THE SOCIALISTS
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An Address Delivered by E. C. MILLER
of 115 Bank Street, New York, before
the Winter's Night Club of Brooklyn,
New York January 16th, A. D. 1918

Respectfully dedicated to the Chamber of Commerce of the State
of New York, which, during the past one hundred and fifty
years, has done so much to upbuild industry and to extend
the trade and commerce of the United States
THE SOCIALISTS

INTRODUCTION
The incoming tide in the Bay of Fundy.
Significance of word "Socialist."

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Modern Socialism founded on philosophy of Plato.

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Inventions and scientific discoveries.
The French Revolution and Napoleonic wars.
Class consciousness.
Rapid growth of wealth and of workers.
Aspirations of proletariat.
Hostility of European Governments.
Communist League.
Utopian Socialism.
Christian Socialism.
Anarchistic Socialism.
State Socialism.
Marxian Socialism.
Communist Manifesto published in 1847.
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International Socialist Organization.
Slaves freed by Great Britain, Russia, and United States.
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Leadership of German Socialists.
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CONCLUSION
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The victory of love.
THE SOCIALISTS

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

To the north of us, lying between New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and the coast of Maine, there is a body of water known as the Bay of Fundy. The conformation of this land is of such character that, whereas the ordinary ocean tide rises between five and six feet during each twelve hours, the tide in this bay rises generally twenty-five to thirty feet, and at its head rises frequently sixty to seventy feet. People who have seen this tide come in give a wonderful description of it. The crest of the tidal wave may be seen as far as the eye can reach, and the wave tumbles in a perfect fury as it rushes toward the head of the bay, enveloping everything in its course. The air is filled with mist and fog, and the wild sea birds, looking for their prey, scream as they follow in the wake of the tumultuous waters. Woe to the hapless man or beast that is caught on the sand banks! Woe to the unwary fisherman who may have lingered too long in the shallows! And woe to the mariner who is unskillful or unfamiliar with the winds and waters of the bay! For the wave knows no mercy, and sweeps all to destruction except those who know the perils of the flowing tide and have sought safety.

This is a picture of the rising tide of Socialism and its perils, about which we wish to speak to you to-night.

We wish to show that Socialism, like a tidal wave, is sweeping throughout the world; that its principles, aims, and propaganda are revolutionary in the extreme; that it is a menace to our institutions; and that it threatens the whole fabric of civilization.

The word "Socialist" is derived from the Latin "Socius" through the adjective "Socialis" and means "Comrade." Damon and Pythias were comrades; David and Jonathan were comrades. The Socialists were felicitous in the selection of this word to designate their organization. When a Socialist writes to another he addresses him as "Dear Comrade" and usually ends his letter with "Yours for the Revolution."

Communism was the earlier term by which Socialism was known. Efforts to distinguish "Communism" from "Socialism" have not
been successful. The word “Socialism” was first used by Robert Owen, of England, in 1837, and had become current by 1840. Later on, its use was substituted entirely for the word “Communism.”

Communism, in some form, has been in practice from the beginning of time, principally in primitive society. Communist schemes have been advocated in every age and country, our own included. The early Christians for a time had all things in common at Jerusalem. In America we have had dozens of communist settlements, among them “Brook Farm” in Massachusetts, “Oneida Community” in western New York, and “New Harmony Society” in Indiana.

Plato’s Republic, written more than 2,000 years ago, by means of imaginary conversations between Socrates, Glaucon, Polemarchus, and others, gives a description of the Ideal State, which in many respects is identical with the Socialist doctrines of to-day. Later, Cicero in a less lofty style, treated of the same subject in “de Republica.” In the 16th Century, Sir Thomas More dreamed and wrote of his idealistic “Utopia,” and a few decades later, Lord Bacon wrote the “New Atlantis.”

It is worth noting here that neither the Greeks nor the Romans established any ideal communistic state, and that Utopia has never yet been found. What is more important, however, is the fact that a few years before More and Bacon wrote, America was discovered, the Cape of Good Hope was doubled, and Great Britain became a nation of shopkeepers who ultimately secured the commercial and maritime supremacy of the world.

During the latter part of the 18th and during most of the 19th Century, inventions and scientific discoveries were made that profoundly influenced the social, political, and economic history of the world.

In 1767 Watt invented the steam engine. In 1770 Arkwright invented the spinning jenney. In 1792 Whitney invented the cotton gin. In 1807 Fulton launched the Claremont and demonstrated the practicability of steam navigation. In 1814 Stephenson built the Rocket and showed to the world the possibilities of railway transportation. In 1831 McCormick invented the reaper. In 1835 Morse perfected his telegraph instrument and code, which enabled people to talk around the world in two minutes. In 1846 Howe invented the sewing machine. In 1870 was invented the dynamo which gave to the world at one time light, heat and power. In 1871 Hoe invented the rotary press. Then followed the telephone, the Diesel engine, the automobile, the phonograph, the wireless telegraph, etc., ad infinitum. The cyaniding process for
the treatment of ores has enabled the miners and smelters to recover more gold during the past thirty years than was ever produced before in the world’s history.

