

menaced by socialists and radicals, and if they unite they may overturn the present Government, and either inaugurate a socialistic era or prepare the way for a new Napoleon who can master the revolutionary forces. In the Anglo-Saxon nations, England and America, the movement is more practical, aiming at immediate relief from pressing necessities and at an actual improvement of the existing condition rather than considering the socialistic state to be established at some future time. Nevertheless some form of socialism has also made progress in these countries. Only last September the representatives of two million laborers in England voted in favor of the socialistic state, after the same had been defeated year after year at previous meetings.

What excites most attention in these movements is the spectacular elements, the things which appear on the surface, such as the agitations among the masses, the chronic discontent of laborers, the strikes and the violence attending them, together with the threats of revolution and the advocacy of anarchism. These are the subjects which fill our papers, and which are uppermost when the social question is the theme of the platform and the pulpit. Just now we are in danger of being absorbed by these details, as if they were the essence of the whole matter. It is like picking up a bit of lava at the crater and pronouncing it Vesuvius. Yet the volcano itself is one thing, and the fragments it casts up are quite another. So long as we are lost in contemplating the results of the eruptions without fathoming the meaning of the eruptions themselves, we cannot expect to gain the mastery of the social movement.

Specialists in this department are very scarce in America. They must increase before we can hope to deal successfully with the momentous themes thrust upon us by the social crisis. Extensive as is the interest in the subject, the indications are that

very few are prepared to devote to the social problem that patient and profound study which the importance of the theme demands. Men of means and leisure, professional men and scholars, are perfectly content to leave the matter to laborers, the very ones whose culture and toil unfit them for grappling with many of the deep problems involved.

We need but look at some of the deeper problems of the social agitations in order to learn the necessity for leaving the shallows and launching out into the deep, if the most fruitful work is to be done. They are among the profoundest and the most vital themes connected with human existence. Such questions as the following are involved in the social movements:

Have all men an equal right to nature and its products, or have a few the right to a monopoly of them?

How did the few get their exclusive use of nature and the wonderful privileges conferred by this use?

Has every man a right to existence? If so, he must have the right to the means of existence. Who shall furnish these—the state, the community, or society? Does society owe every man a living? This seems to be recognized by the establishment of almshouses and other charitable institutions.

Has every one who wants work a right to employment? If so, who shall furnish it? In the German Parliament Bismarck said, in 1884, that Prussia recognized the right of every man to employment. But when the unemployed, on the strength of his admission, demanded work, none was furnished; and to this day their demand has not been complied with. Is the state able to create work, and can it afford to do so?

Not a few are asking seriously, we are tempted to say ominously, whether according to right and humanity, to say nothing of Christianity, one man can possess more than he needs if others have not enough?