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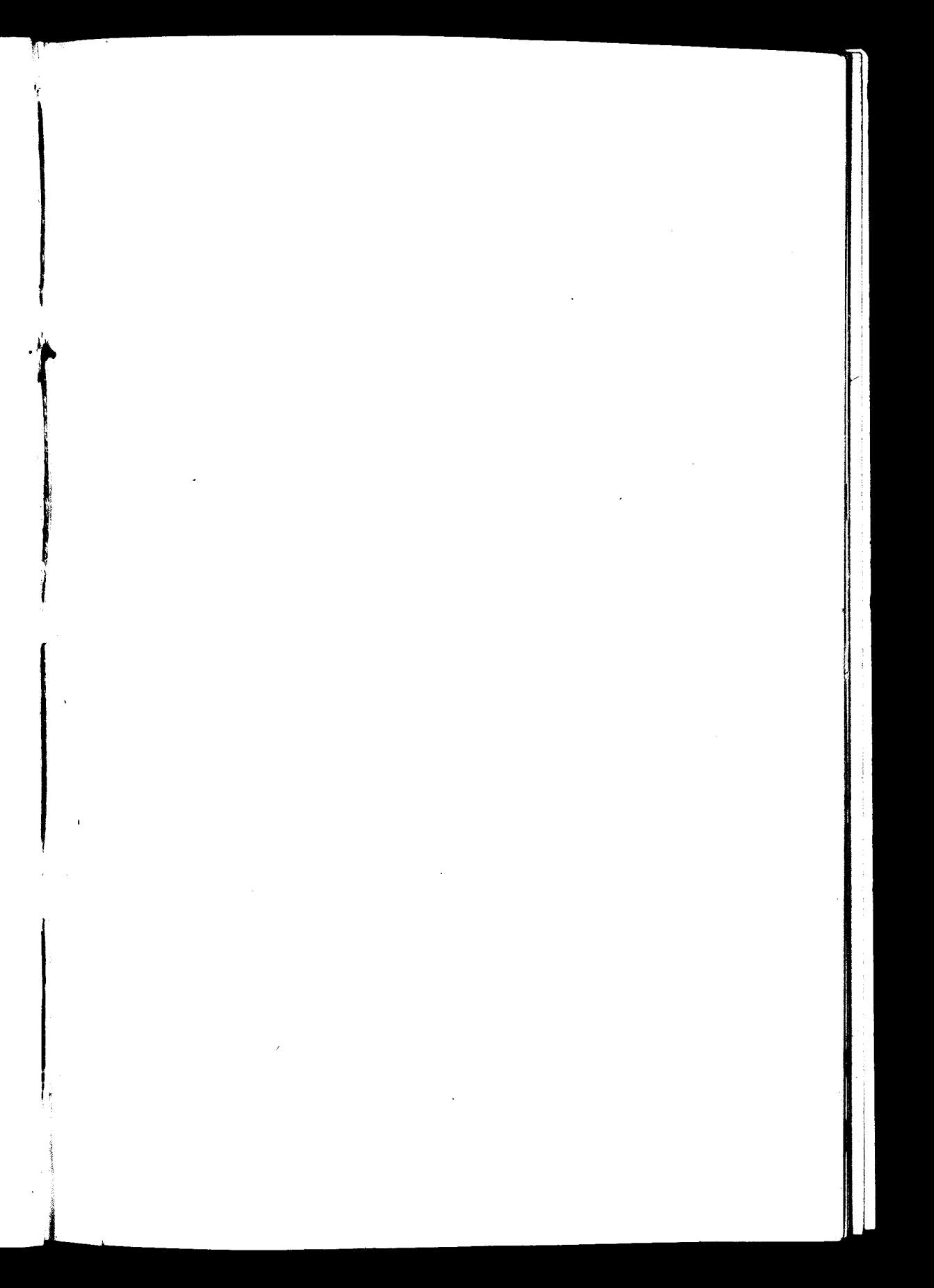