These inventions and scientific discoveries greatly stimulated trade, industry, and commerce; encouraged the spirit of enterprise; and enormously increased the wealth of the nations. They also multiplied the toilers of the world a thousand fold.

Modern Socialism had its origin in the French Revolution. To paraphrase Carlyle, Rascality had had its way and Sans Cullotism had done its worst, and the Feudal System had gone down with a crash. Out of the wreckage emerged the proletariat—gaunt and hungry, but with an acute class consciousness and with aspirations.

The French Revolution was followed by the devastating wars of Napoleon, which made an armed camp of all Europe, and which left her in the grip of autocracy. Kings, Emperors, Princes, and Grand Dukes ruled, as they claimed, by “divine right,” and without any of the restraints of constitutional or of representative government. After the Battle of Waterloo, the upbuilding of the exhausted nations was begun; and under the stimulus of invention and scientific discovery, trade, industry, and commerce expanded, and wealth began rapidly to accumulate. The workers, the toilers, the laborers, designated as the proletariat, found themselves in this situation: They were rapidly increasing in numbers, but outside of Great Britain and France, where some small beginnings had been made, they had few rights or privileges. They were given the right to earn their daily bread, but they had no voice in the Government. They were denied the right of assembly, of association, and of free speech. They were called upon to do the work of the nations and to die, if need be, for their princes, but were without political rights. Labor was treated like any other commodity, and was subject to the law of supply and demand.

With the lessons of the American and the French revolutions before them, the proletarians began a protracted struggle for political rights, and also for a larger share in the products of labor. Thus were started the Communist League and other kindred labor organizations.

Inasmuch as all the Governments of Europe were hostile to such movements, these organized efforts of the workmen were, for the most part, and for a considerable time, of a secret and terrorist nature. It was not until the year 1847 that the Communists came out boldly before the whole world and made a declaration of their aims and principles. This was the famous Manifesto of the
Communist League by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, which was published in London in that year.

This Manifesto was and is to-day accepted throughout the world as a concrete expression of the principles, aims, and propaganda of the Socialist movement. The Manifesto is accepted by the Socialist as his supreme authority, just as the Koran is accepted by the Mahommedan, the Old Testament by the Jew, and the Bible by the Christian.

There are many varieties of Socialism, but like the numerous Christian sects, the Socialists agree in fundamentals while they may disagree in some non-essentials. The political platforms of all the Social Democratic parties throughout the world to-day, and the aims, principles, and propaganda of all the militant socialists, are grounded on the philosophy of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels and are set forth in this Communist Manifesto, which is the Socialist Bible.

There were a number of interesting phases in the evolution of Socialism, and we will touch briefly upon several of these which are germane to our general subject.

The first of these was known as Utopian Socialism.

The Napoleonic wars left an awful total of suffering and want in Europe, and it was in the year 1817 that Count Henri de Saint Simon, who had fought under Lafayette in the American Revolution, began to write on the subject of Communism. He is regarded as the founder of French Socialism. Saint Simon and Fourier, another Frenchman, with Robert Owen in England, advocated a system of communal settlements which were to be so extended and federated as to take in the whole world. Many experiments were made in Great Britain and France and even in America, in Communistic settlements; but almost without exception they failed.

This kind of Socialism has been called "Utopian" because it has not been found practicable. There was a considerable body of writers who accepted the theories of Saint Simon, Fourier, and Owen, but by 1850 their influence had passed.

Robert Owen, who was one of the great mill owners in Great Britain, did found an industrial Communistic settlement at New Lanark, near Glasgow, Scotland, which served for generations as a model for the philanthropic treatment of the working classes, but his community settlements at New Harmony, Indiana, and elsewhere, were failures.
The next phase of Socialism was Christian Socialism.

In England, Rev. Charles Kingsley, F. D. Maurice and Thomas Hughes, of "Tom Brown" fame, became interested in Socialism and advocated it from the standpoint of Christianity. They accepted the Socialist movement as an effort to realize the teachings of Christ. They regarded competition as immoral and destructive and advocated co-operation in production, distribution, and exchange. Out of their system grew the great co-operative stores of Great Britain and continental Europe. In England to-day there are eight million members of these co-operative associations. These men who wrote and spoke in favor of Christian Socialism, may be regarded as the founders of that form of Socialism, advocates of which have been found not only in Great Britain but in America.

The third phase of Socialism was known as Anarchistic Communism.

While Saint Simon and others were attempting to establish communism on Utopian principles, and while Charles Kingsley and Thomas Hughes were endeavoring to found Christian Socialism, J. P. Proudhon, a Frenchman, taking extreme views, began also to advocate Communism. He claimed that property is theft; that capital is the power of exploiting the labor of other men; and that government of man by man in every form is oppression. He therefore advocated the destruction of the state, claiming that men would spontaneously form new associations that would be federated for mutual protection and thus insure a world-wide organization. Proudhon is credited with being the founder of Anarchism. He had an associate and supporter in Mikail Bakunin, a member of the Russian nobility. This man was an officer in the Russian army, and when he became a convert to Proudhon's views, gave up his country and devoted his life to Anarchism. He advocated violence in every form for the overthrow of society. He denied all authority from that of God down to the lowest forms. The followers of Proudhon and Bakunin were known throughout Western Europe as Anarchists and in Russia as Nihilists.

