K. Cowan, M.A. in Belfast Weekley News of November 11 gives in a nutshell the problem before the Socialist.

With frequent clouds the sky was fraught:

And having journeyed far,

Footsore and fearing rain, I sought

The "Pig and Whistle" bar.

With half a dozen grimy folk,

Discussing politics,

I spent a while, when up and apoke

The grimmest of the six:

"I am a Socialist" said he:

"The Mission, sir! is mine
To blend, in one fraternity,
The Human and Divine.
To turn this gross world inside out
And skim away the scum
In brief, my friend! to bring about
The grand Millenⁿium!

I want to equalize the Berth,
And break the barriers down
That separate by brains and birth,
The courtier and the clown:
I want no dukes to boss the show,
Or lords to play the fool
But every thoroughbred to go
In harness with the mule.

I want the Red flag far and wide,
To float above the Crown:
And horseback beggars sir! to ride
The Constitution down:
I want Kier Hardie to be king
And universal calm.
To link beneath his angel wing
The lion and the lamb!

I want your pounds to swell my pence:

And then combining each,

I want you, at our joint expense

To practice what I preach!

These are my wants: and given these

The path is smooth and straight

To glory, Wealth, Contentment, Peace

And all that's grand and great."

"Your wants," said I, "are small and scant

Too modest few and brief,

May I suggest you also want -

A pocket handkerchief?

Also - a gleam of common sense

To light your glorious path?

And may I add, without offence,

You also want - a bath."

Karl Kautsky in the "Road to Power."

"The Socialists as the champions of the class interests of the prolétariat, constitute a revolutionary party because it is impossible to raise this class to a satisfactory existence within capitalistic society and also because the liberation of the working class is only possible through the overthrow of private property in the means of production and rulership and the substitution of social production for the production for profit."

"In still another way" he writes: "the Socialists are Revolutionary. They recognize that the power of the state is an instrument of class domination, and indeed the most powerful instrument and that social revolution for which the prolétariat strives cannot be

realized until it shall have captured political power."

In discussing further the practical task of Socialism the writer will give in the main what Socialist leaders have asserted.

There is need beginning with the working masses to win the concerted action of the majority of the people in the country. There is need to remove the anomaly that Socialism is a working class movement minus the working class. Trade union propaganda of the rank and file of the union must be adopted. Again it must be recognized that the working class are not strong to successfully accomplish the Socialistic Revolution, that co-operation of persons from all classes is needed. There is also need for recognition of function of the Socialistic movement as a sole defender of civic rights, liberties, popular justice, free speech, and assemblage. By propaganda, organization and education, the problem and task can only be accomplished. Party machinery thus will need to be reorganized, and then the attention of the organization will be directed to the legitimate and important tasks of the movement. It is surprising to find such need for reform in this revolutionary movement.

The Program of the present Revolutionary Socialist may be briefly outlined as follows: Briefly Summarized.

A. The Programme of the United States:

I. The General Demands

1. Government relief of the unemployed workers by building schools etc., and lending money to municipalities and states without interest, contributing to funds for assisting the unemployed.

2. Collective ownership of the means of producing and distributing wealth so that private monopoly, graft, bribery, rent, interest, and profits shall be abolished and that all may have the full product of their labor.

3. Private ownership of wealth such as a home etc., according to the value of one's labor.

4. The absolute freedom of press, speech, and assemblage.

II. The Industrial Demands:

The improvement of the industrial condition of the workers.

1. By shortening the work-day to about five hours in keeping with the increased productiveness of machinery.

2. By securing a rest day of one day and a half in each week.

3. By securing a more effective inspection of workshops and factories.

4. By forbidding employment of children under sixteen years of age.

5. By forbidding interstate transportation of child labor, convict labor and all uninspected factories.

6. By abolishing official charity and substituting compulsory insurance against old age, illness, invalidism and death.

III. Political Demands:

1. Direct legislation through the initiative, referendum, and imperative recall, so that the people themselves may rule promptly.

2. The extension of inheritance taxes graduated in proportion to amount of bequest and to nearness of kin.

3. A graduated income tax.

4. Unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women.

5. Proportional Representation.
 6. Abolition of the Senate.
 7. Abolition of the power usurped by the Supreme Court of the United States to pass upon the constitutionality of legislation enacted by congress.
 8. That the constitution be made amendable by majority vote.
 9. Further measures for general education and conservation of health. Two departments: Department of Education, of Public Health.
 10. Department of labor to be established.
 11. All judges to be elected by the people for short terms, their power to issue injunctions shall be curbed by immediate legislation:
 12. The administration of justice.
 13. A new system of money issued by the government alone, so that it will be a true medium of exchange only, not a medium of exploitation. Thus the Socialists hold a man would lose his incentive to steal.
- B. Manifesto of the Joint Committee of Socialist Bodies in England.
1. An eight hour day law.
 2. Prohibition of child labor for wages.
 3. Free maintenance of all necessitous children.
 4. Equal payment of men and women for equal work.
 5. An adequate minimum wage for all adults employed in the government and municipal services.
 6. Suppression of all sub-contracting and sweating.

7. Universal suffrage for all adults, men and women alike.
8. Public payment for all public service.

C. Demand of Social Democrats of Germany.

1. Universal equal and direct suffrage by ballot, for all subjects over twenty years without distinction of sex. Proportional representation with two years duration of legislature. Elections to be held on a legal day of rest. Representatives to be paid. Removals of all restrictions of political rights except for persons under age.
2. Direct legislation by the people - right of initiative and of veto. Self government by the people. Magistrates elected to be held responsible to the people. Annual vote of taxes.
3. Universal military education, militia to be substituted for standing army. Decision of all international disputes by popular representatives by arbitration.
4. Free expression of opinion and the right of association.
5. Woman in a private or public capacity to be placed at no disadvantage compared with the man.
6. Religion to be a private matter. No public support religious purposes.
7. Secularization of Education. Compulsory attendance. Free education, lower and even higher for those fitted.
8. Free administration of law and free legal assistance, appeal in criminal cases, compensation for unjust condemnation. Abolition of capital punishment.
9. Free medical assistance, free medicine, free burial of the dead.

10. Graduated income and property tax to meet all public expenses, which are to be met by taxation. Self-assessment, succession duties, indirect taxation abolished.

In Germany for the protection of labor they have an effective national and international system which secures supervision of all industrial establishments legal equality of all laborers, repeal of laws concerning masters and servants, confirmation of rights of the association and government insurance giving the working man a certain share in the administration.