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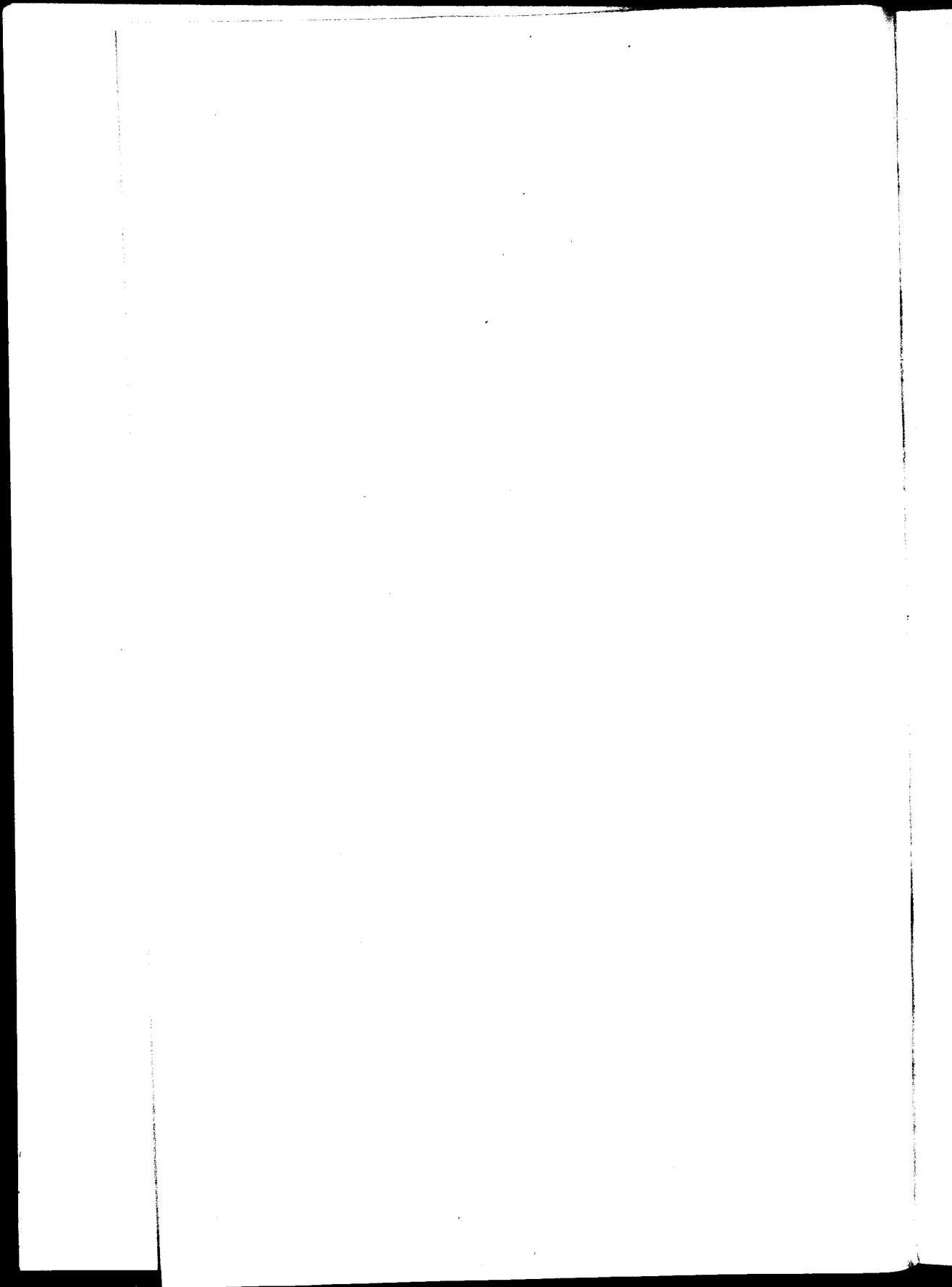