The Communist League, being a secret organization by virtue of the repressive measures of the European Governments, was generally in sympathy with this violent form of Socialism rather than with the Christian and Utopian kinds. The anarchistic Socialists, therefore, advocated conspiracy, terrorism, or any form of violence that might be found necessary to carry out the aims and
purposes of the organization. Hence for a generation or more, deeds of violence were common. Attempts were made on the lives of many of the crowned heads of Europe, including that of Queen Victoria, Emperor William I. of Germany, and the King of Spain. Some of these attempts met with success. Alexander II. of Russia was slain by a bomb; Grand Duke Sergius was killed in the same manner; the Empress of Austria was murdered at a bazaar in Paris; King Humbert of Italy was assassinated, and so was President Sadi-Carnot of France; and our own President McKinley was shot by one of the same group at Buffalo in 1901.

State Socialism was the fourth phase of this evolution.

This phase was the attempt of Louis Blanc of France and Frederick Lassalle of Germany, about the middle of the 19th Century, to establish what they called “State Socialism.” Their plan was to have voluntary associations of workmen, who should undertake to carry on enterprises, the capital of which should be supplied by the State. The State was to have supervision of these business enterprises, and a certain return was to be made to the State on the capital which was so advanced. This idea was very popular in Germany, and compelled the German Government, under the administration of Prince Bismarck, to adopt many schemes for the improvement of the condition of the workmen. Among these was insurance of the employees against death, accident, sickness, unemployment, etc., etc.

The final phase of Socialism was Marxian Socialism.

The final phase in the evolution of Socialism was what is known as Marxian Socialism, True Socialism, or German Socialism. The head of this movement was Karl Marx who, in 1847, in collaboration with Frederick Engels, wrote the “Communist Manifesto” which gave the principles and aims of the Socialist movement. These men came out into the open and gave up their secret, terrorist methods. Marx was the Pontifex Maximus of this movement, and the Communist Manifesto has been accepted as the Socialist Bible, from which they get their inspiration, and which serves as a rule of faith and practice. Within a year after Marx issued the Communist Manifesto, a revolution broke out in nearly every state in Europe. Italy, Austria, Germany, France, and other nations, were convulsed with revolution. A revolution was attempted in Great Britain under the name of the Chartist
Agitation. This very nearly succeeded, and failed by reason of the cowardice of the leaders who forsook the movement at the last moment. Marx went to England and remained there for the rest of his life, which he spent in organizing the Socialist movement throughout the world.

After publishing the Manifesto, Marx began to organize the workers. This took some years to accomplish, owing to the revolutions of 1848. In 1864 the International Workingmen's Association was established in London, which was later succeeded by the International Socialist Organization, which is the name of the present world organization, with headquarters at Brussels.

It is perhaps worth noting that during this Communist movement which culminated in the formation of the International Workingmen's Association in 1864, Great Britain emancipated her Colonial slaves in the year 1835; that Alexander II. in 1861 freed fifteen million Russian serfs; and that on January 1, 1863, President Lincoln issued a proclamation emancipating the negro slaves in the United States. Whether or not this Socialist movement had anything to do with the emancipation of these slaves, we do not know, but it is a significant fact that they were emancipated during this period.

After establishing the International Workingmen's Organization, Marx and his close associates, among whom were Frederick Engels, Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel, undertook to organize Socialism on a political basis. They took the name of the Socialist Democratic Party. This organization took place in Germany in 1868, and from the time when Marx issued his Manifesto, the German Socialists took absolute lead in the Socialist movement. They have ever since dominated the movement in all parts of the world. Their leadership was and is due to the intellectual pre-eminence of their membership, and because theirs was the strongest Socialist organization in the world. The German workers were not granted political rights for many years after the Socialist agitation began, and when they did get certain rights, they went over almost in a body to the Social Democratic Party. Because of the repression on the part of the German Government, which persecuted them bitterly, they have always regarded the German Government with great hostility.

There was some conflict between the followers of Lassalle, who wished to establish State Socialism, and the followers of Marx, who wished to establish International Socialism; but their differences were patched up at Erfurth, Germany, in 1875, and it was then proposed that the Social Democracy, as a political party, should be pushed vigorously in all parts of the world. Unfortunately for
them, two attempts were made in 1878 on the life of Emperor William I. As a punishment, the Reichstag decreed that there should not be any public agitation by the Socialists in Germany for a period of twelve years. This period expired in October, 1890, and from that time on the tide of Socialism began to rise very rapidly, not only in Germany, but throughout the world.

In 1893 a period of business stagnation and dullness set in which lasted until the year 1898. Stagnation in trade and industry was world wide, and there was an immense amount of suffering among the laboring classes, the unemployed being numbered in millions. In 1898 William McKinley was elected President of the United States on a high tariff platform. When he took office a new bill, which raised the tariff on commodities to almost prohibitive figures, was promptly introduced.

Then began an era of high prices and trust formation in the United States under the leadership of the United States Steel Corporation, which was capitalized at $1,500,000,000. Trusts were soon organized which gradually took in all the more important industries in America. These combinations were caused by the fear of so great an overproduction that all American industries would be destroyed.

