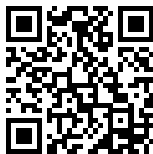


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No. 1.

# What is Christian Socialism?

BY

REV. W. D. P. BLISS.



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"Let no man seek his own, but each his neighbor's good."—*St. Paul.*

"Every Christian who understands and earnestly accepts the teachings of the Master, is at heart a Socialist, and every Socialist, whatever may be his hatred against all religion, bears within himself an unconscious Christianity."—*Prof. Emile De Laveleye.*

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## WHAT IS CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM?

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The object of this tract is plainly, exactly, concisely, to answer the question "What is Christian Socialism?" People need to-day not general statements that something is wrong, but definite statements of exactly what to do. Clear thinking and plain words we need to-day.

We consider our subject under four heads:

- I. What Christian Socialism is not.
- II. What Christian Socialism is.
  - A. Historically.
  - B. To-day.
- III. Objections to Christian Socialism.
- IV. What Christian Socialists propose to do.

We follow this order, asking first what Christian Socialism is not, in order to avoid all misconception, then to show what Christian Socialism is, next to answer objections, and, finally, to see how it may be striven for.

## I. WHAT CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM IS NOT.

*First. It is not an attempt to reduce society to any one ideal system.* This cannot and should not be done. Life demands freedom, variety, change. Christian Socialists believe in life; they believe in true individual freedom. Christian Socialism is not Looking Backwardism, nor Fourierism, nor Gronlundism. It is no man's system. Said Frederick Dennison Maurice: "God's order seems to me more than ever the antagonist of man's systems." Christian Socialism is society conforming to a beneficent, free and divine order, not reduced to any narrow system.

*Secondly. Christian Socialism is not a mere vague Utopia.* Much so called socialism is vague, negative, denunciatory. This is not the case with Christian Socialism. It sees gigantic evils in the present conditions of society, but it believes that the best way, and the scientific way, to overcome those evils is not by denunciation and destruction, but by gradual reform and by construction. Christian Socialists believe in progress. They believe in the nineteenth century; they believe it the best century we have had yet; only they believe that the twentieth century will be better, and the twenty-first better still. They would not tear down the present so much as build up the future. The future, they believe, lies in the

direction of association. Therefore, in contradistinction from many other reformers, they would welcome all that is good to-day, all that looks toward the future, co-operation, profit sharing, trades unions, the eight hour movement, association of all kinds, ballot reform, civil service reform, land reform. Through all these practical, gradual immediate reforms, positively, scientifically, constructively, we would press towards the future. That must come gradually and freely which comes to stay. Life withers in a strait-jacket.

*Thirdly. Christian Socialism is not Communism, in the sense of having all things common. It is communism in the sense in which the word is technically used for municipal or township Socialism.*

Christian Socialists believe in every man's having his own house, his own home, his own furnishings, his own personal belongings, his own ancestral and family effects, his own money (to spend as he will, except in investment to make more money). Some Christian Socialists believe in every man's having his own bit of land, for use (not of course for investment or speculation). The family, Christian Socialism not only would preserve, but would exalt, making the family the unit of social life.

*Fourthly. Christian Socialism is not an assault upon the rich.*

Christian Socialists sympathize with the poor more than with the rich. "Justice from God to those whom men oppress. Glory to God from those whom men despise,"—this is the key-note to the Bible and to Christian Socialism. Yet Christian Socialists do not assault the rich. Like all Socialists they see in the rich, simply the inevitable result of our present system. One-eighteen-hundredth of our population says Mr. T. G. Shearman, own three-fifths of the wealth of this land—that is they control the land.

But this is not strange. The only strange thing about it is, that men should be surprised to find it so; it is the inevitable result of present business methods. When business is based upon competition, each man for himself, each company for itself, some must inevitably make more money than others. Men are not equals in ability. The strong, the smart, the far-sighted, the shrewd, often, too, the selfish, the unscrupulous, the dishonest, come to the front. Once having obtained the lead, they increase it. Money brings forth more money. Able to buy up the best land, the best building sites, the best natural resources, able to command limitless capital for large plant and vast enterprise, able to sell only when they can sell at advantage, able to gradually crush out or absorb their weaker rivals, they become the lords of the market, kings of capital, the true rulers

of this land. Now this being the result of competition, it is as idle, while competition lasts, to rail against the rich, the result of that competition, as to leave the moon in heaven and then blame the waves for following the moon. A Jay Gould and the peanut vender on the corner, act largely on the same principles, one simply on a larger scale and a little more shrewdly than the other. You have no right to condemn the one for carrying out successfully, the principles, you do not condemn the humbler merchant for unsuccessfully essaying to carry out. Says a Socialist paper, "You should no more hate a millionaire, for being a millionaire, than you should despise a poor man for being poor. What you should hate is this awful social system, which well-nigh compels men to be selfish, grinding, cruel, not only in order to get rich, but in order to keep in business at all." Rich men, Christian Socialists regard as simply the head slaves of their own system.

• *Lastly. Christian Socialism is not the foe, but the friend of individuality.*

We will not dwell upon this now. We shall see it better when we see what Christian Socialism is. At present we would simply say that Christian Socialism would not oppose but would develop a true Individuality. Said John Stuart Mill, "The problem is how to unite the greatest individual

liberty of action with the common ownership of the raw material of the globe, and an equal participation of the results of combined labor." We come, then, now to ask

## II. WHAT CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM IS.

### (A) HISTORICALLY.

We consider it first historically, for the term Christian Socialism should really be used in two senses, historically, to include all those who have called themselves Christian Socialists, and, secondly, more exactly, to mean those principles which are held by Christian Socialists to-day.

