CORRESPONDENCE

THE CHURCH AND SOCIAL REFORM

I REGRET very much the general attitude of the Churches toward the question of Social Reform. Individualism curses the Churches as it does society. But then the Churches are largely what the people make them, and the people do not higher morals too often put in contrast with the aspirations of "other worldliness." Most heartily do I believe that "the Church can contribute most effectively toward the grand and beneficent results by concentrating her energies upon the salvation of men, and making them partakers of the Divine Spirit. But man is a *body*, soul and spirit, and the body is a temple of the Holy Ghost," and must therefore be included in that salvation. Stitch, stitch, stitch, in poverty, hunger and dirt, crowded homes and constant struggle to keep soul and body together, do not tend to the salvation of men; nor so long as in this body we groan, being burdened to the soul's salvation either. To be "partakers of the Divine Spirit," means something more than "Singing ourselves away to realms of endless bliss;" it means among other sweetnesses, "I am among you as one that serveth," even as "the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give His life a ransom for many." Thus social questions are religious questions, for the service of love must recognize justice. Where a sense of injustice is, love cannot be.

We are strangely inconsistent. Medical missionaries are urgently called for in the Foreign field, that the bodies of men may be cared for, and the way of the Gospel opened up; at home we deem sanitary laws, as implied in the relation of capital to labor, outside the spiritual domain of the Church! "Wilt thou know, Oh, vain man, that faith apart from works is barren?"

Yes, as a Socialistic writer has it, "Christianity interpreted *and applied* in the Spirit of Jesus Christ, would suffice to establish a perfect society and political organization to deliver humanity from the evil which weighs it down, and to extend the happiness of the human race on earth." That the heart and hand of the Church may be raised to the height of this conception, is the earnest prayer of your fellow-man,

JOHN BURTON.

66 CHARLES ST., TORONTO,
July 8, 1891.

COMING OUT AS SOCIALISTS.

HENRY GEORGE, JUN., says in his English letter to the New York *Standard*:—"The Land Nationalizers here are coming out clearly as Socialists. At the annual meeting of the Land Nationalisation Society this week Dr. Alfred Russell Wallace, the President, made an address clearly defining their position. He said that they had already sufficient members in the country to be a power, and they must see that that power made itself felt at the polls. "The most striking characteristic of the times in which we live," said he, "is the extent to which the teachings of Socialism in various forms are permeating society. The old panaceas are quite powerless to provide a thorough remedy for existing evils. The whole fabric of society rests upon a rotten foundation, and the only way to get rid of present horrors of starvation, misery and vice everywhere around is a radical reform which will destroy the regime of individualism and competition which has so miserably failed to secure the general well-being and replace it by a complete system of co-operative Socialism. If we can once get the land into the hands of the people the capital of the country will soon follow it." Cheers). In principle I am a thorough Socialist, but I am of the opinion that the shortest and the only ready way to Socialism is that of land nationalization. The effect of land nationalization will be that every man who wishes it can have land upon fair terms to cultivate or live upon, and we would soon find the country re-peopled by men living on their own homesteads and deriving sustenance from what they were able to produce on the land. A large proportion of the millions who have emigrated to the great towns would then surely return to their native place and live by the cultivation of the soil. Workmen would then be really free, and wages would inevitably rise. Land nationalization is an essential preliminary to any great reform, and Socialists should work heart and soul with us in attaining what we both desire. Cheers. The combined forces of the landlords, the capitalists and the official world are arrayed against us. But the vast multitude of the workers, though hitherto ignorant of their power, ignorant of their rights, and almost wholly unframed and unable to co-operate for any common cause, are now coming to their support; much of the independent intellect of the country is becoming convinced of the soundness of our views; the noble army of philanthropists are now beginning to see that to relieve misery, however necessary for the moment, did no permanent good, and that to effect any permanent amelioration they must join this society in striking at the very root of the evil. If in addition to these converts we can gain your cause some considerable proportion of the various groups of Socialists, we might consider ourselves within measurable distance of success, and it might be that many of our younger members will live to see the soul of the country freely open to the use of all her citizens. Then will no more be seen in our midst that most pitiable of sights, that crowning disgrace of our much-lauded wealth and civilization—men whose children are in want of bread asking for work, and asking for it in vain."

A STARTLING PROPOSITION

WHY MARRIED PEOPLE SHOULD BE DIVORCED EVERY SEVEN YEARS.

THE Chicago attorney of a scientific turn of mind who evolved the idea of what is known as the seven year amendment to the divorce law never may not have stumbled one of the greatest social problems. An absolute conclusion in this regard will be impossible until the amendment be enacted, and the practical working of the new scheme has been tested by a generation. Its first and impatient economy. It may not be generally understood that the suggested legislation is counter-imperative as a deduction from consideration of what is known of the constant change occurring in particles of the human body.