D. Manifesto of New Zealand.

1. State Ownership with a perpetual tenancy in the occupier.
2. The land for the people.
3. Railway co-operative system - better work - higher wages.
4. State Insurance.
5. Provision made for the unemployed through a government Bureau of Industries.

This system has not given perfect satisfaction, the result being that the Government used the colonies of the unemployed as a means of getting votes. It was a long step in advance but the co-operation and profit sharing had little success.

E. Socialism in Canada.

Up to 1889 little evidence was found of co-operation in industry, or trade, and none at all of participation in profits by the working man. Distributive stores exist in Toronto, and

and London Ontario. One of the London Stores sells goods considerably cheaper than the other establishments in town and another sells goods to stock-holders at wholesale prices. There is a co-operative store at the Sydney Mines in Nova Scotia which has been in operation for more than twenty years. Stock is owned by the miners and they are only allowed credit up to the amount which they have invested. They make all outsiders pay cash.

In 1911 Winnipeg's investment in public utilities amounted to more than \$30,000,000. It is nearly a quarter of a century since the city council laid the foundation of municipal ownership by buying out the Waterwork's Company and establishing a Municipal plant. So successful did the venture prove that when the city decided to lay asphalt pavements some years later, it was decided to install a municipal asphalt plant. Trouble with the Winnipeg Electric Co., which controls the street railway franchise resulted in the city voting \$3,000,000. for a municipal power plant. The near completion of this power plant and the prospects that the city would build its own street railway system led the Winnipeg Electric Co., to sell out to the city. Price being \$18,000,000. Winnipeg's Telephone system is also conducted under public ownership. Winnipeg also owns the stone quarries in the vicinity of the city and there under a staff of civic employees mines the products for paving the Macadam streets and the crushed stone for many purposes. Up to the present the writer has not learned of any objections to the above procedure.

III. The Practicability of Socialism.

(a) Its Introduction, Strength, and Failure.

In discussing this side of the subject the writer shall endeavor to give an answer to those who might be sceptical by quoting the ideas of ten socialists as to its introduction representing every element in the party.

I. Eugene V. Debs, Socialist Candidate for the Presidency of the United States.

"No one on earth knows how Socialism is to be introduced but that it is bound to come. The change between Capitalism and Socialism will doubtless come gradually in obedience to the evolutionary forces which are producing it. The Senate will surely be abolished and a new national constitution will have to be adopted. The Supreme Court will shorn of its veto powers and Congress will be made directly responsible to the demands and needs of the people."

II. Victor Berger, The "Socialist Boss" of Milwaukee, Ill.

"Such a thing as Socialism coming into power all at once will never happen. The condition of affairs that will bring about the disappearance of Capitalism will be brought about by economic and political necessity long before we have a majority of Congress and a President. The best way is to pay for the means of production and pay actual values for the plants, and if they, the Capitalists, and trusts should resist then I advise the use of the ultima ratio - force - the cannon."

III. Gaylord Wiltschire, Editor and Writer.

"We are all going to be Socialists and the events will do the moving in an unconscious way. When the time comes for the

Monopolies to be taken over by the State the dominant political party will be forced by the logic of events toward the Socialist program and will carry it out unawares."

IV. Upton Sinclair, Socialist Lecturer and Author of the Jungle!

"I do not believe that our present ruling class will permit the Socialists to sweep the country. When the country has once made it clear that it means to have Socialism, the Republican party will give it Socialism. There are two possible ways of doing this.

1. Slowly as in parcel post or tariff revision.

2. Suddenly in the midst of a great crisis and with popular tumult" (Revolution) I have set the date as 1913 provided there does not come a war.

V. Bernard Berlyn, Father of Modern Socialism in Chicago and Member of the National Committee.

"The election of a Socialist administration would be the Socialist Revolution itself. The most pressing things would present themselves first. It might be hastened by the resistance of the Capitalistic class. In short resistance means Revolution."

VI. John C. Chase, Socialist Ex-Mayor of Haverhill, Mass.

"Supposing we elect a Socialist President and Congress, we may proceed in one of two ways. 1. Take over the means of production by purchase. 2. Take possession of them by force.

There need be no chaos. The people would have to take possession gradually."

VII. Wm. Mailly, Editor of "Call", New York City.

"The question is purely hypothetical. I favor absolute appropriation because I cannot believe that society through organized industry owes anything at all to the present possessors of industry."

VIII. Robert Hunter, Formerly Socialist Candidate for New York Assembly.

Socialism will come gradually. Socialists in control of Monopolies would first probably socialize the necessities of life, but what would be done first, no one can say, but peaceful acquisition is assured.

IX. A.M. Simmons, Editor of the Chicago Daily Socialist.

"Minor victories must come first, then possession of concentrated capital. Methods will differ with every country, and will be shaped to hold public approval. All this is postulated on a peaceful orderly Revolution brought about by the ballots of the working class."

X. J. Mahlon Barnes, National Secretary.

"The power of taxation - to the limit of confiscation - will be used to change the ownership of wealth from private to public. That inherent right rests with the government. Railroads and Telegraph Companies would be taxed too high for profit - instituting rival lines free of taxation if necessary. When they got ready to give up the fight we'd appraise their value by a partial board of appraisers - partial to the public."

The writer will at this stage leave it to be judged whether the preachers of this new Gospel have a cure for social ills which they or any one else can apply practically and will add a few facts as to strength and failure of Socialism as a scheme of production.

1. Its strength.

It provides for the suppression of the wastes of competition by abolishing it. Socialists propose to substitute for present planlessness of production at large a regular orderly and systematic

production. There would be a limitation of the chance element in production. Besides wastes by mistaken undertakings would be largely reduced under Socialism. Wastes from crisis and industrial discoveries. It may also be argued that all forces will work together for a large product whereas at the present time powerful forces are not infrequently striving for a diminished production of wealth. As Socialism proposes that production should be carried on to satisfy wants directly the present machinery for exchange of commodities would almost disappear and trade and commerce in their existing form would be practically abolished.

Finally Socialism proposes that the employed should constitute a fraternity, govern themselves in industry and work together for the common good. "No masters, no servants." will be the welcome sound and especially to those who now occupy the subordinate positions. Thus the actions of the unfeeling rich as described in Micah 2.3. would be prevented. "Who pluck off their skin from off them and break their bones and chop them in pieces as for the pot and as the flesh within the caldron." When one walks along the Lake shore in Chicago and sees untold wealth misdirected while the poor are starving it makes one feel that Socialism as a reactionary influence has claims which cannot be disputed.

2. Its failure.

The writer shall deal with this under two heads.