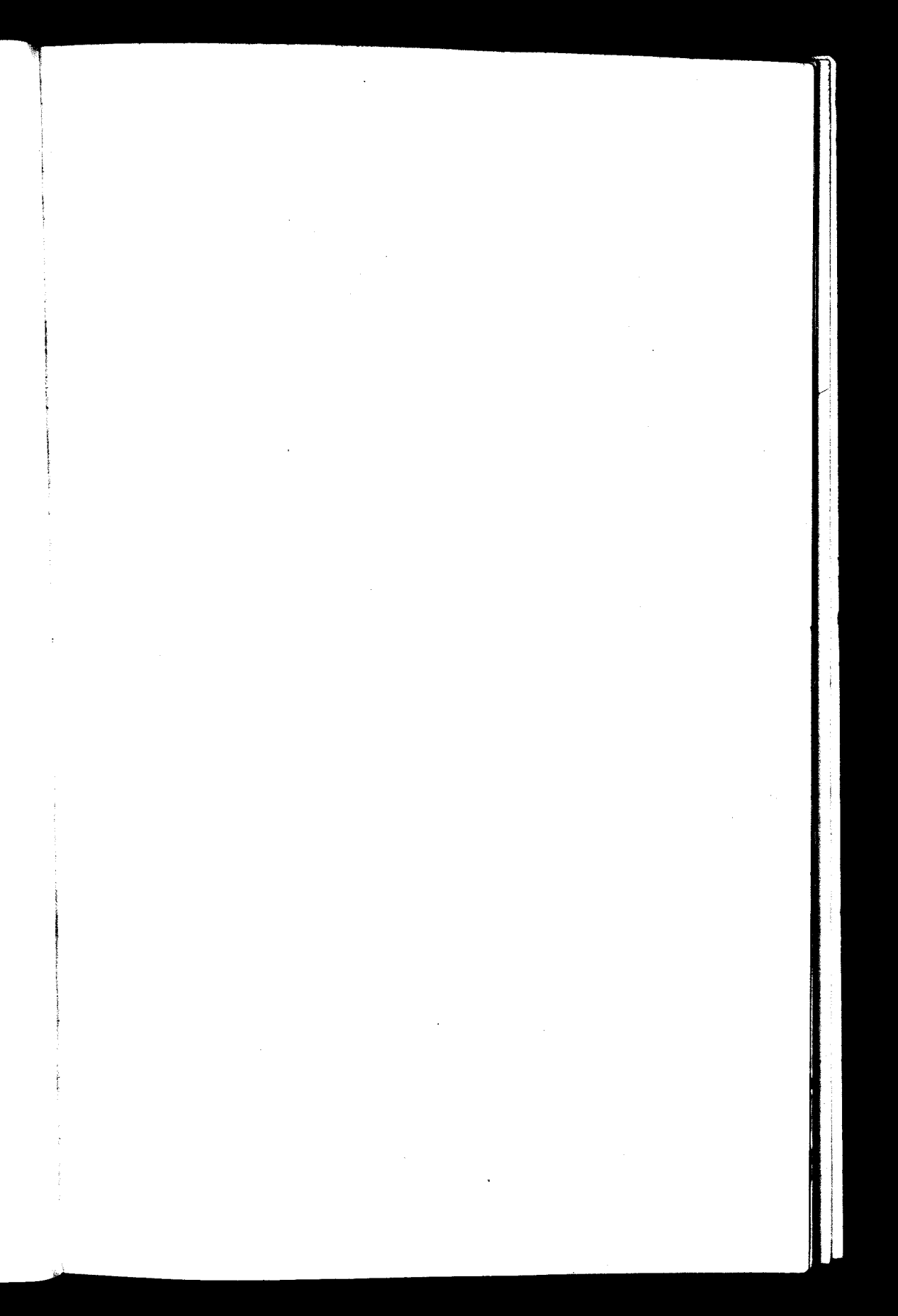
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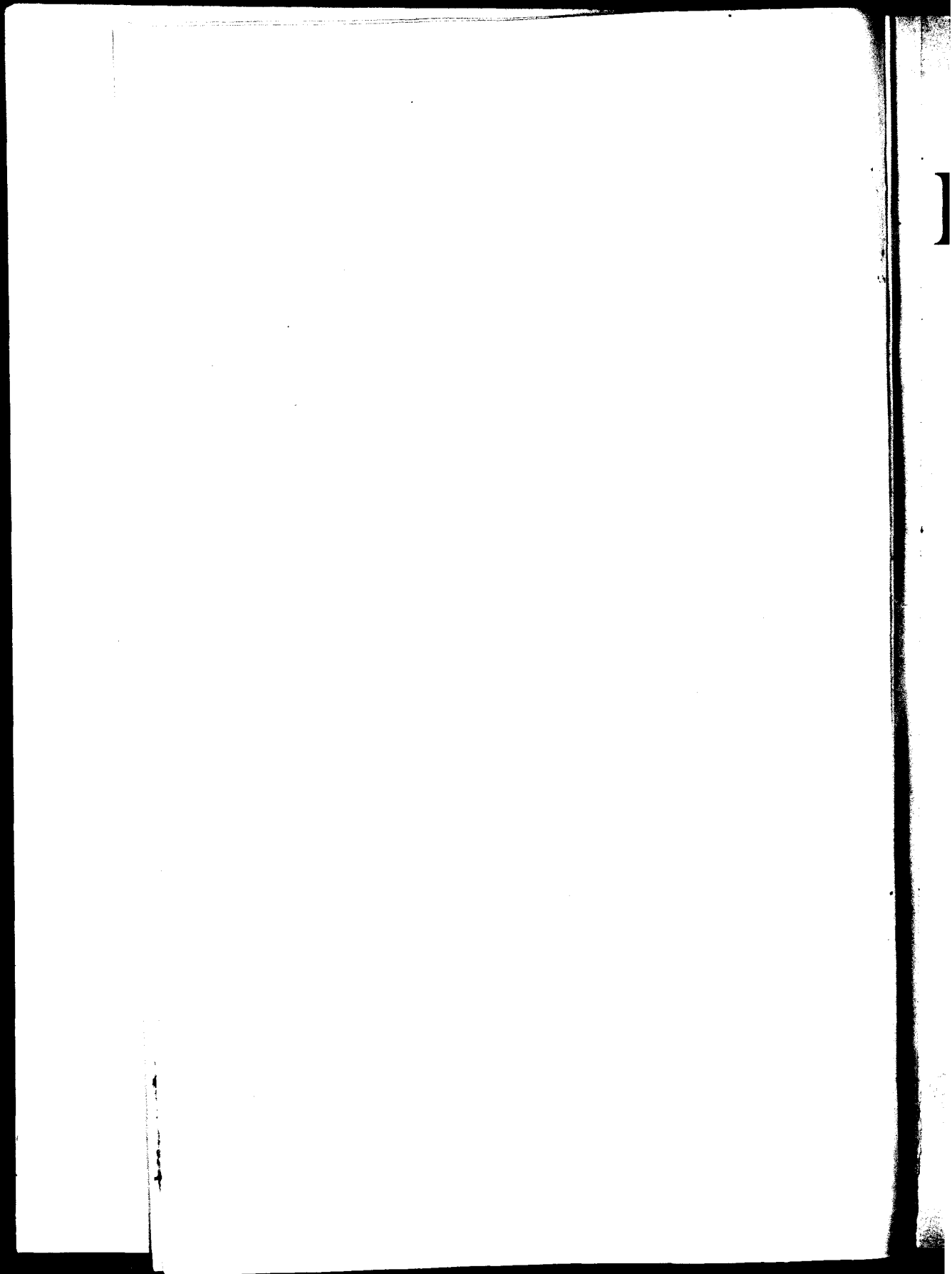
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THE BEQUEST OF
DANIEL MURRAY
WASHINGTON, D. C.
1925









