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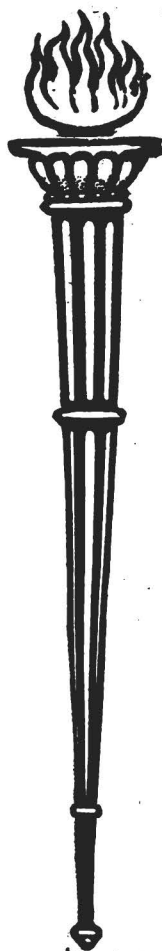
no. 1

THE VANGUARD

A Magazine of Progress

MAY, 1903

PRICE 10c



ON that day, we shall pass from class paternalism, originally derived from fetich fiction in times of universal ignorance to Human Brotherhood in accordance with the nature of things and our growing knowledge of it; from Political Government to Industrial Administration; from Competition in Individualism to Individuality in Co-operation; from War and Despotism in any form to Peace and Liberty.

—Carlyle.

The Vanguard Press
GREEN BAY, WISCONSIN

The Vanguard

PUBLISHED MONTHLY

J. M. A. SPENCE

EDITOR

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AND

Natural Probability of a Reign of Justice

—BY—

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Edited with biographical sketch by Alexander Harvey

NOTHING more remarkable than the history of this book, except the book itself, has occurred in literary history. Dove was a generation in advance of Henry George in propounding the momentous doctrine of the Single Tax, and the charge of plagiarism made against George grew out of this fact. Dove, however, a deep scholar and profound thinker, champions the Single Tax on land from quite a different standpoint than George. In this respect the work will startle Single Taxers. It has been edited, not garbled, by Alexander Harvey, who prefaces the book with a life of the author and a mention of the remarkable circumstances that led to its suppression. The volume is complete and unabridged.

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THE VANGUARD

"Move to the fore!
God himself waits and must wait till thou come.
Men are God's prophets, though ages lie dumb.
Halts the Christ kingdom, with conquest so near?
Thou art the cause, then, thou man at the rear.
Move to the fore!"

VOL. 1.

GREEN BAY, WIS., MAY, 1903.

NO. 7

EDITORIAL

We publish in this number the splendid message of Rev. E. G. Updike, D. D., of Madison, Wis., delivered before a large audience in the First Congregational church of that city on Sunday, May 3. Dr. Updike is one of the most influential ministers in this state and his utterance will carry much weight. His subject, "Government Commercialized," suggests the climax of capitalism which we have reached and his manly arraignment of the system which is breeding political corruption and thwarting the will of the people is masterly and unanswerable. Whether he be a Socialist or not we do not know but there could be no better statement of the situation from the Socialist point of view. Directly in line with Dr. Lyman Abbott's declaration, quoted in the April VANGUARD, and with the Socialist contention, Dr. Updike states the issue which confronts us in the following clear and concise manner:

"We are entering, as a people, upon a great struggle, which will be an irrepressible conflict as surely as was the war which gave the slave his freedom.

"One party will have great power—the power of corporate wealth. It will be an oligarchy. The other party will be of the people. The oligarchy will proclaim that civilization and all its glories will perish if the reckless masses are permitted to gain control of all the means of wealth.

"The party of the people will go forward to meet the issue, and it will do it in the name of patriotism.

"It will establish a government of the people and by the people and for the people.

"A commercialized government for a favored few will then be an impossibility.

"Every man must take side in this conflict."

There can be no mistaking the meaning of these paragraphs. O that the pulpit everywhere would ring out with just such unequivocal declarations! The people are ready for it. The time is ripe for it. The welfare of the country demands it. And the very life of the church depends upon whether it will set its face steadfastly against godless money

power and stand squarely for the rights of man, or by dallying with duty compromise its position and invite certain dissolution. The church as well as the individual must take side.

"O my God for that free spirit,
Which of old in Boston town,
Smote the Province House with terror,
Struck the crest of Andros down.
For another strong-voiced Adams
In the city streets to cry,
'Up for God and Massachusetts,
Set your feet on Mammon's lie!'"