Following the passage of the McKinley Bill and the formation of the trusts in America, there ensued the wildest debauch of speculation ever known. This ended in a panic in the year 1903 and shut down thousands of industries. Another panic, even more severe, followed in the year 1907.

The McKinley Tariff, the formation of trusts, and the era of speculation which followed, gave a tremendous impetus to the growth of Socialism in Europe as well as in the United States.

A not inconsiderable influence which helped the growth of Socialism was the building of the Panama Canal, which was started in 1908 and finished about 1915. This made it possible for the nations of the world to increase their wealth still more rapidly.

Just prior to the breaking out of the European war, the following startling facts confronted thinking minds throughout the world:

1. That by reason of the cheapness of transportation and quickness of communication and all other facilities given to trade and commerce, the world had practically become a single economic unit.

2. That the vast accumulation of wealth that had been piled up for one hundred and fifty years (which included not only the productive industries, but especially the liquid capital) was owned or controlled by a comparatively few men.
In the year 1912 Congress appointed the Pujo Committee to investigate the great banking concerns of New York to determine the extent to which they dominated the finances of the nation. The Committee found that the members of one international banking firm in New York City, and the Directors of their controlled trust companies and national banks, together held in all three hundred and forty-one directorships in one hundred and twelve corporations, having aggregate resources or capital of $22,245,000,000. In reference to this aggregate capital Justice Brandeis significantly remarked: "With what can we compare twenty-two billions of dollars? Twenty-two billions of dollars is more than three times the assessed value of all the property, real and personal, in all New England. It is more than twice the assessed value of all the property in the thirteen Southern States. It is more than the assessed value of all the property in the twenty-two states, north and south, lying west of the Mississippi River."

3. That, with the exception of the Republics of France and Switzerland, and the kingdoms of Italy and Montenegro, the occupant of every throne in Europe was a Hohenzollern or was related to the German Autocracy either by marriage or by blood kinship.

4. That the Socialists, by organization of the proletariat and through political agitation, had extended their influence the world over; and that they held the balance of power in almost every one of the European Parliaments.

The following statistics, compiled from the American Labor Year Book for 1916-17, show the number of Socialist representatives elected by popular ballot and will give some idea of the growth of Socialism in Europe since the International Political Campaign was begun.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Representatives</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>82</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1907</td>
<td>80</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1916</td>
<td>103</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1899</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1913</td>
<td>19</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1892</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>1913</td>
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<td>1903</td>
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<td>1915</td>
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<td>1902</td>
<td>7</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1914</td>
<td>18</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1902</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>1914</td>
<td>87</td>
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<td>1902</td>
<td>34</td>
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<td>1914</td>
<td>40</td>
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<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>1910</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1913</td>
<td>37</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>24</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1914</td>
<td>71</td>
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<td>1893</td>
<td>40</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1917</td>
<td>186</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1887</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>1913</td>
<td>32</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1910</td>
<td>42</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1916</td>
<td>35</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1917</td>
<td>The whole nation given over to Socialism and Revolution</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1871</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1912</td>
<td>110</td>
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Besides these members of the Reichstag, there were two hundred and thirty Social Democratic representatives in the different Parliaments of the German Confederation.

In the United States, while only one Socialist representative is to be found in Congress in the year 1917, the growth of Socialism is shown by a comparison of the number of Socialist votes cast in the year 1888—2,068—with the number cast in the National election of 1916—896,518. In the Municipal election held in New York in 1917, Morris Hillquit, the Socialist candidate, polled 140,343 votes; Mitchell, the Fusion candidate, 146,436 votes; Bennett, the Republican candidate, 51,277 votes; Hylan, the Democratic candidate, 289,642 votes. The Socialists elected eleven members to the Legislature and seven members to the Board of Aldermen.

While the exact statistics of Socialism in Spain, Hungary, Canada, South Africa, New Zealand and Chili, are not available, the membership in Workingmen's Unions with strong Socialistic tendencies, was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Members</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>1889</td>
<td>3,000</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1915</td>
<td>112,194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>9,999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1914</td>
<td>134,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>133,132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1914</td>
<td>166,163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>1915</td>
<td>100,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>1905</td>
<td>29,869</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1914</td>
<td>73,991</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chili</td>
<td>1910</td>
<td>65,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1913</td>
<td>92,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the case of Germany, the Socialist membership in the Reichstag had grown from 3 per cent. of the total in 1871 to about 35 per cent in 1912; and in alliance with others of the fifteen different political parties in Germany, practically dominated the Reichstag. The German Government has never re-made the voting districts since the year 1871. It has favored the land owners, junkers, etc., with duplicate votes. This fact, and the failure to re-district the country fairly has put the Socialists at a great disadvantage, their votes being principally in the large cities. It is estimated that if the country were fairly re-districted, and the dual system of voting abandoned, the Socialists would have a clear majority of the membership of the Reichstag.

It was in the year 1893 that Millerand became a member of the French Government. He was the first Socialist who had ever held a cabinet position in Europe. Since then France has had numerous Socialist cabinet members, and quite recently had three members:
Jules Guesde, Marcel Sembat, and Albert Thomas. The Socialists are credited with the downfall of the various ministries in France since the beginning of the war.