1. Where it has been tried in totum.
2. Where it has been tried partially.

1. In the year 1840 the Government of Peru was altogether Socialistic. The land and all public utilities were owned and controlled by the Commonwealth. It was just such a state as our present Socialists

desire. Incus was their Supreme Dictator and the form of religion was dictated to the individual. Owing to the fact they had no standing army with no ambition to fight for their country., The Spaniards with less than 5,000 men conquered the whole country and the Socialistic regime came speedily to a close.

Again a Socialist Colony was set up in Paraguay in 1893 by William Lane a restless writer, whose motto was "Socialism in our time." Australia proving unsuitable, prospectors were sent to Paraguay. They were received with open arms by the President and 450,000 acres of land, absolutely free of duty and taxation were granted. The country was well watered and crops could be raised in all seasons. They all having put money into the common stock 30,000 Pounds was put at the Socialist colony's disposal. At Monte Video after the first week dissensions arose, assistance had to be obtained to preserve brotherly love from the Paraguayan Government. Skilled workers filled the air with complaints because placed on the same level with useless men. Mismanagement was so rife, disease of deadened energy so relaxing, that the colonists began to starve in the midst of plenty. Nothing was active but mutual distrust, greed, jealousy, and unkindness. Soon the stores were entirely depleted and the commonest necessities of life unobtainable. In 1895 the Socialists turned to the British Consul for assistance. The Socialists colony was destroyed and every man was permitted to dispose of his own labor as he pleased. The tide then turned. Houses were built, cattle began to increase, each man lived on his own land and they were satisfied having got something which they meant to keep.

1

J. S. Mill though in favor of Government Ownership of land admitted much of the evil had been done. To be just to the land owner, the property holder, or the railroad owner, the government and private owner must come to terms. If the owners do not wish to sell, tyranny will be the order of the day and a waste of energy will ensue.

2. Government Ownership has not been a success from an economic standpoint tried partially.

(a) In case of the Post Office in United States. During the year 1909 according to report of Post master general Frank Hitchcock there was a deficit of \$17,441,719. He demonstrated the imperative necessity of a thorough revision and reform of the postal revenues because the tremendous growth of second class mail matter business and the extension of rural free delivery routes promises a steady and large increase in excess of expenditures over receipts.

(b) Germany's government owned railways are more expensive than ours and even if in some instances the state is rendering better service at less cost, the difference is more than made up by the taxation of private property.

(c) Government Telephones of Manitoba.

The Government of Canada bought out the Telephone from the Bell Telephone Co. at a dear price through Premier Roblin the leader of the Conservative party. Telephone rates were to be cut in half but they were raised.

(d) In case of Berlin, Professor Sly says, "It is one of the best governed cities in the world. Its Finances Revenue 19,000,000.

Debt \$60,000,000. Here the writer will quote facts received from the Interstate Commerce Bureau of Investigation showing what the initial liabilities of Socialists might be in the United States.

Railways	\$16,667,544,827
Farm Lands	\$16,614,647,491
City	\$20,000,000,000
Manufacturing Capital	\$12,686,265,673
Bank Cash and Surplus	3,637,972,240
Telegraphs and Telephones	619,429,800
Total	\$70,225,860,031.

Berlin with a debt of \$60,000,000. and United States with a debt of seventy Billions the initial work of the Socialist regime would be seriously hampered for the want of funds.

(e) The splitting of the "ism."

C. M. Flandrau in "Bell Man" writes "Who is going to remove the garbage is the question on which the "ism" splits."

Socialists to-day are as hopelessly divided among themselves and are as divergent as to what true Socialism is as are Presbyterians Unitarians, Roman Catholics and the inhabitants of Zion City are in the matter of Predestination. When Socialism begins to be menacing it will have ceased to be Socialism and have become Revolution and Anarchy: How will they, the Socialists ever be sufficiently united to make Carnegie, Rockefeller, or James J. Hill run a garbage wagon for the good of the community? Socialists do not like to descend from the general to the specific. It is hard enough to get people in this age of individualism to get

people to do the scavenger even though he can make more money than the preacher, or the rose cultivator, or the writer of immortal sonnets. How then will it be when there even is not any money in it - when one must hurry away from the Supreme Court to take his turn carting swill for the good of the community. Surely no one is going to be so morbid as to really enjoy the work. And if no one voluntarily offers to do it how is the matter to be arranged. Would the brotherhood send a deputation to the unwilling victim and argue with him, and having convinced him, convey him shrieking to the ash pile. But that would not be Socialism; it would be despotism, and of a kind that has long since ceased to be endured!

The writer cannot conclude this first phase of the Practicability of Socialism without indicating the way in which Socialism might succeed. An abuse is to be corrected, a cause is to be enforced, a world is to be redeemed, and Socialists claim let us have industrial co-operation, let us have a dictator, a new Secretary, let us do away with the Senate, and all men equal and as the wheels go round the work will be done. If a man were a mere machine, social redemption might be brought about this way, but a man is not a machine. What we want is not Revolution but as Professor Peabody writes "What is needed in our day is not new social machinery, but new personality, more wisdom, sanity, patience, light, consecrated capacity to control the already mechanism of the time," and he says, "without these traits the wheels will soon run down, and the work be undone, and the workers be smitten with despair, and the "children of the kingdom" will find themselves good people indeed but not good enough seed for the modern world." So if ever Revolutionary Socialism is ever going to produce a better social order two things are necessary;

1. Put the Spiritual before the material. By appealing to the self-interest of the individual no Socialist can ever hope to bring unselfishness in human relations. It is not self-interest but self-renunciation that has given us our heroes, our patriots, our poets, our scientists, our philosophers, our epochs, our achievements, our progress, our power, and our great national spirit. Against Karl Marx and Engels who advocated self-interest, we hold up Plato, Campanella, Tolstoi, Milton, Burns, Goldsmith, the great Christ and his followers.

2. The highest welfare of man must be emphasized instead of a five hour day. One does not change the character of men by changing their material surroundings and conditions. Any program for man's betterment must appeal to his higher nature first. "Seek first the kingdom" before morality, equality, and fraternity can be added unto us.

(b) Individualism - Collectivism.

The basis of popular individualism lies deep down in the fundamental facts of the universe, in the power, the consciousness, the worth of the human soul. It takes ordinarily a form either religious or one of so-called natural ethics. One of the fundamental principles of Christianity is the Supreme worth of the individual soul. Some hold that Christ was the first Socialist. It would be more correct to say he was the first individualist because the Socialist assumes the prolific cause of misery in the world is bad social organization whereas Christ assumed that the prolific cause of misery was individual wrongdoing.