Christian Socialism has a history. At sundry times, and in diverse manners, it has made its appearance by the prophets. It began, as is well-known, in England, forty years ago, under the leadership of Maurice and Kingsley, the well-known clergyman of the Church of England, with such laymen as J. M. Ludlow, Thomas Hughes (Tom Brown), and E. Vansittart Neale. These men meant by Christian Socialism in practical application little more than co-operation, co-operative association, productive and distributive. Writes Thomas Hughes, "I certainly thought (and, for that matter, have not yet altered my opinion to this day), that we had found the solution of the great labor question; but I

was also convinced that we had nothing to do but just to announce it, and found an association or two, in order to convert all England, and usher in the millenium at once." They were in this quickly undeceived. Not thus are milleniums ushered in. The movement, as an organized movement, did not long endure; the little journal they began was soon discontinued; their associations gradually failed or passed into the Rochdale co-operative movement; but their thought lived,—“The Fatherhood of God; the Brotherhood of Man;” the possibility and the duty of applying this in daily life; combination instead of competition; co-operation instead of the wage system, these were their thoughts and they endured. “Yeast,” and “Alton Locke,” the writings of Charles Kingsley, the deep thinking of Maurice, the master, carried these teachings to every thoughtful mind. There exist to-day in England three societies based upon these principles, and one successful journal called the “Christian Socialist.”

In France Christian Socialism has been more mediæval in its tone, striving to revive the mediæval guild. St. Simon, Lammennais, Lacordaire, Le Play, Leclaire, the founder of the great co-operative Maison Leclaire, have all been called French Christian Socialists. Ultramontaines, Gallicans, Roman Catholics, and Protestants, have all

been Christian Socialists in France. In Germany it has come near to imperial State Socialism. It includes the names of Baader, Huber, Ketteler, the noble Roman Catholic Bishop of Mayence, the Protestant Pastor Todd, Prof. Wagner, Meyer, the historian, Stocker, the court chaplain; socialists of the chair, of the church, and of the court.

"The Scandinavian North," says Kaufman, in his "Christian Socialism," suggests the venerable figure of the Bishop of Zealand with his "Christianity and Socialism, a fragment of Christian ethics." Belgium reminds us of Charles Perin and Prof. Emile de Laveleye, the noble Christian economist and socialist. Austria points to Baron von Vogelsang, Italy to Raphaele Mariano, and perhaps we should add, to the great name of Mazzini.

In America, Christian Socialism, owing undoubtedly to economic conditions, has had a later development. Until recently, any who would could work. For poverty there was small excuse; for pauperism there was none. Who could not find work in one place, or in one occupation, could find it in another. But to-day, with thousands of men in Massachusetts alone, according to Carroll D. Wright, able and willing to work, but finding no work to do; with farms profitless in the west and in the east: with large capitals eating up small ones, large stores devouring

small stores, large factories small factories, Christian Socialism has none too early put in its appearance. There have long been those in our land who have looked this way. Many of the participants in the Brook Farm and the early Fourier experiments acted on motives largely those of Christian Socialism. As early as 1849, Henry James, Sr., in a lecture delivered in Boston, argued the identity of Christianity and Socialism. The Rev. Jesse Jones from 1874-75 published a paper in Boston called the "Equity," really a paper of Christian Socialism. The writings of the Rev. R. Heber Newton, D. D., of Drs. Lyman Abbott, Rylance, Washington Gladden, Prof. R. T. Ely, are well known. Yet were there no Christian Socialists, so-called, in America till our own organization was effected in Boston this last May.

Such is a brief review of Christian Socialism in different countries. And all through history there have been those who, without the name, have advocated many of the principles of Christian Socialism. We remember the sermons of noble Latimer, the brave words of John Ball, the socialistic Lollardry of Wycliffe's priests; we should not forget the Anabaptists of Germany, before they developed their fanatical excesses, the Brethren of the Common Lot, the Waldenses, the Albigenses; we recall the politico-re-

ligious preaching of Savanarola, and of Arnold of Briscia, Dante's *De Monarchia*, and Augustine's *Civitas Dei*; we are borne back to the primitive religious communism of the early Christians in the catacombs at Rome, and in the upper chamber at Jerusalem; we are not unmindful of the socialistic theocracy of the Jewish church and the Jewish prophets; we turn above all else to Him who has been called "the first Christian Socialist," the Carpenter of Nazareth. Our subject grows historic, and grows divine with parentage like this; yet all these, and many more, of whom this world was not worthy, have believed, and lived and died in the belief, in "a better country," a Realm of Love, a Kingdom of Heaven upon this earth. Such is in brief the history of Christian Socialism.

But to-day we must be more exact. We consider

#### B. CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM TO-DAY.

##### (1) RELIGIOUSLY.

##### *First It is Applied Christianity.*

It is religious first. It does not believe that society can be "made anew by arrangements"; it believes that it is to be regenerated "by finding the law and ground of its order and harmony, the only secret of its existence in God;"—these words of Maurice state the view of all Christian Socialists. Men say,

"business is a fight," "if any man is not well off, he should go in for self and make money." Christian Socialists call this Mammonism, the opposite of Brotherhood, the opposite of Love, the opposite of Christianity. And the *cause* of this they say is that men have forgotten God; or if they remember God in creeds, that they have ignored him in their deeds. "The beginning and the end of what is the matter with us in these days," said Carlyle, "is that we have forgotten God." If we had remembered Him we should never have forgotten that men are brothers. The thing society needs to do, say Christian Socialists, is to return to God. We need religious Socialism. "There can be no Brotherhood without a common Father." The law of love must become the law of trade. The Golden Rule must be made the rule for Gold. "Competition," said Maurice, "is put forth as the law of the universe. This is a lie. The time is come to declare it is a lie by word and deed." It is not a matter of rhetoric, but of deepest conviction, that Christian Socialists take the name of Christian. "Oh, my Italy," cried Savonarola, "nothing can save thee but Christ," and Christian Socialists of ever land and every age repeat the same.