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Socialism and Its Ethical Basis.



Daniel Amos, Esq.,
With the Commissioners,
of The University,

General Certificate

1711.

Socialism and Its Ethical Basis.

By

GEORGE FRAZIER MILLER.



AUTHOR OF

SOCIALISM IN THE GOSPEL SPECTRUM

SYLLABUS OF LOGIC

ADVENTISM ANSWERED

"Homo sum humani nil a me Alienum puto."

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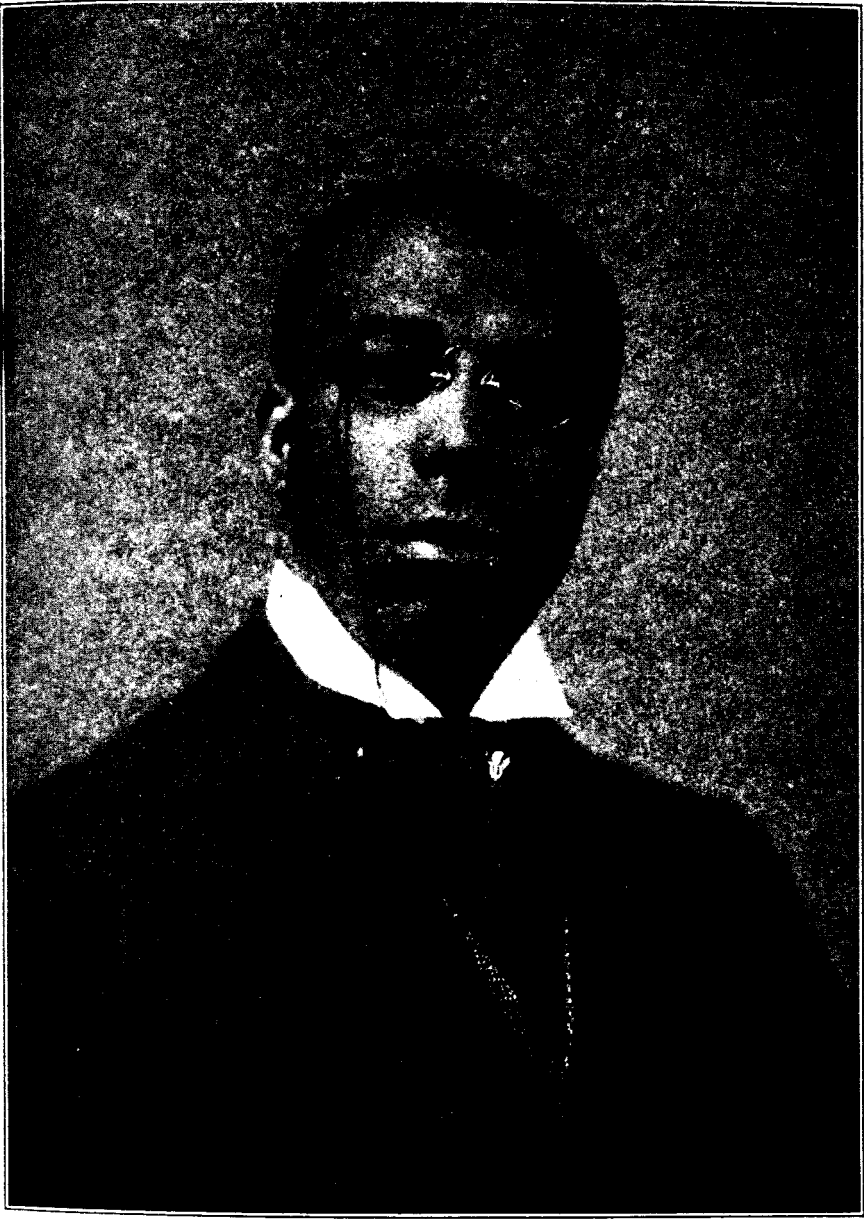
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INTRODUCTION.

By

RUFUS LEWIS PERRY.



NO single theory of civil polity will remain for any length of time against the opposition of a minority, whose aim is to adjust the living of man. This change primarily is due to the reforms of life and demands made to reconstruct society to meet certain exigencies. The discontent of the minority frequently breeds views and policies conducive to human happiness and human good, while the more favored majority in the fulness of power often abuse the power conferred, and the confidence reposed. Socialism is upon us.

In Germany the Socialistic Democratic Party is a force in the affairs of the Empire, and the day is not far distant when Socialism in this country will be a potent factor in politics, unless a greater respect is had for manhood rights and certain measures adopted for party policy and expediency are eradicated.

For years the march of Socialism in this country has been slow, but its tread has been sure. It cannot be ignored, because it has certain virtues which appeal to us. It is the economic philosophy of the suffering class. Without the name, its principles would carry either of the

two great parties into power. Its motto, "Everyone according to his deeds," invites the citizen to his best effort, to do something in life to make that life worth the living. It leads to those loftier plains where civil, intellectual and moral manhood attains its greatest development.

The Article by our fellow member, Rector George Frazier Miller, a scholar of high and brilliant attainment, who has devoted many years to the study of Sociology and Economics, will incline the reader to the thought that the aim of Socialism is a high one.