Individualism is the deepest and mightiest fact in existence, which brings man closest to nature herself, prevents him from becoming the slave of any man or state and plants the root of his life in a substance which cannot perish. Through this Spirit the Infinite works and while the heavens bend, it can never break or fail. Individualism rests on the principle that a man shall be his own master. The Individualist says if the state interferes with the action of the individual, it weakens character. It is far better he says, for men to serve their own way, to live their own lives, to learn by experience their own lessons even if they make continual blunders than for the state to be interfering even if the interfere wisely. The later course will weaken the individual will and lessen individual ability. The Christian Spirit is in full harmony with a rationalized Individualism. State interference might lull to eternal sleep the power of self-choice and self-will.

Again it may be argued that nature herself has given her inviolable sensation to an astute individualism. There can be no progress save by competition, natural selection and the survival of the fittest. This struggle is of the very essence of progressive life and just so far as the state interferes with this struggle and either forces or leads men into co-operation, it must induce a low and lowering social level and the gradual degeneration of the individual.

Again to be more positive, the highest civilization, materially and in character has been developed when there has been the most individualism. Beginning with Adam Smyth and the so-called school

of National Liberty there has been less state interference than ever before and what has been the result. There have been many evils but there has been more real progress than all the other centuries of civilization put together. In science, in the means of livelihood, in popular education, in the art of preserving life, in acquainting men with the facts of the universe, in the means of communication, man has advanced as never before in all his history. Great Britain and the United States have carried Individualism to the farthest degree and these two countries are now the wealthiest, the strongest, and the most vital countries of the world. Herbert Spencer held that progress has been made under Individualism. There is in nearly man in a more or less nebulous form the idea of illimitable individualism and indefinite expansion.

Again legislative follies and evils of state interference have been in evidence in the past. Legislators do not know where the effect of their legislation will end. Some of them do not think of the remoter issues. The writer has in mind of the heavy loss sustained by the Australian state railroads, also of the waste of labor in Admiralty and War office in England also of the costliness and inefficiency of state operations the building of the County Court-house in New York city in 1868. When designed its cost was estimated at \$250,000 in the year 1871 it had cost a sum of \$13,000,000. and was not then finished From facts similar to these the Individualist gets his negative argument against Socialism. They very naturally draw the

~~conclusion~~^{influence} from such failures that if the government cannot efficiently conduct the comparatively small activities it now attempts, it must still further fail in the almost infinitely more difficult functions that would devolve upon it under a more complete socialistic regime. Even if the state could do all, the very fact that the people would accustom themselves to depend upon the state, would weaken the powers of individuals and teach them to lean on a reed that must finally break.

Finally it may be shown that Socialism is inefficient

(a) Without restraints on population Socialism would be utterly inefficient and with such restraints it would be slavery. "Underneath the Socialist Ideals" says Kidd, "yawns the problem of population."

(b) Because of the desire of each man to improve his circumstances to reap the full reward of superior talent. These motives be at the very mainspring of the world. Take these motives and persuade men that by superior work they will obtain no superior reward, cut off all the hopes that stimulate enterprise, healthy ambition among ordinary men and the whole level of production will inevitably sink. The essential differences of men in aptitudes, capacities, and character are things that can never be changed and all schemes and policies that ignore them are doomed to ultimate failure. Abraham started the struggle for self-realization and development. Socrates afterwards expounded the great truth that a man's highest was a

complete individual self-realization. Christ showed that man realized himself in service for others. This is in direct line with the historical and religious evolution of the race. If one wants to elevate and enrich the masses, one must put the emphasis where God and human progress put *it* upon the individual. One must put before men the incentives to higher and more noble living. One must transform the individual before society can be transformed. Socialism is a levelling down to the grade upon which human self interest will let every man live. Individualism is a levelling up to the grade upon which God and the highest impulses of man's soul declare that every man ought to live. Socialism substitutes for the individual's right to development, a fuller pantry, and a greater leisure, thinking perhaps that although the citizen becomes a governmental slave that he will then rise to the fulfilment of his religious instincts. Socialism says take away a man's incentive to steal and he will not steal. If human society were a factory it might work but it is a field. If it were a mere mechanical unity it might work but human society is made up of individual people. To change a man's nature an element of the Divine must be introduced.

Collectivism.

The writer in presenting this side will give the arguments of Socialist party as far as he has been able to ascertain them.

The Socialist attempts a reconciliation of Evolution and Revolution by trying to show that Revolution is a part of evolution,

the culmination or climax of an evolutionary process. Biological science gives examples of sudden and radical changes that seem to be revolutionary. In the life of individual plants and animals, rapid and fundamental changes are seen. The mosquito spends its early life wriggling in a pool of stagnant water, presently he becomes a winged insect, living with its companions in the air. The Marxian Conclusion of Revolution was connected with the class struggle. He defines Social Revolution as a more or less rapid transformation of the foundations of the judicial and political superstructure of society arising from a change in its economic foundations. The bourgeois revolution of eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is the first and only example of a social Revolution. In France there was violence and bloodshed and a condition of upheaval that did not subside until the fall of Napoleon in 1815. In England there was no sudden Revolution. But Socialists always think on the French Revolution when thinking of the Common, Social Revolution that will change Individualism to Collectivism. Two conditions are necessary before this comes. There must be centralization of capital in the hands of the few. There must also be a growing number of property-less workers, a proletariat whose misery is increasing and whose hatred of the robber-barons of industry is an unquenchable fire.

Having given these preliminary remarks the writer shall now proceed to give the arguments put forward by the Collectivist.

The Collectivist sees his fellow men bound together with cords of material interest. He believes in brotherhood. His philosophy is filled with warmth and radiates with friendship love and kindness. The individualist to him is an anarchist. The individualist policy is a let alone policy. As a result of competition, a class of men has arisen who by their merciless graft, ambitious greed, and cruel egotism, have amassed and monopolized great wealth. As individuals of power their position enable them to exploit and rob the great mass of the people - the producers of wealth - almost at their own cruel will. The Collectivists oppose all trusts because they are used to exploit and rob all but its own members. They want an expansion of the trust in nation, state, and municipality. They want the people to not only collectively own and use but also collectively control and manage. This collective ownership, use, management, and control to be extended to everything which is now individually owned and collectively used.

Collectivism again will be only for those who work. In the collective commune all will have an opportunity for work. In the communal life the worker will have leisure to develop his mind and the superior people will have leisure to earn an honest living.

Again if the commune is for workers on our established principles there will be no lack of supplies, no starvation, no waifs and strays, no cries of poverty.

Also the commune insures a shortening of the hours of actual labor and also a greater product becomes certain. When the =

practical farmers unite their land, and tools and labor there will be no failure.