Our views of Christ, our conceptions of Christianity may be very different. We use the words in no

narrow theological sense, but all Christian Socialists agree that in some way, in some sense, we must apply the Sermon on the Mount, the spirit of the cross to the construction of society. The fundamental principle of Christian Socialism is "The Fatherhood of God, and the Brotherhood of man, in the spirit and according to the teachings of Jesus Christ."

*Secondly. Christian Socialism is the application of the law of sacrifice.*

Self interest is "the pivot of social action." This is worldliness. "That self interest is a law of human nature, I know well," said Charles Kingsley. "That it ought to be the root law of human society, I deny, unless society is to sink down again into a Roman empire, and a cage of wild beasts." Sacrifice, not self-interest, Christian Socialists would make the pivot of social action. This is Christianity: "Whosoever would be chief among you, let him be servant of all." "Let no man seek his own, but each his neighbors good." What is that but an explicit condemnation of self seeking in business? "Bear ye one anothers burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ."

And we do not thus lose individuality. "Who loseth his life shall find it." This is Christianity and history. Who are the great of time, the individuals of history? Are they those who have pushed for

number one, or those who have sacrificed for the good of all, Guatama, Confucius, Moses, Joshua, Paul, St. Francis, St. Elizabeth, Luther, Knox, Washington, Lafayette, Lincoln, John Brown, Livingstone? Are not these the truest individualities of history? They gained their individuality not by pushing for self but by seeking the good of all. This would be the aim of Christian Socialism.

*Thirdly. Christian Socialism is Christianity applied to Social Order.*

"The business for which God sends a Christian priest in a Christian nation" said Kingsley, "is to preach freedom, equality, and brotherhood in the fullest, deepest, widest meaning of those words." But Christ, you say, did not do this; he did not speak of systems; He did not make much of institutions; He did not talk of Social Order. No, neither did He denounce slavery, oppose intemperance or decry war. Has the church no message to deliver upon these great themes? Christ, however, did address Himself to more than the individual. He spoke to the social in man. He came to found a kingdom. He preached a Social Gospel. Jesus Christ was the seed-sower. It is for us to reap. The principles that He taught we must apply to human life in all its branches. It is folly to say that Christians have nothing to do with political economy, nothing to do with institu-

tions. What is political economy but the science of human relations? What are institutions but the environment which goes to mould human character? Has Christianity no bearing on social relations? Can Christianity afford to ignore the power of environment? Environment is not everything, but it counts for much.

If a Christian family find their house full of sewer gas, do they say, "all that we need is change of individual heart, not change of drainage?" Would we not call a family taking this position, rearing children in such an atmosphere, fanatical, irrational, criminal? Good drainage does not make life, but it counts for something; environment is not all, but it is something. Our cities to-day are filling with moral sewer gas. Shall we say all that Christians need to do is to preach individual character? Is the real question to-day how to develop character in the atmosphere of slums, purity in conditions where modesty is impossible, temperance among children nurtured among saloons, or is it so to order our social life, that there shall be no slums, that every family may have a modest home, that every child may have a chance to grow in character.

Jesus Christ summed up the law and the prophets in two commandments, the first, love to God, and the second, equal to it, love to man. "The Church"

says Prof. Ely, "has carefully developed the science of the first commandment, love to God, or theology; it should now as carefully and scientifically develop the study of the second commandment, love to man, or sociology." This means hard work. "It is not easy to love thy neighbour as thyself. I do not suppose," says Prof. Ely, "that the Almighty intended it should be easy. The question arises, How am I to show my love for my fellow-men? How am I, as a follower of Christ, to conduct myself in the industrial world? What are my duties as employer, as landlord or tenant, as creditor or debtor? What position should I take on the land question, on the subject of labor organization, on the other aspects of the great labor problems? What force have the regulations of the Old Testament concerning business for me now? What about such a matter as interest on money—usury—which, as every one knows, in the Bible means interest, not excessive interest as now, but any interest at all?"

"We cannot love our fellows effectively unless we give them our mind. We must devote ourselves long and carefully to the study of the science of human happiness, social science. This second branch of the gospel of Christ, so long neglected, ought to be pursued with equal earnestness, with equal diligence, by Christians, with theology." Christian

Socialism is the application of Christianity to Social Order.

We are now then ready to consider Christian Socialism.

(2) ECONOMICALLY.

*First. It is the application of Christianity to Social order on the lines of essential scientific Socialism, that is, of a Socialism stripped of all those accidental and undesirable features which have too often marred the name of Socialist.*

This was the position of the founders of Christian Socialism. Said their official organ, "a new idea has gone abroad into the world. That Socialism and Christianity are in their nature not hostile, but akin to each other; or rather that the one is but the development, the outgrowth, the manifestation of the other." They went even so far as to call Socialism "The Nineteenth Century livery of Christianity." Such was the Christian Socialism of Maurice and of Kingsley, and so hold Christian Socialists to-day. Religion and Science go together. Says a modern scientist, "The pioneers of theology, philosophy and science, having come up different sides of the mountain of thought and research, are now looking each other squarely in the face at the top." Christian Socialism is the union of Christianity and essential scientific Socialism.

*Secondly. Scientific Socialism—What is it?*

It is something perfectly clear, perfectly definite. Any encyclopedia will tell you. Not to know in these days, as Sydney Webb has well pointed out, is simply intellectual laziness. Says Prof. Schaeffle, perhaps the best authority there is, "The Alpha and Omega of Socialism is the transformation of private and competing capitals into a united collective capital." Says Kirkup, the author of the article on "Socialism" in the Encyclopedia Britannica, "Whereas industry is at the present carried on by private capitalists, served by wage labor, it must in the future be conducted by associated or co-operating workmen, jointly owning the means of production. On grounds both of theory and history this must be accepted as the cardinal principle of Socialism."

Now, whatever we think of this, it is perfectly clear, perfectly definite. Christian Socialism is such Socialism in the name and according to the spirit of Jesus Christ. To use the term of anything less definite than this is to lose ourselves in endless misconceptions, and to employ a term we have no right to use. Let us therefore adopt this definition and expand it.