It is on trial in a section of our country where its principles and exponents won the confidence of the majority. In those sections, if its advocates prove true to their cause, a formidable competitor for recognition will have entered the arena of national politics.

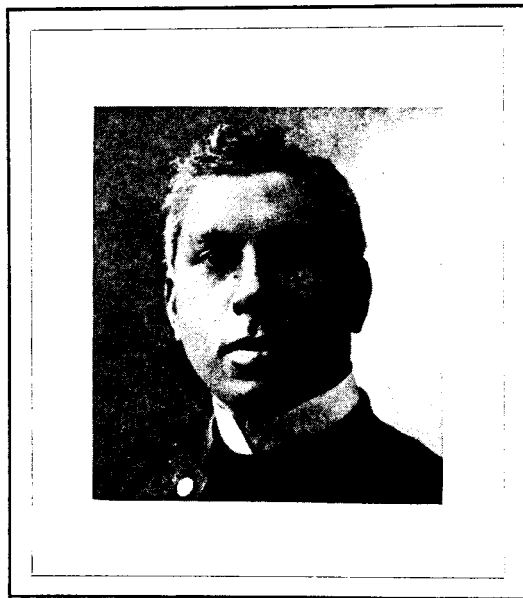
The Governors of the Hannibal Forum do not deem it amiss from its object in publishing this Article of George Frazier Miller, as our mission is to enlighten the members of our race by discussing at times economic subjects, and awaken an interest in the members as to their duty to Government and citizenship, firmly believing that a sufficient change in condition will restore the race to its wonted rank among the other peoples of the earth.



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GEORGE FRAZIER MILLER, A.M.

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Socialism and Its Ethical Basis.

By

GEORGE FRAZIER MILLER.



HE all absorbing theme of the day, and the one of universal interest, is the proper adjustment of man to man in the economic world.

The supreme value of life confers a commensurate importance upon the means of living; and as material things are necessary to a physical subsistence, the philosopher, out of his speculative interest, the moralist, from his benevolent impulse, and the working man, out of consideration of the pinch and strain in making provision for himself and his, are led to seek the solution of this most vital problem that challenges the attention of the human family.

A presentation of the claims of Socialism may be approached from divers points of view, but the writer, for the present monograph, chooses the ethical.

Emanuel Kant, the prince of modern philosophers, made many and varied classifications, according to the matter, or truth, that engaged his attention at a given time. Under one of them, he divided the Universe into the two divisions of persons and things. He held firmly to the doctrine that the person should never be used as a means to an end;

but as essentially, inviolably, and ever to be regarded, an end in himself; while the thing is never an end, but always a means to an end whose existence is justifiable in proportion as it serves the interest of men.

Accepting, as we must, the dictum of Kant to be a true principle, the question arises: Is it possible to justify the relation of employer and employe; or the use, granted or accepted, of one man's labor for the furtherance of another's objects? The case is justifiable or unjustifiable, according to what factors enter or remain without. And here is the very crux of our troubles in the economics of labor.

The moral demands of the situation are fully met when the employer uses the labor of his fellow, both in quality and quantity, according to the terms freely and satisfactorily stipulated; and rewards him for the same according to an equally free and satisfactory stipulation. In that case the service is reciprocal, and each is serving his own end.

Where either takes advantage of the other's ignorance or necessity, and overcharges or underpays, as the case might be, regardless of the legal terms of agreement, he violates the manhood of the other—his brother man—reducing him from a person to a thing; he enforces an involuntary service or an inadequate reward, and runs into desperate conflict with an eternal principle of righteousness—he has wrought fearful wreckage of a moral certitude.

When the capitalists, despising these principles, combine for self-aggrandizement, it is but reasonable that labor should combine for self-preservation. When man's inhumanity to man shall cease from the earth, and justice and equity reign supreme, we may well be rid of both the trust and the labor union, each, in its way, a positive detriment to society.

But the evil of unionism is only the evil of the counter irritant; and when capitalism shall be abolished, unionism shall have served its stewardship.

Injustice and brutality rage everywhere. Men, in different walks of life, show little or no regard for the sacred and inalienable rights of their fellow men; the vicious philosophy of Thomas Carlyle—that “might makes right”—is the motive power of their conduct.