In conclusion quoting Professor Flint, "there may be much truth in Individualism, there may be much truth in Collectivism, the truth lies between them and is much larger than either. The true doctrine of society must include the truth while excluding the error of both. It must be a doctrine while fully recognizing all the just claims of society fully acknowledges also the rights of individuals composing society,

C. Its Practicability in relation to Surplus Value and Machinery.

Surplus Value:

Socialists hold that all value is created by labor, but the laborer receives in wages barely enough to keep him alive while the vampire capitalist fattens upon the ever increasing mass of surplus value. This Karl Marx discovers to be robbery and exploitation. Marx here has placed himself in a dilemma as to the theory of surplus value. Either commodities exchange at their value. If they do not the labor cost theory gives no explanation of value in exchange. "Capital", says Marx, "is dead labor that vampire like lives by sucking living labor." The Socialists claim that even the active capitalist does not work. It may be said that active capitalists are not parasites, the work they do is most difficult demanding strength both of body and mind. But what of those who do not work at all and live on interest, Socialists claim that interest is iniquitous.

Those on the other side hold that if interest is robbery then the whole institution of private property is wrong, and that is exactly what Socialists claim. If he is wrong and the institution of private property is a benefit then he who lends his money at interest is no more a thief than he who sells his bushel of wheat for a dollar. While private property is not exploitation but a fair exchange of material things and personal services, there are many loud complaints. The more competition there is, they hold, there is all the more corruption. If one looks at the dark side as Socialists are apt to do, one finds it very dark. But if on the other hand one looks on the bright side they find it very bright indeed. It has been the chief cause of the vast improvement in social conditions that has made the 19th Century notable in the history of the world. It has improved lands, developed mines, built roads, bridges, canals. It has united the countries of the world by steamships, railroads, and telegraph lines. It has built great cities. It has created schools, libraries, colleges, and a thousand agencies for bettering social conditions. It has increased the wages of labor, and the average duration of human life. It has elevated the working class to level of the middle class of two-hundred years ago and the middle class to the level of nobles and princes of other days. It has created democracy and the inestimable privilege of personal liberty. There is in every man a principle of attraction and also of repulsion: a centripetal force, and

also a centrifugal force and it is by means of these two forces that the groups of which society is composed is drawn together and forced apart, Man is a social animal but he has also some anti-social elements in him. That is why the Socialists of Germany bemoan the lack of solidarity among the working-class. The working class are even less united in England and United States. As long as this is the case it will be impossible for the various and conflicting elements of which society is composed to combine into a single, harmonious, and co-operative group. If such a group were ever formed the individuals molecules of the combination by virtue of their individual interests and antipathies would split it up into certain smaller parts large enough to secure the counter benefits of rivalry and war.

Machinery:

Orthodox Socialists profess to be unable to use any benefit to the laboring class arising from the use of machinery as long as it remains in private hands.

The writer wishes to quote briefly the views of Karl Marx on this question.

1. The immediate result of machinery is to augment surplus value.
2. The whole form of the movement of modern industry depends upon the constant transformation of a part of the laboring population into unemployed or half-employed hands.
3. Machinery is the surest means of lengthening the working day.
4. In substance he teaches also that machinery is the chief cause of the specialization of labor.
5. Machinery makes possible the employment of women and children

thus displacing men and lowering the wages of the family as a whole.

6. Machinery increases the number of unproductive laborers.
7. Machinery creates a mass of products for which there is no demand because the working class with their low wages are unable to buy them.
8. Marx holds these evils belong only to the private ownership of Machinery.

In criticising the view of the Socialist we must admit there is a certain amount of truth in their contention, but just enough to give their entire argument the appearance of truth without the substance of it. The views of Karl Marx the writer will now examine.

1. We may say that in the Southern States when the cotton gin was invented it was possible to increase the output of cotton and the consequent increased demand for labor resulted in a remarkable rise not only in the price of slaves but also in wages of labor. Except where machinery is monopolized competition between capitalists causes prices to fall and wages to rise. In England, Germany, United States, where machinery is most used real wages rise while stagnation, and poverty characterize unprogressive countries in so far as they adhere to production by hand. Besides machinery is most used in the production of staple articles. Luxuries only for the rich are generally made by hand. Webb says, "It is not the individual capitalist but the trade union which insists most strenuously in having the very latest improvements in machinery." Finally machinery increases demand for labor by stimulating and increasing production.

2. Labor saving machinery is labor displacing only for a time. As a rule when improved machinery is introduced into a given industry such an expansion of business results that presently more workers are employed than ever before. In 1820, 111,000 operatives employed in Cotton Mills in England. In 1880, 240,000 operatives employed in Cotton Mills in England. In 1880, 72,800 printers etc. in United States. In 1900, 155,200 in spite of introduction of the line type and other labor saving machines. This shows that capital seeks labor just as labor seeks capital.

3. What Marx says about the hours of labor is contrary to the positive facts of experience. The effect of machinery is to reduce the hours of labor and there is a growing tendency to concede to the demand of the trade unions for the ideal eight-hour day. Short hours and the piece work system doubtless secure greater intensity of work which is a good thing for both employer and worker since it increases the per capita product of industry and gives to the efficient workman the reward due to his superior diligence and skill.

4. Modern industry is conducted on so large a scale that there is usually urgent demand for skilled specialists of every kind. A higher degree of intelligence is required to operate complicated machinery than to work with simple tools. The specialist can generally find work in fields similar to his own while waiting for the position exactly suited to his taste, ability and training.

5. Machinery has increased the demand for men while making at the same time places that women could fill, with a result that the total product of industry has been increased. Women can never displace men, where strength, endurance, and other qualities

possessed by man in a pre-eminent degree are needed.

6. Domestic servants are rapidly declining in numbers while wages are constantly rising. As for ministers, teachers, artists, doctors, they are productive as much as any laborers, even though they may not directly create material wealth.

7. Over-production is not due to the poverty of the laboring class but to the series of mistakes in adjusting supply and demand which would occur as frequently as now if the machinery and capital were owned and operated by the working class.

8. It would be absurd to deny there are evils connected with the private ownership of capital but it would be equally absurd to say that these evils can neither be removed or mitigated without the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of industrial collectivism.

In closing on this side Frederick Engels wrote once, "the anarchy of production was the characteristic feature of competitive Capitalism. The Socialist holds that the principle "every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost" is the result of Competition. The Socialist holds that the panics, the crisis in production are the death struggles of our industrial system. If the crises are the disturbances which mark the change from old to new economic conditions then they are the penalty which society must pay for industrial progress, and the game is surely worth the candle, and the collective organization of society would be inevitably subjected to economic periodic attacks of the same disease. Besides the facts of economic history have shown that danger from crisis are becoming less as economic laws are coming to be better and more widely known.