"The transformation of private and competing capital, into a united and collective capital." What is the meaning of this? Economic combination

or co-operation. Notice that we say economic combination. Socialism would not do away with all competition, only with economic competition.

And this is nothing new. Says Prof. Kirkup, "Socialism is only a form of a very old principle, that of social union, or association, applied to the facts and conditions of the nineteenth century."

Says Mr. S. C. T. Dodd of New York City, "The evolution of society is the evolution of co-operation." This is all that Socialism is, what Mr. Dodd calls civilization. Only Socialism is logical and consistent and universal co-operation. It does not mean merely the founding of a co-operative or profit-sharing association or two, where a few men bind themselves together to fight against other co-operative associations, and divide the plunder. Socialism means ultimately and scientifically stopping all the fighting, universal co-operation, a co-operative civilization.

*Thirdly. This must be democratically conceived.*

Socialism is brotherhood. Undemocratic Socialism is a contradiction. Socialism, by its derivation, by its history, by its essence, is fraternal. It is the science of brotherhood.

And notice that we have not said State Socialism. Socialism is not of necessity State Socialism. It all depends on what you mean by the word State. If

the State is democratic, State Socialism is all right; if the State be not truly democratic, State Socialism is all wrong. Bismarck is not a Socialist. He is sometimes called one, because he believes in State insurance, in State activities, in place of individual action. But this is not Socialism. It is Statism. Expanding the power of the State is not Socialism. If it were, the Czar of Russia, the Sultan of Turkey, the Autocrat of Tartary, would be the greatest Socialists: they most believe in expanding the power of the State. But this is a "reductio ad absurdum." Socialism is essentially democratic. The expansion of the State is Socialistic only when the State is the people, a true democracy, the organic unity of the whole people. To call Bismarck's imperialism Socialism is an insult to every Socialist. Karl Marx not Von Bismarck, is the true Socialist of Germany.

Here in America then, should we extend the power of present government? Only partially so. Our American governments (National, State or Municipal) are democratic only in name. The Nationalist manifesto has called our State government here in Massachusetts, "a government of money, for money, and by money." Is it Socialism to extend the power "of money, for money, and by money?"

As for our National government. We hear our Senate called a club of millionaires; the House a col-

lection of statesmen unacquainted with statesmanship, of wire-pullers, and attorneys and retainers of railroads, and trusts, and great corporations. There are honest congressmen and politicians, but they do not rule in government. The work of Congress is carried on mainly in committees, unseen by the public eye. These are too often dark pockets, out of which legislation only issues, when they are lined with gold. Is it Socialism to turn industry over to the control of Plutocrats? Or take our Municipal Governments,—Prof. Bryce, calls the corruption of these, the main failure of our American political development. Verily, here in America, Socialists must be careful in turning business over to the hands of such a government. We must ever put reform in government along with extension of government. Probably ere long in a new party we must see that government be the people.

Socialism is democratic association. Its conception of the true Social state is not that of an industrial army, implying constraint, force, but of a body—an organism,—“not a mechanical whole in which difference is suppressed, nor a mere aggregation of individual units, but in the true sense of the word an organism in which the unity of the whole is built on the relatively independent life of every part, and the independent life of every part nourishes and

maintains itself through its connection with the whole body,"—this is the scientific conception of the social state.

*Fourthly. It is a perfectly Anglo-Saxon conception.*

Representative government, the autonomy of the township, the federation of the township into the State, and of States and townships into a federated whole, the American idea in government, Socialists would apply to industry and to trade. Socialism is democracy in business.

The exact form that this industrial democracy will assume, no one can foretell. The only sure thing is that it will not be exactly any man's present conception of it. History develops its own forms. Society crystalizes on its own lines. In some way the local organization of business both in production or distribution, will democratically contrall its own affairs and yet through its chosen representatives be united with other local organizations into State and National Trade Boards and Federations,—these finally being bound into one federated industrial whole. Capital will be held and controlled and operated by these industrial democracies ; private trade, individual making industrial war upon other individuals will no more be allowed, than a citizen of Boston s now allowed to bear arms against a citizen of

Cambridge. Individuality will not cease, but be bound with other individualities into one peaceful harmonious industrial liberty, based upon democratically enacted law. Even the right of private initiative will not be so much abridged as guided into state lines, as the individual to day writes his private letter and drops it into the State Post-office.

Land in so far as it is capital will be made public like all capital, but every citizen will be allowed a portion for use and in perpetuity, to be taken from him by none and to be bequeathed by him to his children so long as the due-tax is paid by the estate. Some System like this will Socialism develope, though Socialism itself is not a system, but the application of organized brotherhood in any system. Says Sidney Webb: "It seems almost impossible to bring people to understand, that the abstract word 'Socialism' denotes like Radicalism, not an elaborate plan of Society, but a principle of social action. Socialism inevitably suffers if identified with any particular scheme, or even with the best vision we can yet form of collectivism itself. People become so much concerned with details that they miss the principle; 'they cannot see the forest for the trees.' The moment will never come when we can say 'Now Socialism is established.'" Socialism is simply the principle of Association to be applied with other

principles more and more and forever to Social Life.

Christian Socialism is this in the name and spirit and according to the teachings of Jesus Christ.