Opposition to the demands of Socialism from ministers is coming to be regarded as highly inconsistent even in the eyes of laymen who might object to Socialism on personal grounds. This is shown by the following remarkable editorial utterance of the Dubuque Telegraph-Herald of recent date. Referring to criticisms of Socialism by local clergy, (whose statements evidenced deplorable ignorance of the subject) the Telegraph-Herald says:

"Socialism is nothing if it is not a movement to make men spiritually better, and ever mindful of honorable relations with their fellow men. It is nothing if not an appeal for the truly Christian life, such as Christ designed, such as He died for. It is nothing if not a movement for the elimination of sin, for the amelioration of suffering and the establishment of social and business relations on an uncompromising Christian basis. Being all this and more, it is, to say the least, inconsistent in ministers striving for the moral upliftment of human kind to fling darts at it. It is eminently proper for the layman to impeach the practicability of Socialism, but impeachment of its success by the religious is tantamount to a denial by them that the true Christian state is possible in this life, a denial that what Christ strove for can be obtained. We do not expect compromise from the religious and we anticipate that they shall contend that the kingdom of Christ on earth is practicable. Churchmen must put their opposition to Socialism on technical grounds and cannot consistently withhold sympathy from the purposes of Socialism. Thus, attacks which are embittered, which abound in passionate denunciation of Socialists, are in poor grace and we can accord little respect to a statement made recently by a minister, that Socialist literature is unfit to read. It is no more unfit than the Bible and it draws its inspiration from the Bible."

Of course we do not agree with the suggestion that it is "eminently proper" for laymen to object to Socialism on "technical" grounds. The moral law is as binding on the layman as on the minister and the "establishment of social and business relations on an uncompromising Christian basis" is as much the duty of one as the other. But this editorial is remarkable for its admission that Socialism, far from attacking religion, is a demand for the realization of the principles of Christ in the industrial world. And Christian people who oppose the movement would do well to ponder over this statement of the case.

Good morning! How are you enjoying "prosperity?" No doubt you have read about it. It has been in vogue for some time and may last a few years longer. Study its characteristics closely. Now is your opportunity. You may never fully realize that it was here until it has fled. Please do not think we are joking. "Prosperity" is here. So "they" tell us. And we must have "confidence" in the powers that be. "Unparalleled prosperity!" How do you like your share? And have you heard the latest regarding your happy estate? "Prosperity to Stay, Financiers Agree with Morgan that Good Times Will Continue," is the heading of a press despatch in the Chicago Record-Herald of May 7. And the Record-Herald poet thus sings of the beauties of the situation of which our financiers take such a "cheerful view":

"They raised his salary two years ago last May,
The said increase amounting to 30 cents a day.

Since then they've raised the prices
Of carrots and of beets,
Of flour and of meats,
Of corn and coal and fruits,
Of babies' little boots,
Of potatoes, milk and cheese,
Of the product of the bees,
Of hats and socks and coats,
Of all that sinks or floats.

He's paying out the money that he saved before his raise
But prosperity's upon us, and his heart is full of praise."

These sentiments will, of course, be doubly appreciated by those who have not yet received that raise of "two years ago last May."

But alas for the fond dreams of Morgan & Co., even Senator Hanna is beginning to "see things." He warns the capitalists that "one of the greatest panics the world has ever seen" is looming up on the clear sky of "prosperity," due to the fact that "wages have not kept pace with the great increase in the cost of food," a statement which he says "can easily be proven by consulting any of the tables published by either Bradstreet's or Dun's, and the quicker we recognize this phase of the political question the better it will be for us." Mr. Hanna is certainly to be commended for the frankness with which he addresses his fellow capitalists when he says:

"We are at fault. Everything that Wall street could do to foment trouble it has been guilty of doing. Millions upon millions of securities have been issued and the middle class has been pumped dry.

"The buying power of the workers has been reduced greatly and we have offered every inducement to the laboring man by our attitude to revolt."

But to this shrewd politician the "main question" is how

to avert disaster to the "party" which he fears from what he calls "the storm clouds gathering on the political horizon." And the spectre he so much dreads he describes as follows:

"I am anything but optimistic on the situation. Workingmen are absorbing quickly the revolutionary spirit which is being inculcated by the Socialists, who are spreading their propaganda broadcast, and it is bearing fruit in the ranks of the workers, and we capitalists had better not close our eyes to these pregnant facts, but on the other hand meet them, and if possible divert their fire into our political parties."