IV. Christianity and Socialism.

In general we may say that government began in the family. This family as in the case of the patriarchs became a communal, a worshipping, and a military organization. It was state church and arm all in one. God who has set men in families has ordered that out of the family shall grow the larger community. In truth independence does not exist. This same reaction which has produced a movement towards fraternity along religious lines is producing and has produced a movement toward fraternity in industry. Socialism comes as a reaction against excessive individualism. It agrees with Christianity in two fundamental aspects. They both aim to secure the re-organization of society, and such a re-organization of society as shall give a greater diffusion of virtue, intelligence and power. In these two both are allied and both are social and democratic in their purpose. Broadly speaking Socialism puts environment first and character second while Christianity puts character first and environment second. Socialism is founded on the principle that happiness depends primarily on circumstances, but Christianity is founded on the belief that happiness depends primarily on character. Again Socialism says that a man's moral character depends on his material environment, ~~xxxx~~ while Christianity holds that a man's condition depends on his moral character. Again Socialism appeals to a man's lower selfish nature but Christ had a different method. Socialists in the majority show greater faith in a palace of delight,

than in a church, in ministering to the body and mind than in appeals to the higher nature. Christ taught first then fed. Socrates taught the same thing "If head and body are to be well you must begin by curing the soul." Christianity gives its message of life to the living man behind the mask. It begins with the declaration "You are the sons of God, you are immortal, life has infinite possibilities for you, arise and walk." The "holy city" is to come down from "heaven." To take the illustration: the bird is in prison in the egg. Socialism would break the egg, and let the imprisoned bird go free. It will get a dead bird. Christianity with its summer warmth broods the egg and the bird breaks its own shell and all nature rejoices? The disciples of Jesus Christ are trying to bring the God of the Summer into the hearts of the children of men - certain that so long as human hearts banish him from their presence, and their kingdom, is materialistic and selfish so long will their kingdom be poverty-stricken and wretched but when He comes and the world receives Him all the flowers will be fragrant the trees will be green and the birds full of song for he brings life.

(a) Was Christ a Revolutionary Socialist?

Professor Rauschenbausch of Rochester Theological Seminary writes, "Christ had a revolutionary consciousness. Jesus knew he had come to kindle a fire upon the earth. Much as he loved peace he knew the actual result of his work was not peace but a sword. Mary had recognized in her own experience the

settled custom of God to "put down the proud and exalt them of low degree." The revolutionary note runs through the Beatitudes. His attack on the religious leaders and authorities of his day was of a revolutionary boldness and thoroughness. Christ taught in the new social order which was expressed in his own life that each must seek to give his maximum of service and he would be greatest who would serve utterly."

James Russell Lowell "There is dynamite enough in the New Testament if illegitimately applied to blow all our existing institutions into atoms."

In contrast, the writer shall quote from Robert E. Speer. Jesus was not a reformer in the modern political or social sense of the word. He spoke little of the existing organization of society. He assumed it as the setting of human life. His emphasis was rather on the personal and the spiritual. Jesus was engaged in setting forth the principles which should govern men under all forms of social organization rather than applying these principles to any one form."

Also from Professor Peabody of Harvard University. "If any revolution in the Industrial Order is to overthrow the existing economic system the new order must depend for its eminence on the principles of teachings of Jesus, but if the principles of the teaching of Jesus should come to control the economic system a revolution in the Industrial order would seem unnecessary."

Christ gave three social laws to us.

I. The Law of service:

With Christ he who served most ranked highest: Christ showed it was possible to live right under the conditions in his age. He said "Render to Caesar the things which are Caesars and unto God the things which are Gods."

The Socialist says, "plenty to eat, plenty to wear, re-adjust your commercial and industrial methods so as to secure that and you will have an ideal state. Men will then be free from all anxiety and carking care and will be able then to develop their minds, their artistic tastes, and their religious instincts. The Christian looks also where for the re-constitution of society. He says, Set up Christ's kingdom first, where God's law prevails, where men recognize the obligations of citizenship as all children of God and where all behave as such and earth will turn into a veritable Paradise.

John Morley : "People will wake to the hard truth that to turn a monarchy into a commonwealth is not to turn our social life into a Paradise."

Schaffle : "A mere change in economic methods is not sufficient to right all wrongs and make us all good, and prosperous."

The Christian feels that the evil at the root of things lies deeper than in a mere economic mistake. He believes if evil is left unchecked it will find little difficulty in running the best organized Socialistic regime. The Christian believes if "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," were

4
practiced, that paupers would be as impossible as millionaires, ^{and millionaires as impossible} as paupers and every man would dwell in peace and comfort.

Professor Cairns : The crying need of our age is the deepening and diffusing of the sense of the common good, where it will have more of the flavor of Christ's law "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

We cannot possibly conceive of Christ in doing service to the needs of mankind conducting great political rallies, picnics and even conducting a Sunday school exclusively Socialistic in character.

II. The Law of Sacrifice.

The Socialists lay claim to self sacrifice, as they do not expect their high Ideals to be realized in their day, but which is sure to come during the lifetime of their families. Two men were engaged in conversation, one of them being a Socialist "If you had \$6,000 would you divide up? Yes Sir! \$3,000? Yes Sir! "Well" said the non-Socialist "you have gotten a cow and a pig, what then? The Socialist then said, "That is not fair as we are still under the Capitalistic system and Socialism is not possible until Capitalism is abolished. On one occasion when Eugene V. Debs was requested by the Socialist supporters to come to Minot, North Dakota to speak in behalf of Socialism. He said "he would not unless a fee of \$800. would be raised. The Socialist supporters being few in numbers could not raise it, and they were not honored by his distinguished presence.

III. The Law of Love.

Socialists claim to give a congenial atmosphere for the cultivation of true love, but they say a man may be a Socialist without being a

15

Christian and yet cannot be a Christian without being a Socialist, that religion is merely a private matter. This is illogical. Surely to speak ironically the Socialists are filled with Christ's love when they make the statement "there are no Christian business men and moreover that it is impossible to live the Christian life in business". We do not find such commands in Socialism as "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you." This is the only means of overcoming evil by a superior goodness. The problem of evil will not be so much solved as sunk beneath the growth of the good. The tares of modern life, its greed of capital, its revolt of labor, its break up of the home, its curse of drink, are not regarded with the despair of one to whom the world is an unconquerable jungle but with the hope of one who is sure of the overpowering and dwarfing of evil through the strong growth of good. Each wise just business method mitigates the conflict of labor, each united home crowds down the weeds of divorce, each adequate substitute for the saloon crowds out the solicitation of drink. The story is told of the two villages between Damascus and the sea. In one the huts were mud, the men were idle, the women looked sullen, the children spat at the traveller as he passed. In the next village, flowers bloomed in the window, everything was kept clean, the children run to greet the traveller as he passed. The women asked his blessing. The latter was a Christian village where the evil had been overcome by the good.