### III. OBJECTIONS TO CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM.

*First. Christian Socialism visionary, ideal, impracticable.*

This depends on what you mean by Christian Socialism. If you mean an immediate, elaborate, systematizing of society, Christian Socialism is undoubtedly impracticable. But this, as we have shown, is exactly what Christian Socialism does not mean. Christian Socialism is the gradual application of the principle of Association to business in place of competition. This people will not remember. Prof. Ely says, "There is about as much prospect of a realization of the socialist's dream in our day as there is that New Hampshire farmers will harvest their grain in January." But Prof. Ely notoriously advocates the municipalization of the lighting and heating of cities, and the nationalization of railroads and the telegraph, and thinks most of these measures practicable now; many of our best economists, men like Profs. H. C. Adams and E. J. James, agree with him. If this is not Socialism, what is it? At Harvard and in most scientific circles, Prof. Ely is rightly called a Socialist. Prof. Ely does not call himself

one, because the name has been so often connected with social quackery and ignorance, but true scientific, cautious Socialism is practicable to-day, on Prof. Ely's own admission. Says Prof. Adams, "The authority of English economics (each for himself), is shattered beyond recovery." Says Prof. Walker, "Socialism was never stronger than now."

In England they are bolder. Says Sidney Webb, Lecturer on Economics at the City of London College, "When the editor of the Encyclopedia Britannica lately required from some eminent economist, an article on Political Economy, fully representing the present position of that science, it was to an avowed Socialist that he addressed himself, and that article took the form of an elaborate survey of the inevitable convergence of all the economic tendencies towards Socialism. . . . One of the University Extension Societies lately found some difficulty in obtaining young economist lecturers sufficiently free from what some of its older members thought the Socialistic taint. And this is not to be wondered at, when we learn that Prof. Marshall (Professor of Political Economy at Cambridge) has at various times declared himself a Socialist, and when we find Prof. Sedgwick (Professor of Moral Philosophy at the same University) contributing an article to the Contemporary Review, to prove that "the main principles

of Socialism are a plain deduction from accepted economic doctrines." Says Prof. Schaeffle, "The future belongs to a purified Socialism."

But we need not go to the Economists. Socialism is in our midst. Every Trust formed is a concession to the practicability and the necessity of Socialism. Trusts show how competition inevitably results in combination, and how large interests stretching across a continent, can be conducted by a single organization. Socialism would be a trust, only a democratic one. Trusts have come to stay: they may change their name or their form a hundred times, to evade or to fulfill the requirements of the law, but the thing has come to stay. Capital has learned the advantage of combination. That lesson it will not unlearn. History does not evolve backwards. Railroads do not become stage coaches. Combination has the future. The only question is, shall it be plutocratic or democratic; Socialism or Jay Gould, this is the choice.

We see, too, to-day a tendency to extend the power of government. We see it in every factory law of the General Court of Massachusetts, and in the new constitutions of Dakota and the State of Washington. "Friends of Government," Edward Everett Hale calls the Nationalists.

And people who think Socialism unpracticable forget

what an amount of Socialism we have to-day. Our Public Schools and Libraries, our State Universities, Hospitals, Asylums, Reformatories, our Postal Service, every Court of Justice, the Signal Service, Coast Surveys, Labor Bureaus, Municipal Fire Departments, every factory act, every municipal health regulation, these and a hundred other things are purely socialistic.

But in England we see the fullest development of Socialism, especially of Municipal Socialism. Says Sydney Webb: "150,000 men in England to-day, besides the army and the navy, are in the employ of government. . . . In one part or another of England, to-day, government carries on telegraphing, expressage, coinage, the provision of weights and measures, the making, sweeping and lighting of streets, life insurance, annuity grants, shipbuilding, stockbroking, banking, farming, money lending. It provides for thousands midwifery, nursery, education, board, vaccination, medical attendance, public worship, amusements, burial. It furnishes and maintains museums, parks, galleries, libraries, concert halls, roads, markets, fire engines, lighthouses, pilots, ferries, lifeboats, cemeteries, piers, baths, wash-houses, pounds, harbors, hospitals, dispensaries, gas works, water works, tramways, allotments, cow meadows, artisans' dwellings, schools, churches, reading

rooms. It carries on researches in geology, meteorology, statistics, zoology, geography, and even theology." And yet people call Socialism impracticable. Mr. Webb describes the individualistic city councillor, who will spend a day among socialistic institutions, and not knowing that these are Socialism will say, "Socialism, sir! don't talk to a practical man about your fantastic absurdities." Our answer, then, to those who think Socialism impracticable is simply, "Look about you."

*Secondly. Socialism would fail because government is corrupt to-day, and would be more so if it controlled all things.*

But what makes government corrupt to-day? Is it not the power of money amassed in a few private hands? Is it not this that corrupts our parties, controls elections, bribes legislators, purchases legislature, not of necessity by open bribery, but just as truly and more effectively by making it the interest of electors and legislators to serve the interests of capital. Says Wendell Phillips: "In combining, perpetual, legalized private wealth, lies our danger to-day."

The rich men of this land are "our dangerous class." Newport and Saratoga, Lenox and Wall street, are the centres of our social and national corruption. Under Socialism, where all had a compe-

tence and none a superfluity, the cause of corrupt government would be largely removed. Public business, too, can always be better examined and controlled than private business. Even as it is to-day, government is purity itself beside the corruption and trickery of the private Western Union Telegraph Company, and most other private corporations.

But how about the appointing power,—would not that breed corruption where Government controlled so many offices? Under democratic Socialism, Government would not appoint. Overseers and department heads would not be appointed, but elected by the workers in the department. Good workmen would be known, and enterprise and diligence rewarded by higher office.

*Thirdly. Where is the capital to come from to carry on public works ?*

From where it comes to-day, from the workers; only it would go into the hands of Government, for the good of all, not into private pockets to be spent for diamonds and peach-blow vases. Of course we include among the workers, supervisors and directors. A good railroad manager earns his wages as truly as any day laborer. Socialists do not object to the wages of management. At the start, Socialists would not pay all men equally. "To every man according to his deeds," would be their motto. Later,

when men grow more capable of brotherhood, they would, perhaps, pay all men equally in material award, giving only increased honor to whom honor was due. Ability would be recognized, and the best men put as managers and directors. Socialists do not object to any salaries that are earned. They object to incomes that are not earned, fortunes made by speculation in land and in stocks, or by corners in pork and in grain. These "unearned increments" should be gradually taxed, on a sharply graded scale, into the public pocket. This would inaugurate and carry on all public works.