Emile Vanderveld, a leading Socialist, is a member of the Belgian cabinet at this time. Hjalmer Branting, another Socialist, is a cabinet officer in the Swedish Government. Stawning, the leader of the Danish Socialists, is a member of the Danish cabinet.

Every student of the social, political, and economic situation, has noted the growing power and influence of the Labor Party of Great Britain, which is closely affiliated with the Socialists. Arthur Henderson, their leader, and six others of his Party, have been members of the British cabinet since Lloyd George became Premier. Ben Tillette, a radical Socialist, was recently elected to the British Parliament over a well-known Liberal candidate.

The Socialist propaganda in Russia was the cause of the downfall of the Romanoffs; and to-day, Russia, with one hundred and eighty millions of population, is absolutely under the control and dominance of Socialist leaders at Petrograd. The Bolsheviki are orthodox Socialists and are absolutely true to the principles and doctrines of Socialism as preached by Karl Marx.

As already stated, it is claimed by the Socialists that in 1914 they held, and still hold, the balance of power in the Parliaments of practically every State in continental Europe. The dominating position of the Socialists throughout Europe in 1914, and the growing power of the Socialists in Germany and their hostility to that Government, are supposed to have been one of the prime causes of the war in Europe, the military party in Germany precipitating a foreign war in order to consolidate all Germany in an effort to save the dynasty.

When the war actually broke out in Europe, the International Association of Socialists apparently went to pieces. Most of the German Socialists supported the German Government; most of the French supported their Government; and most of the other Socialists supported their respective Governments.

The International Organization has, therefore, been temporarily disrupted; but when the war is over, the members of the International Organization will certainly be reunited, just as so many globules of mercury run together, and the proletariat will be stronger than ever, for they will have profited by their experiences and their mistakes.

As far as the autocratic governments of Europe are concerned, especially the German Government, they are all doomed, no matter what the outcome of the war may be.
Socialism is a universal movement for political, social, and economic control, and the European war is only an incident in the development of that movement. At the conclusion of the war the nations will, therefore, again have to face a united world-wide proletariat.

Let us now consider the principles, aims, and propaganda of the Socialists which have put them in this position of world-wide influence and power.

The principles and aims are set forth very clearly and explicitly in the Communist Manifesto by Karl Marx, and in the program laid down by the German Social Democratic Party, assembled at Erfurth in 1891, a program which has served ever since as the model for all the Social Democratic political platforms.

Karl Marx, as heretofore explained, was the prophet and high priest of Socialism, and the Communist Manifesto is universally known as the Communist Bible.

Marx, very early in his career, developed and announced a philosophical theory as to the evolution of society which has received the recognition of philosophers and economists.

According to this theory, history is made up of successive stages, in each of which the social organization is determined by the methods of production and exchange. The ideal factors in history, such as religion and ethics, are a mere reflection of the underlying economic phenomena. This theory, together with the theory of Marx, as to the value in goods, formed the basis of what is known as "Scientific Socialism," which is the Socialism of to-day.

From these hypotheses as to the evolution of society and the value in goods, the principles of Socialism were developed, which are substantially as follows:

1—The fundamental principle of Socialism is the collective ownership of all the wealth of the State, and the collective management of all its industries for the benefit of society as a whole.

Marx claimed:

(a) That the element in goods that gives and measures value is labor.

(b) That labor has an exchange value which is represented by wages.
(c) That wages, under the capitalistic system, depend only upon the necessary subsistence of the laborer.

(d) That the laborer always produces more value than he is paid in wages, and the residue is the increment which goes to make up accumulated wealth, which draws interest and rent.

(e) That the owners of this accumulated wealth, who are the capitalists, are, therefore, enjoying an income which they have not earned, it being the product of others.

(f) That the capitalists are characterized as robbers and exploiters of the workingmen or proletariat, whom they have thus defrauded out of that to which they, the workers, are justly entitled.

(g) The Socialists demand that no one shall have income except as a result of personal service—such income being represented by goods which shall be for the private use of the worker and not for accumulation.

(h) The Socialists declare that production has become largely a social process, and that while production becomes more and more so, the instruments of production are in private hands.

(i) Under our system, competition is said to be the life of trade, but the Socialists demand that all the industries shall be associated together in order to avoid competition, and secure perfect system, harmony, and unity of effort.

(j) Socialists approve of the most advanced forms of capitalistic production, especially agriculture, but insist that it shall be publicly owned and under collective management.

The Socialists, therefore, demand that private ownership of wealth and of all instruments of production shall cease; that land, the means of transportation and communication, factories, mills, machinery, mines, and all other forms of property or wealth, shall be owned by the public; and that all instruments of production and distribution shall be operated collectively and for the benefit of society as a whole.

It is hardly necessary to state that economists and practical business men do not agree with these theories of Marx. On the contrary, they hold that capital and labor would be practically valueless were it not for a third factor which consists in scientific
knowledge, God-given leadership, courage, high intelligence, character, industry, thrift, etc.

2. The second great principle of Socialism is that all the present forms of Government throughout the world shall be put aside and the Socialist state be set up in their stead.