Each individual is made up of atoms, and each day some of these atoms are cast off to be replaced by others from the food we eat, the water we drink, and even the air we breathe. Miss Jones, though perhaps quite as charming as she was a week ago, is not entirely the same person, nor is Mr Smith the same young man he was. Each has lost a portion of the body, and each has gained an equivalent. There is the same general contour as before, but there is a slight difference in material. In course of time this change will be complete. Every recent atom of Miss Jones or Mr. Smith will have gone out into the great world, and new atoms will have taken their respective places. Miss Jones and Mr. Smith will be now people.

The concensus of learned opinion is that the body changes entirely once in every seven years. Now, suppose Mr. Smith and Miss Jones to wed. Mr. Smith has sworn to cherish the lady who has just become his wife, not some other woman, and vice versa. Mrs. Smith, nee Jones, has made pledges of equal solemnity and import to love none other than the man beside her. For a time it is all right, that is, relatively so, but at the end of a year only six-sevenths of the present Mrs. Smith remain, while Mr. Smith has suffered an equal variation. At the end of seven years Mrs Smith is not the same woman Smith married, nor is he the same man whom she promised to cleave to. There is not a particle, not one jot or tittle, remaining about either of the couple who were married. Clearly their relationship is scandalous and something should be done about it. To remedy the evil the proposed amendment to the divorce law makes a separation at the end of seven years, permissible if not mandatory.

Of course it is claimed by the opponents of the proposed legislation that neither Mrs. Smith nor Mr. Smith can properly be deemed unfaithful since neither longer exist, and the argument, it must be admitted, has its force. But, admitting the assumption, who are the two people at present living together under the name of Smith, and what cause have they for the flagrant relations now existing? Should not they either separate or marry without delay? A nation's welfare depends upon the preservation of the public morals.

It is doubtful if such an amendment to the law as that proposed could have a fairer field for experimental operation than Illinois, especially in Chicago, where has already been manifest a liberal spirit in dealing with the problem always delicate and not infrequently perplexing. Where divorce has become a duty Chicagoans have not habitually shirked it, and the new phase of the conjugal situation now recognized will, it is safe to say, receive attention. At the same time it is unlikely that there will be much radicalism in the reform. The proposition of the ultra-careful minority that the term of what may be called married identity be fixed at five instead of seven years, in order to be absolutely on the safe side, is not to be seriously considered.—*Chicago Tribune.*

A MIGHTY GOOD RECORD.

THE *New Nation* summarizes the record of the Missouri Legislature, as follows:—When will a Canadian Legislature show anything like it?

"Blacklisting by corporations made a misdemeanour; option dealing restricted; false reports by railroad spotters made punishable: the Australian ballot system made general; all cities with over 5,000 inhabitants made to appoint and pay factory inspectors; all persons and corporations made to furnish seats and permit their use for female employees; employers bi-monthly payments to minors; pensioning disabled, and those serving twenty years, made permissive on half pay, and widows of policemen killed on duty receive half pay; pools, trusts and conspiracies to control prices made punishable offences; personal property of corporations made assessable and taxable in same manner as personal property of individuals."

A HOT WEATHER ARGUMENT FOR NATIONALISM.

THE two weeks' vacation per year, with a substitute provided, which Uncle Sam gives his letter carriers, is a very practical sort of argument in favor of nationalism to use with workingmen during hot weather. This idea of vacation, without loss of position, for employees in the public service, whether of nation, state or city, is being more and more generally adopted, while employees of private persons or corporations (with a few notable exceptions) get a vacation only when they get turned out of work. The moral of this is very plainly that it is better to be a public employee than a private employee, and that consequently the best thing workingmen can do for themselves is to agitate and vote in favor of getting their employments nationalized or municipalized. With the heated term to enforce this argument, the nationalists ought to make a good many converts.—*New Nation.*

WORKS are employed as bodcarriers in Austria and get 20 cents per day for it.

PRACTICAL SOCIALISM.

IT MUST BEGIN WITH THE MUNICIPALITY

English Cities Laying the Foundation of the Industrial Commonwealth—Do What Lies Nearest to Hand and Trust to Evolution

(Per Francis Bellamy, London Letter.)

SOCIALISM proper begins with the municipality, or more properly still with the town meeting. The Hon. Joseph Chamberlain is a practical Socialist, and one of the outlines in the *North American Review* for May how English cities are laying the foundation of more general socialism. The popular representative government of the municipality, he says "unlike the imperial legislature, is very near to the poor, and can deal with details, and with special conditions. It is subject to the criticism and direct control both of those who find the money, and of those who are chiefly interested in its expenditure. In England, at any rate," he continues, "it has been free from the suspicion of personal corruption, and has always been able to secure the services of the ablest and most disinterested members of the community." The practical socialism of Birmingham, and other cities of Great Britain, enthusiastically supported by multitudes of citizens who do not call themselves social ists, is an example of the first numbers on the socialistic programme. The intellectual leaders of socialism are in no hurry. They have all the time there is. It may take years to persuade American cities that they are business corporations themselves, whose aim is the well being of all the members. The extension of municipal control over all natural monopolies may be decades off. No matter; there is no use in being hot-headed because hearts are hot at the misery of the poor. The municipalization of services of the community ought to learn to trust each other before the East and West will trust one another. It must be proved in American cities, as it has been already in English cities, that the extension of municipal powers is itself a force to drive out corruption and purify politics, before the nation as a whole will deem it safe to make great enlargements of the civil service.