Socialism, too, would mean increased production. It would do away with the wastes of competition, two railroads where one would do; two stores where one is sufficient. By putting, also the unemployed (millionaires or paupers) to work, the working staff would be increased, while systematization would vastly increase production.

*Fourthly. Is not Socialism contrary to Individuality? Does not the pushing for number one, that we have to-day, whatever of evil it may entail, at least develop character, self-reliance, personal power,—moral results that vastly more than counterbalance any of the possible material good results of Socialism?*

This is undoubtedly the weightiest fear men have of Socialism. Herbert Spencer thinks that Socialism

is coming, and calls it "The Coming Slavery." People read "Looking Backward," and find in it a striking picture of an ideal state, but they think it lacks in life, variety, personality, and they say: "In place of that dead monotony, give me with all its drawbacks, the life, and push, and piquancy of the nineteenth century."

This is of infinite moment. If the objection is valid, let Socialism perish. No material gains can atone for loss of personal character. But is the objection valid? As for "Looking Backward," it pretends to be only a fanciful picture of the social state; it aims simply to awaken thought, to give people an idea of Socialism in the concrete. It probably does that work better than any book yet written. But it makes no attempt to present the life and personality that would attend Socialism. People simply criticize "Looking Backward" for not being everything. It is no criticism of a description to say that it is not a drama, any more than to blame a lake for not being a river. As for Herbert Spencer, Mr. Huxley has well answered him, showing that on the very principles of the evolutionary philosophy, Socialism would mean only a higher individuality. Socialism does not mean no struggling for existence; it means struggle, but upon a higher level than to-day. The struggle for existence has ever taken higher and higher

forms. Once, with rudest weapons or with naked hands, later with poisoned arrow or with hurtling spear, men fought for their existence. To-day men fight, not with physical weapons, not with poisoned arrows, but with poisoned groceries; with business sharpness and with trick of trade, they struggle to make money. The struggle for existence ceases not, it simply assumes a higher and less material form. Socialism would not end the strife, but simply lift it up one higher grade; men would contend not for money but for attainments in the arts, in science, in learning, in character. And in every grade the struggle for existence has produced individuality according to the nature of the struggle. Early warfare produced the giant, the physical individuality; later warfare, the great general, or the skilled warrior, an Alexander, a Richard Cœur de Leon. Business competition to-day produces a Rothschild, a Jay Gould. Struggles for higher aims under Socialism will produce a nobler individuality. We shall have a renaissance in art, a revival of learning, a reformation in religion. This is the law of evolution. The original constant warfare of mankind was turned into peace by the development of law, government and order. So to-day, law and order and government—Socialism—must end the anarchy of the mar-

ket, and lift men up to struggle, not for money but for character.

Socialism and Individuality are not contraries; nor are they principles to be applied to different things. They are complimentary principles to be applied to the same things. They may be well compared to the forces which rule the stellar world, Individuality, the mystic force which keeps the single planet moving on its God-appointed orbit; Socialism, the sacred harmony that keeps one planet from colliding with another. Socialism, without Individuality, would be dead, a system that did not move; Individuality, without Socialism, would be a universe with no order—chaos. It is to chaos that individualistic business tends. It must be supplanted by Socialism to bring into the business world the harmony of the spheres.

Therefore, we must be neither dogmatically, narrowly socialistic, nor individualistic; we must be both.

Prof. Caird has warned us against being carried away by either Socialism or Individualism. He says that those so carried away "will never do much good in building up the future. They will simply be parts of that mob, which is always carried away by the popular abstraction, and cries out to-day for social unity, as a century ago it cried out for individual liberty." Socialism and Individuality will

go together. Some one has called Christianity the synthesis of the two.

Those who fear that Socialism would check individuality, do not realize again how little true individuality we have to-day. On question of personal liberty, Mill surely may be allowed some weight, and Mill declares that "the restraints of Communism (he means what we mean by Socialism) would be freedom, in comparison with the present condition of the majority of the human race." Ninety-nine one-hundredths of mankind, even in civilized countries to-day, are fettered by their dependence upon money. Simply to live, painters paint pot-boilers, dramatists write dramas to fill the house, undertakers smirk and bow and scrape, reporters report "to suit," clergymen preach sermons that will "draw." Men, too, thus become dependent upon one another, the employee upon his employer, the store-keeper upon patrons, the clergyman upon his parishioners. If, by working a few hours a day, every man could earn an independent, honest income for himself and his family, as would be possible under Socialism, it would do more to develop free individuality than any possible amount of mere individualism.

It would also solve the woman question, by making woman financially independent of man, without ignoring the natural differences that must ever exist

between man and woman. It would re-discover married love in many a home, by taking the money question out of marriage.

But would it not make men lazy? No, for they could only be sure of an income if they worked. If a man who could, did not work, "neither should he eat." But would it not mean over-population, if every man was sure of a support for his children? Sufficient unto the day is the evil of this. The United States supports to-day sixty-five millions of people. Its agricultural interests alone, to say nothing of any other interests, or any other occupation, are capable of supporting one thousand millions.

Mr. Edward Atkinson says that we could double the sustaining power of our farms, by simply bringing all present farms up to the average productivity, to say nothing of new farms. Moreover, the productivity of mankind does not keep pace with development in civilization. God's laws may be trusted to care for all God's children that are born, provided only we keep God's law. Make marriage pure, abolish married lust and legal prostitution, and our children shall be as arrows in the hands of the mighty, and blessed will be the man that hath his quiver full of them. No; true democratic socialism is not paternal, but it would give all an education, all a chance,

and the best would come to the front. It would mean "Carriere ouverte aux talents."