The Socialists claim:

(a) That the present state is a capitalistic state—of the capitalists, by the capitalists, and for the capitalists. They demand, therefore, that this shall be changed; that the state shall be ruled by the Social Democracy, the meaning of which is that the Government shall be completely controlled by the workers.

(b) That international boundaries mean nothing to the Socialists, who claim to be citizens of the world and not of any particular country. This will explain their lack of patriotism for and their disloyalty to their native countries. They deny that either patriotism or love of country is binding on Socialists.

(c) That the principal function of Government when the Socialist state has been set up, will be to manage the productive enterprises of the people and to distribute the earnings. The Socialists claim that under the Socialist state, crime will practically cease and that poverty will be absolutely ended.

(d) That war is invariably in the interest of the capitalist class, or for the glory of a small group of military men, and that the workers are the principal sufferers. They therefore demand the end of war, and claim that when the Socialist state is organized, standing armies will be disbanded and wars will absolutely cease.

(e) That the law as at present constituted, is one of the principal bulwarks of capitalists; that it is used by them as an instrument in the oppression and exploitation of the working classes; that the private ownership of property is now the principal cause of litigation; and that as the private ownership of property is to be abolished, there will be no further need of law courts, judges, and our present system of laws—instruments of Government which they demand, therefore, shall be abolished.
That the Christian Church is one of the principal supports of the capitalist state. They claim that the church has been identified with the present state from time immemorial, that it is made up largely of capitalists; and that the workingmen have little or no interest in or benefit from the church. They claim that the church has accumulated vast stores of untaxed wealth, and that the Roman Catholic branch alone has enough accumulated to pay off most of the debts of the European Governments. The attitude of Socialists generally, therefore, is one of deep hostility toward the Christian Church, and toward all other constructive forms of religion.

That the institution of marriage and the family is one of the foundations of the state as it exists to-day. The attitude of the Socialists towards marriage, therefore, has been one of consistent hostility. They demand that marriage shall not be binding under the law, but that the sole basis of the marital relation shall be love, and that when love is ended, the parties shall have the right voluntarily to separate. This has been a conspicuous feature of all the Communist teachings during the past hundred years, beginning with Saint Simon and Fourier, who advocated absolute laxity of the marriage relation in their community settlements.

The Socialists condemn the state as it exists throughout the world to-day, politically, economically, and socially, and demand the establishment of the Socialist state. They demand a thorough-going reconstruction of society.

Their plan is to organize in each country a Social Democratic Political Party (a government of workers only) with a platform resting on the Socialistic program laid down at the Erfurth Congress in 1891. This is the world-wide program which was adopted at that Congress, and through which the Socialists hope to secure political control throughout the entire world. Their plan is the capture by the wage earners of the existing organs of Government. They insist upon the complete control of the machinery of the Government as their first step. When that has been accomplished they will then institute public ownership and management of all property and industries, and will establish the Socialist state.

3. The third great principle of Socialism is the solidarity of labor throughout the world.
The organization of the laboring classes in every country on fraternal lines, and with common aims, is one of the great objects of Socialism. The Socialists plan to make Socialism fraternal, international, and cosmopolitan.

4. The fourth great principle of Socialism is class consciousness and antagonism to the capital classes.

(a) Class hatred is a fixed principle in the Socialist program.

(b) Sympathy with all organizations enlisted in the struggle against capital, i.e., anarchists, communists, nihilists, I. W. W.'s, trade unions, and every other organization in the struggle to improve the condition of the laboring classes or to overthrow the existing social order.

5. The fifth principle of Socialism is that the struggle with the capitalists and the existing social order is not to end until the conflict is won for the proletariat and the Socialist state has been established.

The policy of the Socialists is to encourage militant Socialism, and to bring about the Socialist revolution at the earliest possible moment—peaceably if they can, but by force if necessary. Revolution—social, political, and economic—is their program, and the red flag is their emblem.

With these principles and aims, the Socialists also have a propaganda. This propaganda is about as follows:

1. To organize the workers of the world into groups.

These groups are organized in every country for instruction and for common effort. They are organized locally, by districts, by states, and are then federated into an international organization. Membership in these groups is by election, and no one can become a Socialist unless his name is proposed by some person already a member.

The name of the applicant must be duly signed, and he must subscribe to the Socialist doctrine which is printed on the application above his signature. He is then formally elected a member of a group. In the United States he must pay twenty-five cents a month or $3.00 a year. Should he ever give up his connection with the Socialist body, he is practically a marked man.
Comradeship or fraternity has been an important feature of their propaganda. Membership in the Socialist political organization is very different from membership in an ordinary political organization. The members are comrades or brothers in a common cause.

2. The press propaganda.

(a) Publishing the Communist Manifesto and thousands of Socialist books and tracts.

(b) Publishing newspapers—dailies, weeklies, and monthlies—without number.

(c) The distribution in one way and another of these books, tracts, and newspapers to the readers of the world, especially the workers.

3. Instruction.

(a) Enlisting services of Socialist intellectuals—writers, lecturers, and teachers.

(b) Schools for adults, such as the Rand School of Social Science at New York; the Fabian Society at London; and the German Socialist School at Berlin, etc., etc.