(b) The Spiritual Significance of Socialism.

The writer in discussing this phase thought it best to give the

ideas in brief of one of the ablest and most fluent exponents of Socialism in the United States, Bishop Spargo.

The saying attributed to Jesus "I if I be lifted up will draw all men unto me" has been cited many times as a proof of the sublime faith of Jesus. Likewise Bishop Spargo holds it may be said of the Socialistic movement, that its adherents have a sublime faith in the power of their ideal to draw and unite all men regardless of race, color, and creed. To the Wage worker Socialism means economic deliverance, to the professor Socialism is a great liberator of the mind, to the religious man it makes the religious life possible which is every where killed by Capitalism. Life under Capitalism is all bound down to the Ledger accounts of Profit and Loss. There is no individual salvation from social evils. Under Capitalism the ethical heart of religion dies and faith degenerates into a cold, barren, futile creed of formulas for vain and fruitless sermons. Many a religious enthusiast turns to Socialism and finds in ^{its} teachings inspiration, solace and hope. To such a believer Socialism appears as a great vital and vitalizing religious principle. The woman looks to Socialism for the break-down of the last remnants of her servitude and the triumph of sex equality. The Artist looks to Socialism as the only hope for the life beautiful. The Socialist though emphasizing the material really gives his life for others than himself. Socialism he holds really does away with class rule and thus is essentially a spiritual struggle. Socialism is a profound faith in the brotherhood of man. Its spirit cries out:

I am Religion and the Church I build

Stands on the sacred flesh with passion packed

In me the ancient Gospels are fulfilled

In me the symbol rises into fact.

The religions of the world he claims have not united mankind but Socialism unites men and women of all nations of the world into one great political movement and this he considers one of the greatest spiritual forces of the world. The Socialists hurl investives against Churchanity, not against Jesus, they believe in humanity, and also that the Christian church has been arraigned at the bar of conscience and intelligence of the masses, has been weighed in the balances and found wanting. In our time the greatest force for the consummation of that highest Ideal common to all the great religions of the world is, they hold, centered in a movement outside of synagogues, temples, and churches. Faith abounds only in the socialist movement. The churches have for the most part, lost all their social ideals and their faith, because dogma has usurped the place of religion. Socialism he claims is reaching the synagogue and the church with its challenge. Modern Socialism is tracing in letters of fire against the sky the world's protest against a religion which means less than justice and righteousness. The faith of the Socialist in the ultimate triumph is invincible. They even believe that "the stars in their courses" fight for Socialism. To free the wage worker from economic exploitation is the immediate aim of Socialism but it is not the sole aim. It is not the end but the means to an end which is far higher, the liberation of the human soul. Modern Socialism means equality of opportunity for every child born into the world. It aims to put an end to those economic conditions which makes the cry of a human child bearing the Divine imprint of less importance than the cry of a machine, force the mother to leave her babe in order to become a wage slave, servitor of the

8

machine and compel the child to enter into industrial competition with its father. The Socialistic parties of the world all declare religious belief or non-belief to be a private matter. Religion they claim is an effort of man to relate himself to the universe and to interpret its forces which must change as knowledge increases. Socialism is the embodiment of the two great ideals of Judaism and Christianity; Justice and Brotherhood.

(c) (1) Its hostility to the Church.

Karl Marx.

"The evident proof of the Radicalism of the German theory and thus of its radical energy is its starting point from the decisive and positive abolition of religion. The idea of God must be destroyed. It is the keystone of a perverted civilization."

Madame Helon

"My religion is Socialism, and it alone is truth, morality, justice brotherhood. Down with the priests of every robe and hue. The first reform to be accomplished is to change all the Churches into good habitations for working men."

Proudhon

"God is the evil."

F. Engels.

"The first word of religion is a lie."

Herr Most in a speech in Berlin and was applauded :

"The Social Democracy knows that the days of Christianity are numbered."

Rea :

"We are not atheists but we are simply done with God."

Sombart :

" The proletarian movement is doubtless strongly anti-religious.

Schaeffle ;

"Socialists pronounce the church to be a police institution in the hands of capital and they affirm that it cheats the proletariat by bills of exchange on heaven." It deserves to perish.

Levelege ;

"We have heard enough of your promised heavenly joys. We will cash no more bills on another world. It is in this world we wish to have happiness."

The Pittsburg Manifesto of the International Working People's association contain this sentence. "The church finally seeks to make idiots out of the masses and to make them forego the Paradise on earth by promising them a fictitious heaven."

While many may regret the death of Ferrer, his principles were decidedly anarchistic, hostile to government, and to the Christian religion. He taught on tablets among others.

1. The cause of all injustices suffered by men whether privileged or disinterested is found in the belief in a supernatural Being, and in the relations between men established by that religion.

2. The flag is a rag of various colors attached to a staff the symbol of tyranny and misery.

3. Property has been acquired by spoliation and theft under the designations of industry and commerce.

The writer in closing on the hostility of Socialism to the Church shall quote the case of P. E. Burrows, New York an Irishman, a Socialist leader, and writer : He changed his religion nine times Roman Catholic, Episcopalian, Darbyite, Salvationist, Methodist, Unitarian, Congregationalist, Presbyterian and while in Egypt was disposed to be a Mohammedan. Later he was disposed to be a socialist.

6

he renounced all theological dogma and lost all belief in personal immortality and Socialism became his religion.

Socialism is thus antagonistic to Christianity in as much as it has allied itself with materialism and atheism in assuming that man's chief end is merely a happy social life on earth, in attaching more importance to the condition of men than to their character, and also in doing injustice to the rights of individuality.

(2) Socialism in harmony with the church.

1. It is in all its forms the manifestation of a desire to know the laws of social life, and the conditions of social welfare.
2. It has assailed the competency of the older political economy to guide and govern society.
3. It has helped to emphasize and diffuse the truth that the entire economic life of society should be conformed to Justice.
4. Socialism is to a considerable extent an embodiment of belief in the brotherhood of man.
5. The lively sense of evils arising from competition and the strong desire to substitute for it co-operation in harmony with the spirit of Christianity.

(3) The Church's proper attitude.