*Lastly, men say, "There is no need of Socialism to-day; if any man is poor, it is his own fault."* Those who say this are usually those who have not much acquaintance with our working classes. They perhaps have known or heard of a few cases of shiftless idleness, and they assert this of all. But Prof. Carroll D. Wright shows that there are thousands in Massachusetts alone, able and willing to work who can get no work to do. The Labor Bureaus of two of our best States declare that the average wages of working men are not enough to bring up a family upon, even in the most meagre way, unless supplemented by the wages of wife or child. Have any of those who think there is no need of Socialism tried to bring up a family on \$350 a year? Yet this is the average income of the working man of our land, and thousands have not even this. Prof. Huxley says that he would rather be born in the Fiji Islands than in a London slum, and tells us that most of the diseases in England come from under-feeding. In New York city, there are whole sections where the over-crowding is greater than in the most crowded quarter of London. Our agricultural sections, too, are equally poorly off. Farms are deserted to-day in New England, and covered with mortgages in the

West, because they cannot be made to pay in competition with bonanza farms and cheap freightage to the sea. Boys are crowding into our cities because there is no chance on the farm. Large stores are eating up small stores, large manufactories small manufactories, large capitals small capitals. Is there no need of Socialism?

It is of course true that many of those who are unemployed, are in part themselves to blame. Under competition weakness of any kind goes to the wall. But what are you going to do, leave them to suffer? You say "Educate them individually." Undoubtedly, but how? That is just the question. Educate them in the slums? It cannot be done, or done only in here and there a case. You must take them out of the slums; you must abolish the slum, and this is Socialism, the community caring for its weaker members, educating them, placing them in proper environment. When people say that the poor are unworthy, we say all the more need of helping them then; the worst kind of poverty is poverty of character. But have they not some excuse for poverty of this kind? If you were born in a slum, raised in an alley, schooled on the street, would you be the ideal character you are now? People forget, too, the power of inheritance; we deal not with the poverty of a generation but with generations of poverty

You must reach men individually indeed; nothing can replace that; Socialism is not a machine for turning out saints; but you must also improve the environment, the conditions of the poor, and this is Socialism.

We come now to the question

#### IV. WHAT CHRISTIAN SOCIALISTS PROPOSE TO DO?

How do you purpose to realize all your ideas? How would you bring in the day of Christian Socialism? asks the incredulous reader.

*First*, by realizing that we can not bring it in, that it must come in. Christian Socialism is not a Babel tower that men can agree of themselves to set up. Christian Socialism is a principle gradually to be applied. It must come gradually, freely, naturally. We can prepare the way, we can speed on its coming but we cannot compel it. Therefore Christian Socialists work in no one narrow way. They are not men of one idea. They know what they want; they have their ideal before them, a divine democratic brotherhood of mankind, and every thing that looks in this direction they would welcome and would aid. Co-operation, Profit-Sharing, The Eight Hour Movement, Trades Unionism, Arbitration, the development of Municipal Socialism: Christian Socialists

would aid all these movements. It is not meant that every Christian Socialist individually should work for all these things. "Concentrate your energies; do that by which you individually can do most good; work for that which you see to be most needed in your community," says Christian Socialism. Different men can do different things; different communities need different measures, present different opportunities. Christian Socialism includes advance on all these lines. "We must touch the workman at all his points of interest," wrote Charles Kingsley. This is the first distinguishing note of Christian Socialism in practical operation, that it declines to recognize any one reform as the panacea for mankind.

*Secondly.*—Christian Socialists say we must work through politics. Co-operation, Profit-Sharing, etc., are all well, but they are not enough, and if one works for these and nothing more, they become positively reactionary and hinder progress. Such authorities as Cliff Leslie, Professor Walker and Dr. J. T. Ingram concur in dismissing the hope of saving society through merely introducing co-operation and profit-sharing into business as chimerical. Business is conducted to-day on such a gigantic scale that only the State can control it. Small co-operative concerns, competing with one another, will never

solve the problem. We need the Co-operative Commonwealth, and this means political action. Christian Socialists, as Christian Socialists, do not enter politics; but as men and citizens we must carry our faith to the polls. Christian Socialists appeal not to violence. Quietly, peaceably at the polls, we must support, probably ere long, in a new party, those measures and those men which represent our views.

*Thirdly.*—What particular measures would Christian Socialists first favor? Municipalization of lighting and heating of cities, of local transit, the nationalization of the telegraph and railroads, the establishment of postal savings banks. We put these first, not because they are most needed, but because the public sense and the support of political economists seem to make them most feasible to-day. They embody our principles, and will serve as an entering wedge.

Once again, educate the children. Make Nationalism "The Children's Party." Raise the School age. Legislate against Child Labor.

Another most important practical measure is the taxation of land values, and of real estate of every kind. We would not, with Mr. George, establish a *single* tax, but would tax land values *and* all real estate. We would shift taxation from personal property to real estate, because a tax on real estate is the

easiest to collect and the hardest to avoid. It would soonest, therefore, break down the enormous inequalities of wealth in this land. Real estate is taxed now, but not upon the right principle. We would tax it upon a sharply graduated scale. Small land values, the workingman's house, the widow's home, the small farm, we would tax scarcely at all,—less than now. The large estate, the priceless building lot, the business palace, the oil well, the coal mine, we would heavily tax, taking the value of the natural resources of the soil out of private monopolies into the public treasury. God gave the earth not to the few, but for the heritage of all His children. Taxation is the easiest way to resume this right. Dr. Heber Newton has recently well suggested that to tax all lands now held for speculation as heavily as land in use, and to declare all mineral resources hereafter to be discovered, the property of the community, would be two reforms comparatively easy in carrying out and introducing the principle we strive for. Another important way of reducing these glaring inequalities of wealth, is a wise and carefully adjusted Inheritance Tax.