(c) Intercollegiate societies organized for the study of Socialism by college students.

(d) Sunday schools in which the young children are instructed in the principles of Socialism.

(e) The subtle instruction of children in the public schools by Socialist teachers.

(f) The preaching of the doctrines of Socialism to every worker in the world by public speakers, in halls, from soap boxes on street corners, and wherever else they can find a place to speak to hearers. Socialists do this nightly in New York, in Chicago, in Boston, in Philadelphia, and in every other city in the United States, 365 days in the year. They preach to the workers of the world the doctrine of hate, of class hatred, and revolution.

4. The propaganda for making special converts.

(a) Trade Unionists and members of other labor organizations not yet closely affiliated with the Socialist body.
(b) To reach the armies and navies of the world, and to turn them against war and their own Governments. This latter effort is of a secret nature.

5. Established political organizations in each country with the Erfurth program as the basis of all of their platforms.

6. Triennial congresses at which the interests of Socialism at large are considered.

A national Socialistic bureau is maintained at Brussels, which may be said to be the central influence of Socialism throughout the world.

Any principle, doctrine, or propaganda that seeks the overthrow of law and order or of religion and morality; that preaches treason and disloyalty; that advocates a confiscation of private property; and that has as its supreme object the stirring up of class hatred and strife, is a menace to our institutions and threatens the whole fabric of civilization.

We have shown the rising tide of Socialism sweeping throughout the world. We have pointed out the revolutionary character of the teachings of Socialism. We have seen the menace to our institutions and to civilization. And it now remains for us to show the philosophy of this movement—Why Socialism exists and why it has grown so rapidly, and if possible, to suggest some remedies for the threatened evils.

Some causes of the growth of Socialism.

1. In Europe: Kings, Emperors, Princes, Grand Dukes, claiming to reign by “divine right;” autocracy, aristocracy and the privileged classes; the caste system; the spy system.

2. Failure of the church to fulfill its true mission.

(a) Union of church and state in many countries.

(b) Princes, autocracy, aristocracy, and privileged classes in the church.
(c) Accumulation of vast wealth, which has enabled these aristocrats and princes of the church to vie with royalty in splendor and power.

(d) The church a political machine, the leaders being international wire-pulling politicians.

(e) Formalism—lack of true spirituality.

(f) Neglect of the material interest of the workers.

The Socialists say "you talk about the Hereafter, the Pearly Gates, the Streets of Gold, the Mansions of the Blessed; but we demand that you give us something in this world which is the only world we know anything about. We ask for more bread, warmer clothes, better shelter. Until you give us these things we will not believe that there is anything in your church." They hold that Jesus Christ was the first Socialist; that He was a carpenter at the bench and belonged to the proletariat; and that He was a Communist because He and His disciples had everything in common. He believed in the brotherhood of humanity and did not spend His time in the accumulation of wealth or power. They emphasize that the disciple who carried the purse not only became a thief, but also betrayed his Master.

Dr. Charles Stelzle, Field Secretary of the Federated Churches of Christ in America, tells this incident. He was in Brussels and visited the People's Palace, which is the headquarters of the International Socialist Organization. After going over this immense building, which is owned by the Socialists, he was finally led to a large room which was set off completely by itself. This room was rather dark and had no furniture in it. At one end of the room was a curtain which was drawn aside and the lights were thrown on. There was then disclosed a life-size picture of the Christ with upraised hand. The beautiful countenance and the majestic pose of the Christ struck into his soul; and that was the feeling which every one had who came into that august Presence. There was nothing but the figure of Christ, the Socialist, the member of the proletariat. This shows the reverence which the Socialists have for the name and the person of Christ. They have a profound respect for Jesus Christ, but none whatever for the Christian church.

3. Denial at first of practically all political rights to the workers and fierce repression by the various European Governments of all attempts on the part of the workers to secure such inalienable rights.
4. In America: Growth of great fortunes. The concentration of enormous wealth and the control of all the great industries in the hands of comparatively few men, the money kings taking the place of monarchs in the old world.

5. Unfair economic treatment of labor.
   
   (a) Reduction of the value of the individual labor unit by reason of labor-saving devices.
   
   (b) The treatment of labor as a commodity, the value of which depends solely upon the law of supply and demand. This has been resented by labor more than anything else.
   
   (c) Lack of sympathetic treatment of the workers and of all labor questions by the "powers that be."

   
   (a) In the courts of law, a frequent discrimination in favor of the rich; of the aristocrats; of those who stand close to the "powers that be;" resulting often in a gross miscarriage of justice.
   
   (b) Extravagance, waste, inefficiency, graft—in National, State, and Municipal administration.
   
   (c) Political rings, resulting in unrepresentative character of Government.
   
   (d) Indifference to civic duties by many.

7. The natural covetousness of human nature, and the envy, hatred, and jealousy that are engendered in the hearts of men who have not toward those who have.

We have shown the tide of Socialism rising rapidly throughout the world. We have pointed out the perils to American Institutions and world civilization that result from the revolutionary aims, principles and propaganda of the Socialists. We have offered some explanation of the causes of the Socialistic movement—those conformations of society which have caused this sweeping tide of Socialism. And it now remains for us only to present very briefly
some suggestions as to what can be done and what is being done to avoid the threatened evils.