What the church may do to help solve the problem.

1. Stay with the people, come into personal touch with them by benevolent activity.
2. By adapting herself to the needs of the age, by practising what it preaches, by removing class prejudices, and urging on co-operation.

3. Men of wealth should be taught the obligation and responsibility of stewardship. This includes kindly interest, courtesy, and human sympathy.
4. The minister should study the conditions of the laboring class learn the treatment accorded them by their employers, and if urging exists use their influence to right it. The church should teach justice to employer and employed, and do something besides talk, Preach, teach, and live love to all mankind regardless of conditions and the people will be won.
5. The real mission of the church is a moral one, and the greatest need of the laboring classes to rise to better conditions, is a development of ethical consciousness that labor can in a large measure save itself socially by self-improvement.

General Conclusion:

52 A. The most serious objections to the adoption of Revolutionary Socialism.

1. Tendency to Revolutionary dissatisfaction.
2. Difficulties in the way of organization of several important factors of production.
3. Difficulties in the way of determining any standard of distributive justice.
4. Danger in under estimation of requirements of those persons in higher pursuits.
5. Danger in being too optimistic with regard to the future and too pessimistic with regard to the present.
6. Danger to Socialist in having his mind fixed upon economic liberty rather than political liberty.
7. Difficulty in maintaining equilibrium between Supply and Demand.
8. Difficulty in allotting men and women of society to their various spheres.
9. Socialism is a purely working class movement not an "all class" movement, appeal to self-interest of masses not sufficient.
10. By abolishing social rewards and punishments, thus removing the stimulus of emulation it neither holds out any hope to the industrious nor does it excite any fear in the indolent.
11. It makes human happiness too much dependent on material gratifications, robs man of the energy of ambition it appeals to the self-interest of men for its popularity and changes the religious basis of the home to a secular and state basis.

B. Strong points for the adoption of Revolutionary Socialism.

1. State ownership has seldom or ever reverted back to private hands.
2. English, American, German, and French working men have proved themselves capable of co-operation. Industry is being concentrated.
3. Government corruption has been due to good men leaving politics alone. This would not happen under Socialism.
4. The corruption has become politically a corrupting power. No corporations would exist under Socialism.
5. Asserted increased cost and inefficiency of all work undertaken by the government is due to the fact that the governments decline to pay the low wages for long hours that many corporations pay, and the private companies do only what pays, whereas the governments have to do what does not pay.
6. Socialism is not state Socialism except where the state is democratic and the submission of the individual is only that of a co-operator, amongst a body of co-operators in which he has a voice.
7. Under Socialism there would be far less compulsion than under the present system of ~~competition~~ competition.
8. The problem of population and no competition Socialists hold would be solved by raising the state of industry and art, and still more by due checks on population.
9. When the working man received the full reward of his toil, the material work of the world could be done by each working only a few hours every day.
10. The Socialist movement does not forget or entirely ignore personal character.

After having studied carefully the merits and demerits of Revolutionary Socialism has come to the following impartial conclusion.

The Ideals of Socialism in the main are Christian. Co-operation is Christian. But the philosophy of Socialism is vulnerable in one vital place. This is where Proverbs 26:23 is applicable. "An earthen vessel overlaid with silver dross." Its Ideals are the silver that plates an earthen philosophy. Socialism has put the silver dross of its fine dreams over the brittle clay of mankind and called it silver, but one has only to scratch through the silver coating to find the clay. The program is all right but the people who are to render it are faulty. The play is well written but the players are a poor lot. If the Socialist could only prove that selfishness is due to environment, then his philosophy would be silver as well as his Ideal. We can blame environment for much that is wrong in the world but selfishness and a perverse human nature are found where the environment is all that one could wish. We honor the Socialist in his splendid faith in mankind and for his splendid optimism, but his optimism is misplaced as there is something inherently wrong in the nature of mankind apart from environment. As a reactionary influence Revolutionary Socialism may be cordially recommended but the Kingdom of God, the happy millennium age can only come through the combined efforts of personally regenerated men, not through atheism and materialism which characterize the real revolutionary Socialism of this age.

Page. 58. Length betw. 17000, and 18000 words. Writer not responsible for mistakes in typing.

W. J. McIvor. '09. Man. College.

5
B. Strong points for the adoption of Revolutionary Socialism.

1. State ownership has seldom or ever reverted back to private hands.
2. English, American, German, and French working men have proved themselves capable of co-operation. Industry is being concentrated.
3. Government corruption has been due to good men leaving politics alone. This would not happen under Socialism.
4. The corruption has become politically a corrupting power. No corporations would exist under Socialism.
5. Asserted increased cost and inefficiency of all work undertaken by the government is due to the fact that the governments decline to pay the low wages for long hours that many corporations pay, and the private companies do only what pays, whereas the governments have to do what does not pay.
6. Socialism is not state Socialism except where the state is democratic and the submission of the individual is only that of a co-operator, amongst a body of co-operators in which he has a voice.
7. Under Socialism there would be far less compulsion than under the present system of taxation and obligation.
8. The problem of population and no competition Socialists hold would be solved by raising the state of industry and art, and still more by due checks on population.
9. When the working man received the full reward of his toil, the material work of the world could be done by each working only a few hours every day.
10. The Socialist movement does not forget or entirely ignore personal character.

The writer having studied carefully the merits and demerits of Revolutionary Socialism has come to the following impartial conclusion.

The Ideals of Socialism in the main are Christian. Co-operation is Christian. But the philosophy of Socialism is vulnerable in one vital place. This is where Proverbs 26:23 is applicable. "An earthen vessel overlaid with silver dross." Its Ideals are the silver that plates an earthen philosophy. Socialism has put the silver dross of its fine dreams over the brittle clay of mankind and called it silver, but one has only to scratch through the silver coating to find the clay. The program is all right but the people who are to render it are faulty. The play is well written but the players are a poor lot. If the Socialist could only prove that selfishness is due to environment, then his philosophy would be silver as well as his Ideal. We can blame environment for much that is wrong in the world but selfishness and a perverse human nature are found where the environment is all that one could wish. We honor the Socialist in his splendid faith in mankind and for his splendid optimism, but his optimism is misplaced as there is something inherently wrong in the nature of mankind apart from environment. As a reactionary influence Revolutionary Socialism may be cordially recommended but the Kingdom of God, the happy millennium age can only come through the combined efforts of personally regenerated men, not through atheism and materialism which characterize the real revolutionary Socialism of this age.

Pages 58. Length. Betw 17000-18000 words. Writer - not resp onible for mistakes in typing
Wm J. McE Ivor 209. Manitoba College.