Another reform, which, though not so fundamental as land reform, is perhaps even more immediately necessary, and which has not yet been made sufficiently prominent in American economic discus-

sions; it is the employment by the State of the unemployed, the duty of the State to give work to all. Says Turgot, whom Matthew Arnold calls "the wisest statesman France ever had," "God, when he made man with wants and rendered labor an indispensable resource, made the right of work the property of every individual; and this property is the first, the most sacred, and the most imprescriptible of all kinds of property." Even such a writer as Charles Booth, who has made such a study of the facts of East London life, and who is not a Socialist, but an Individualist, says the State must do this and even believes this to be "the only solution" of the labor problem. Individualist, as he is, he says "the poverty of the poor is *mainly* the result of the competition of the very poor," by which he means those who, for whatever reason, have not income enough for even a decent, independent life, according to the usual standard. "The Individualist community," he says, "on which we build our faith, will find itself obliged for its own sake to take charge of these;" and he goes on to give his plan for this employment by the State.

This reform touches the essence of the problem. It goes to the core of the matter vastly more than municipalization of gas, or the nationalization of railroads. Small difference does it make who furnishes the city gas, to the very poor, who use no

gas; small difference who owns the railroads, to those who rarely, if ever, can patronize the roads. But employment for the unemployed would help every poor man from Maine to California. This is all he asks, only a chance to work. Christian Socialists, who follow the Poor Man's Friend, should make a specialty of this reform. "Stitch, stitch, stitch," sings the Song of the Shirt; but our working women of to-day are so poorly off, that their only complaint is that they have no opportunity to "stitch, stitch, stitch." Wage-slavery, men talk about; but there are thousands of strong men in our land this day, begging almost on their knees and with tears the poor privilege of being slaves, of working at any price. Giving work, too, to the unemployed, would better the skilled working man, relieving him of the competition of the idle seeking a job. It would also do incalculably much for the moral condition of our land. Intemperance we call a crying evil; in many and many a case lack of work and despair of finding work, has sent the idle man from his cheerless home to the all-welcoming saloon. Lack of work, too, has made many criminals; or if, again, those who have served their sentences in penitentiary, or in prisons, could be sure on coming out, of finding steady, honest work, nine-tenths of them would never return as hardened convicts. This is the testimony of all who know

the facts. Lack of work is our one great wrong to-day; giving honest work to all would do more to cure intemperance, empty jails, reform character, than all other reforms beside.

Let the State, the municipality, or the township, set the unemployed to building, in the season, artisans' dwellings; or, out of the season, (and those who can not be thus employed), to making clothing or fittings for dwellings. Let the work be done under well-paid, competent, supervision. Those unemployed who have no trade that can be used, let the State teach. An ignorant man is a dangerous man. State money spent in manual education is money well invested. Let the State sell the houses or produced goods at cost to the workman on easy instalments, giving each man a home. Let the State pay the men proportionally to the quality and quantity of work done, and a little more than the market rate of wages. It would, therefore, tend not to lower but raise the rate of ordinary wages. It would make men desire to work for the State. Let every private employer wanting workmen and paying fair wages, apply for workmen at the State works: let the State then decline to employ any men wanted elsewhere. The State would thus know that it was not employing those who could be employed elsewhere but employing only the really unemployed. Let

the State, too, only employ those proving residence in the State; which would prevent a rush of the unemployed into one State, and induce other States to care for their unemployed.

It would not be costly; the workmen would produce enough to largely meet the cost; it would not be a plan that would especially antagonize the interests of the wealthy. With a minimum of opposition, it would work a maximum of good. What expense was connected with it, could be met by a graded tax on real estate, and would be the best expended tax in the country.

After these reforms had been carried out, property being somewhat equalized by taxation, and all being made independent by being sure of work, it would then be the safer to enlarge the power of government, as government would not then be so exposed to the temptations of corruption. Commissions could more and more control business, limiting interest to low rates on capital actually invested, and finally assuming one business after another in the order of their monopolization. If it be asked whether railroads, for example, should be nationalized, with or without compensation, we would answer by neither method, but by gradual taxation, the easiest way of appropriating to the public good, that which the public good—the supreme law—demands.

It must be remembered, too, that government could thus be more trusted than now, because a new reform party would necessarily go into power, when the country was carried for these reforms, and would at least for a while be purer, till a new party was required. Liberty must be ever bought by eternal vigilance. Socialism, if democratically carried out, would be but the American idea applied to business.

In such or some such gradual ways would Christian Socialists work; yet they put their main reliance upon character, upon conscience, upon religion. They appeal to the ethical in man. They would show the rationality of Socialism, but would insist more upon its justice, its moral claims. Above all, they appeal to the conscience. By literature, by addresses, by classes, by personal appeal, they would arouse the Church. There is a mighty power on social problems now dormant in the Church. Christian Socialists would call out this power. Churches are discussing how "to reach the masses." The truer problem is how to rouse the Church. The Church to-day needs the mightiest reformation. What Robertson said of the clergy of the Church of England is true of every Church:

"Alas, we, for centuries, have taught submission to the powers that be, as if this were the only text in Scripture; yet for one text which requires submis-

sion and patience from the poor, you will find a hundred which denounce the vices of the rich. In the writings of the noble old Jewish prophets *that* and almost that only; *that* in the Old Testament with a deep roll of words that sounds like Sinai's thunders; *that*, less impassioned but more calmly terrible from the apostles and their Master. Woe unto us in the great day of God if we have been the sycophants of the rich, instead of the redressers of the poor man's wrongs."

The Church must heed this call. Clergymen must preach this gospel at any cost. Says Rev. Mr. Barnet, of St. Jude, Whitechapel, London: "For some time it must be the glory of a preacher to empty, rather than to fill his Church, as he reasons about the judgment day to come, when two pence a gross to the match maker, will be laid alongside of twenty-two per cent. to the bondholder."

Above all, Christian Socialists must place deeds above words. We must appeal to love by love; to brotherhood by brotherly kindness; to sacrifice by sacrifice. "If any man would be chief among you let him be servant of all." This is Christian Socialism.