The industrial injustice that crushes the vitals of millions, to-day, is, under a contemporaneous nomenclature, wage slavery every wit as villanous as chattel slavery that afflicted this country a generation ago. Every one who does an injustice to his fellow reduces him to the condition of slavery.

In wage slavery, as in chattel slavery, the slave-holder estimates the bondman according to his value as a wealth producing machine.

Ten hours of slave labor means ten hours of leisure for the exploiter of labor, and a conversion of that labor into so much wealth.

In the economical world, there is no more abominable sin than this.

A slave-holding class, in a community, is simply the legalized robber band thereof; and it is all of a piece whether a man be robbed directly of his labor or of the monetary results accruing therefrom.

Here is the great sin against God and nature—that a man, who is designedly and constitutionally an end in himself, is reduced to the condition of a thing—a means to another's end.

The Socialist says that whatever good may be accomplished through appeal to the individual conscience and the regenerated heart, the corrective of these abominable abuses can never be applied so long as the capitalistic regime sways the land. There must come, as the

conditio sine qua non, the social regeneration in the form of the Co-operative Commonwealth. The inauguration of the collectivist order of society implies the coincident relegation of the presently obtaining governmental or commercial form of procedure—this form being capitalistic, of the spirit of greed, selfishness, oppression, murder.

The aim of the capitalist is gain—individual and personal gain—to gain as much as he can, and by whatever means he can; and, in his artfulness at gain, he takes on a form of charity by a reduction of the purchase price of his marketed wares. But nothing is farther from his aim, or purpose, than charity.

While he undersells all competitors, the needy consumer goes to him and buys of him: even those of us who have scented his schemes go to him and buy of him, because, our means being small and our needs many, we do not feel that we can afford, for the exemplification of the abstract principle, to pay a higher price than that for which we can get what is wanted, in order to offset the evil design of this tradesman who is pretending charity. In other words, under the pressure of a present necessity, we avail ourselves of the alluring opportunity to seize the greatest momentary advantage. The real purpose of the capitalist is, through underselling those of like trade, to drive them out of trade, and so destroy competition that he may be placed alone in that trade, and be privileged, finally, to charge what he likes for what he sells.

When there is but one man, or one concern (a trust, for instance), selling a certain commodity, there is no question of the fact that we who buy those goods must pay whatever price is demanded of us. And under the capitalistic regime, the prices demanded for the bare necessi-

ties of life, when the trade is in monopoly control, are atrociously beyond the cost production.

The Socialistic movement was put forth to correct this vicious abuse of men in the cost of their living. The collective ownership of the means of production and of distribution is the remedy which the situation demands, and that programme is the quintessence of Socialism.

Socialism holds that all public utilities should be commonly owned—as is the Post Office.

It holds that no man should go without work who wants work.

It holds that, the public utilities being operated for service and not for gain, every man who works should be working for himself, and not for the purpose of enriching some one else.

It holds that the right to work establishes the corollary of immunity from discharge, except for cause, as is now the law in certain branches of government.

It holds that if a man produce \$8.00 of value, he should get \$8.00 for his work, and not \$2.50 while \$5.50 goes to enrich some one else.

It holds that each laborer should receive for his toil a living wage—the principle of a living wage being a monetary reward sufficient to support his family, and exempt his minor children from labor.

It opposes, therefore, child-labor.

It stands for universal schooling at government expense.

It stands for insurance against want in old age; for it holds that the farmhand or the layer of sewer pipes, of a meritorious industrial record, is as much entitled to protection in old age, or decrepitude, as the judge, or the army officer, who is retired on a pension.

It stands for political and industrial equality for all adults.

It stands for equal opportunity for all men to improve their talents, and to advance according to their ability, and not according to the arbitrary will, pleasure or favor of persons in power.

These are but a few points in the Socialistic propaganda sufficient for our purpose, which is to furnish an insight to those who might desire to know somewhat of the movement to establish the Cooperative Commonwealth; to set forth few of its salient features for the contemplation of those who might be inclined to study at length its philosophy; and to point out its righteousness to those who might lend their aid in hastening the consummation of the impending revolution.



HANNIBAL CREED.

1.

That God hath made of one blood all nations of men, and that fatherhood in God necessitates brotherhood in man.