As that day approaches, it will be found that nationalism is a much simpler thing than it now seems. Nationalism does not begin in a paper constitution and work downwards. During the uprisals of the French Revolution Abbé Sièyes is always coming forward with a new constitution. But in America institutions are rather an evolution. The last numbers on the social programme may safely be left blank. Nationalism is neither a city let down, all of a sudden, four-square from heaven, nor are its working plans yet to be found in any architect's office on earth. We certainly want no nationalism which is not an ordinary development. They may agree with Mr. Spencer that the course of political evolution is full of surprises. It is quite possible that the nationalism which seems so full of menace as a military despotism may turn out to be but a simple federation of industrial and commercial interests which find they require a single head.

In other words, it seems to me, nationalism is only a prophecy. It is too distant to be certainly outlined. Present day accounts of it will one day be, as Horace Greeley said of something else, "mighty interesting reading." We may be inspired by it as the end towards which present movements are tending. But each age solves its own problems; and the passage into that promised land is the issue for another generation. A nearer view alone can determine where the passage is, and whether the land is desirable. We may justly put some faith in the commonsense, as well as in the political ingenuity of those who come after us. If military socialism, whatever it is, should ever be the issue, this American people can be trusted to vote against it if it is undesirable. Meantime, what our people must vote upon in the present year of grace, is whether great private corporations shall control legislatures and city councils, and charge their own unjustifiable prices for those public necessities of life as light and transit. There is an issue between tyranny and liberty which is to the point. The future is in the hands of evolution.

Another opprobrious epithet is "paternalism." This is the most familiar of the cities of reproach. It suggests an idea of government made pestiferous by old abuse. The most atrocious despotisms both of king and church have "plaited themselves in" as protectors.

The welfare of the people has been the heavy excuse for the cruellest outrages of history.

But a paternalism must have a parent, a royal arc, or a priestly grandmother. In the antique paternalism there is invariably this parental personality at the top, down beneath it are the puppet children. "My soldiers are my children," says Napoleon; and he orders a charge for their benefit. And afterwards the dying address him as birds as he walks over the field. "The German people are my children," says Emperor William; and he issues the edict for the compulsory life insurance of workingmen as unsolicited bounty. Both are instances of paternalism, and the principle in one case is as obnoxious as in the other. The principle of paternalism is an irresponsible authority above the people, mastering the people, with their welfare as a pretext.

But this essential of paternalism must be lacking in the republic. Whatever powers democracy may assume, it recognizes no author, no irresponsible organization itself. Democratic government may become, however socialistic it may become, nothing but democracy expressing its own will. If the individual is laid to surrender certain of his freedoms for the good of the whole, he surrenders to the people. That were not paternalism. That were for all, a fraternalism, better called

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NOTICE

TO CONTRACTORS

SEALED TENDERS addressed to the undersigned will be received at the Department of Public Works, Ontario, on Tuesday the 14th day of July next, for the grand staircase and ornamental grille work; for the interior woodwork and finishing, hardwood finishing, glazing etc. required for new Parliament and Departmental Buildings.

Printed forms of tender can be obtained at the Department and persons tendering are specially requested that they will not be entitled to have their tenders considered unless the same are made and in accordance with these printed forms, signed with the actual signature of every person tendering (including each member of the firm), followed by his or their office address.

Each tender for wrought silk and hardware must be accompanied by an accepted bank cheque for two thousand dollars; and each tender for the stone work must be accompanied by a certified bank cheque for two thousand dollars, both cheques to be made payable to the order of the Treasurer of Public Works, to be returned to the unsuccessful parties tendering declines to enter into a contract based upon his tender, when called upon to do so. Where the party tendering accepts the cheque will be returned.

For the due fulfilment of the contract entered into, two sufficient sureties will be required, each for the amount of twenty per cent of the contract, to be approved by the Minister, and the bank cheque will be retained by the Government as a portion of the security for the due fulfilment of the contract.

Each tender must be addressed to the undersigned, and endorsed "Tender for Parliament Buildings Works," will be received at this Department until the hour of noon, on Tuesday the 14th day of July next, for the grand staircase and ornamental grille work; for the interior woodwork and finishing, hardwood finishing, glazing etc. required for new Parliament and Departmental Buildings.

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Plans can be seen in the Clerk of Works office, the new buildings, and printed copies of the specifications can be obtained there, or on application at the Department.

The Department will not be bound to accept the lowest or any tender.

C. H. FRASER
Commissioner.

Department of Public Works for Ontario,
TORONTO, *July 10, 1891.*