Some remedies for the threatened evils of Socialism.

1. Reconstruct or overhaul the Ship of State, and make it fit to meet all the evolutionary demands of present-day conditions.

(a) If necessary, put kings, emperors, and princes on the scrap heap, and do away with all autocratic forms of Government. Make the rulers absolutely responsible to the people. Have Government of the people, by the people, and for the people in every sense, and thereby make the world safe for democracy.

(b) Efficient and honest Government Administration—National, State and Municipal.

This is most important. Inefficiency, waste, and graft must be eliminated from public administration. This condition prevails to an amazing degree throughout the length and breadth of the land, especially in municipal government, which is practically a failure. Government by political cliques and rings organized for plunder and graft; inefficiency and waste which are in evidence in every direction; and the high taxes which go along with mal-administration;—are evils which, more than anything else, might justify the Socialists in their attempts to overthrow our Municipal, State, and National governments. Let Government be of the people, by the people, and for the people.

(c) Better laws and a fairer administration of the laws of the land. Pass a national prohibition law. This will practically abolish poverty, and will produce a nation with clear brains. Grant to women the right of suffrage, and thereby make them partners with men in the fullest sense.

(d) A permanent system of taxation, including taxes on income, profits, inheritance, etc., which will put the burdens largely on the rich.

(e) A wise and efficient, compulsory, arbitration law which will settle all disputes between capital and labor; this law to be modeled after that which is now in force in the Dominion of Canada.
(f) Maintain an adequate standing army under the selective draft system, and make military training compulsory. This will teach respect for authority and inculcate a love for the American flag.

(g) Governmental control and management of whatever industries may be found advisable to protect the nation from grasping monopoly, or that may be found necessary for the best and highest good of all concerned.

The Government has taken over the control of the railroads; is operating and building ships; is insuring the lives of the soldiers and sailors; has established food control; is fixing prices of various commodities; etc., etc. If this system is found to be for the best interests of the people at large, continue it after the present war is over. This is said to be a Socialistic tendency, but whether it is or not, if this policy is found to be satisfactory, then adopt it willingly without being forced to its adoption by Socialistic propaganda.

2. Revision of our economic system, with the purpose of giving a juster and a more generous treatment of labor.

(a) Break down as far as practicable every artificial economic barrier between nations, so that there shall be the fullest possible trade and intercourse.

(b) A profit-sharing arrangement with all manufacturing and business establishments throughout the country, if necessary, by law. This, by itself, would bring labor and capital very close together.

(c) Co-operative stores similar to those now in existence in Great Britain, Belgium, and throughout continental Europe, which, when properly managed, would greatly reduce the cost of living.

(d) Industrial insurance similar to that in vogue in Germany. This provides insurance against death, old age pensions, sickness benefits, insurance against unemployment as well as against accidents.

(e) Scientific study of all questions affecting capital and labor, and a resolute determination to settle them fairly and justly in the best interests of all concerned.
(f) Strengthen the American Federation of Labor and unionize all labor as far as practicable. Give the labor unions both the protection and the restraints of law. The American Federation of Labor is standing like a rocky breakwater against the tide of Socialism and should be strengthened.

3. Massing of all the moral influences of the nation.

(a) The eradication of class hatreds and the cultivation of a broad spirit of sympathy and co-operation between employers and workers.

(b) Encourage the best element among the Socialists, i.e., such men as John Spargo, Charles E. Russell, J. G. Phelps Stokes, William English Walling, Robert Hunter, etc., to exercise a restraining influence over those with whom they are associated. In this way the good that there may be in Socialism will be brought out and the evils that threaten may be neutralized.

(c) Keep the active forces of public opinion—the press, the pulpit, and the forum—ceaselessly at work for the cure of evils.

(d) Above all, the inculcation and practice of the true spirit of Christ which we are taught is:

First—that “we are our brother’s keeper.”

Second—that “we should do unto others as we would have them do unto us.”

Third—that “we should love our neighbor as ourselves.”

In conclusion, let us picture some recent happenings in Russia.

The Bolsheviki have seized the Government. They have muzzled the press or compelled it to further their own aims. They have set aside the laws, removed the judges, abolished the courts. They have set at naught the religious establishment, and the sanctity of marriage is no longer regarded. They have disbanded the army, military discipline being at an end. They have seized the banks, the industrial establishments and the land, all of which they claim they will divide among the proletariat. They have denied to any property owner the right to a voice in the Government. They are ruthlessly destroying the great estates and the historic monuments. They are repudiating the just obligations
of Russia, amounting to fifteen billions of dollars. The nation is crumbling. Government, transportation, and industry have broken down, and one hundred and eighty millions of Russians are confronted with murder, rapine, anarchy, civil war and starvation—the red terror. This is a true picture of Marxian Socialism in action.

We are in the midst of an overwhelming world-wide movement. It is a movement which profoundly affects the destiny of nations; it is the ground swell of humanity. The Social Revolution is at hand.

The Victory of Love must come when we heed the voice of the True, the Great Socialist, who not only said "Peace, be still," but also "be of good cheer; I have overcome the world."