2.

That righteousness exalteth a nation but sin is a reproach to any people.

3.

That a man's condition and not his color is the ground upon which notions of him are to be based.

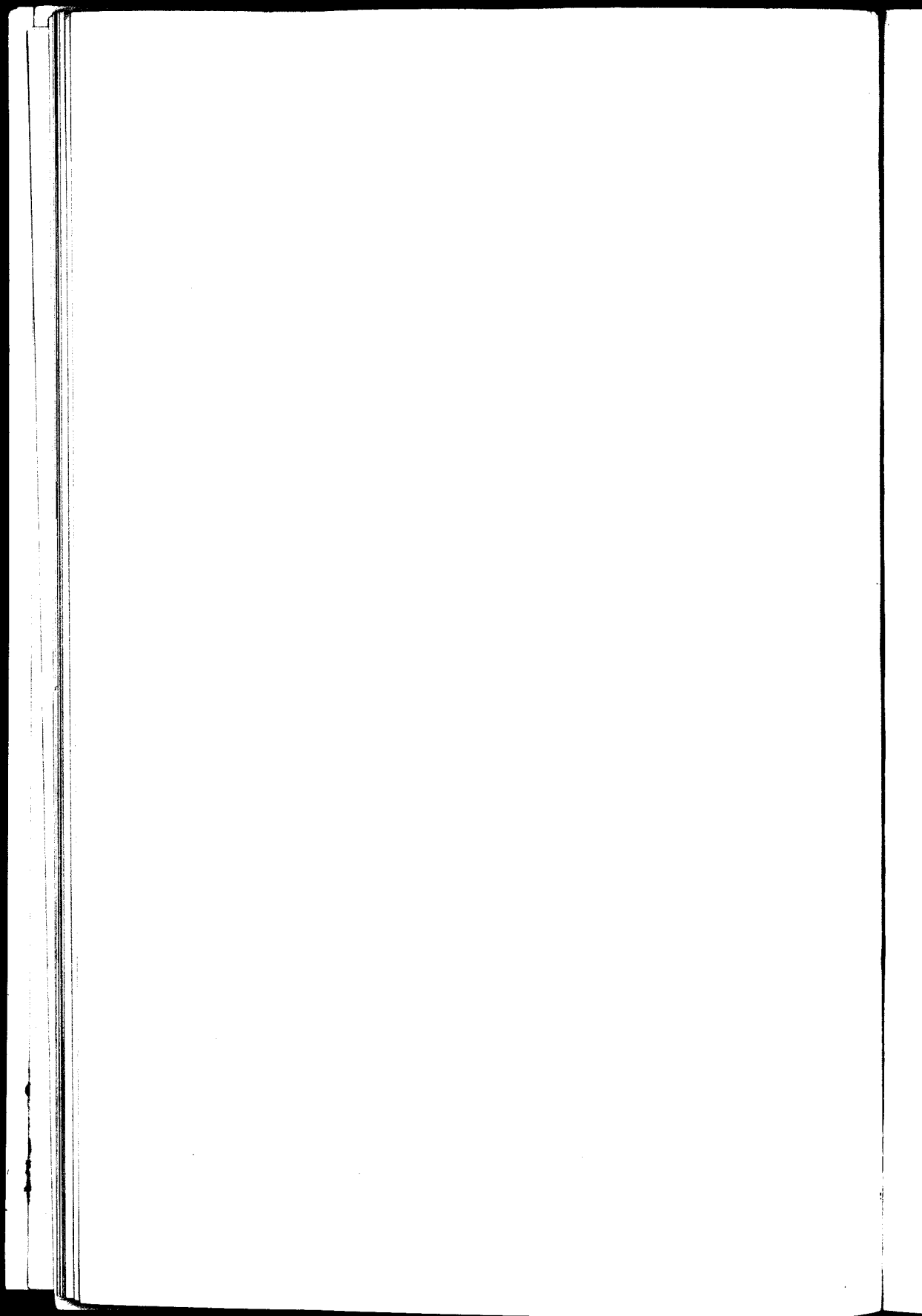
4.

That a sufficient change in the condition of the black man will restore him to his wonted rank among the other peoples of the earth.

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