Too late, Mr. Hanna. Considerably too late. It is no longer possible to "stem the tide" or "divert the fire" of an enlightened and aroused people in their demands for economic freedom and industrial democracy. There is nothing more certain than that you cannot continue to use the workers of this country as so many mere voting machines to do the bidding of Wall street and its political agents. Two hundred per cent increase in the Socialist vote since last November ought to convince you that the "revolutionary spirit," has caught on to an extent that means the capture of the powers of government by the people within the next decade. We commend your almost brutal frankness. But the game wont work.

Congressman Littlefield, author of the so-called anti-trust bill writes at length in *The Independent* on "Publicity and the Trust Question" and sums up his conclusions in the sentence, "Publicity is an exceedingly mild but necessary exercise of control." Exceedingly mild, indeed! And of what value? What does the Standard Oil Company, for instance, care though its nefarious methods are well known to the public. It has already had more than a mild publicity and we see no signs of repentance. Our Socialist bard, J. L. McCreery, thus sings in praise of "Publicity:"

Suppose a lamb—outside the fold,
Amid the darkness and the cold,
With wolves that roamed the forest through—
Would he be safe because he knew
How many fangs were in their jaws,
And just the sharpness of their claws;
So if the coal and sugar trust,
And others that I hear discussed,
Were each and all to send me here
An accurate statement every year;
Since I, for everything I use
Would have to pay just what they choose,
I must confess I cannot see
What special benefit to me
Would come from such publicity."

Postal subscription cards, each good for one year's subscription to THE VANGUARD, may be had at our office in lots of four or more at 25 cents each. Send for a bunch and sell them to your friends. This is a convenient way to secure new subscribers.

Will not Socialism submerge the individual and produce a weaker type of character? No! Bishop Brooke Foss Westcott rightly says: "Socialism seeks such an organization of life as shall secure for every one the most complete development of his powers."

Now the trusts are of the capitalists, by the capitalists, for the capitalists; but under Socialism the trusts will be of the people, by the people, for the people. "Let the nation own the trusts."

"Whom the gods destroy they first make mad"—as President Parry was when he made his address at the recent convention of the Manufacturers' Association.

"The earth hath He given to the children of men," not to a few of the children but to all of them. Socialism will restore to man his natural rights.

THE VANGUARD is in receipt of the report of the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission, issued as Bulletin No. 46 of the Department of Labor, a lengthy and thoroughly disappointing document. We are at a loss to understand how President Roosevelt could have referred to this report in such terms as he used in his address at Sioux Falls when he said: "No government document of recent years marks a more important piece of work better done, and there is none which teaches sounder social morality to our people." After reading the report we are constrained to say that no document could deal with so important a matter and leave it in a more unsatisfactory condition, and none could more completely evade the moral issues involved.

Is it true that the demands of the miners have, for the most part, been approved and the awards hold good for three years; but these would undoubtedly have been conceded by the operators had no commission been appointed. No strike was more certain of success than that of the anthracite miners last year, and in addition to advance in wages they would

likely have gained recognition of their union, which is now denied them. It is also true that the appointment of the commission secured resumption of mining and a supply of fuel for immediate use. But apart from this its appointment appears to have been productive of no good whatever. The great questions raised by the coal strike are left untouched, and so far as the general public is concerned the situation is even worse than it was before. How do you like the price fixed for next winter's coal?

The fact is the anthracite coal trust has a firmer grip on the consumer than ever, and the following criticism of the work of the commission by the Chicago Record-Herald is fully justified:

"The report of the anthracite strike commission is very disappointing in that it leaves the relations between the public and the coal trust unimproved in any particular. The trust is represented as a group of legitimate business interests, whose methods are, generally speaking, above reproach. There is no criticism of its manipulation of prices, no indication that it has tyrannized over its employes, no recognition of its law-breaking propensities as owner and operator of both mines and railroads.

"The trust can certainly regard it with great equanimity because the illegal acts that are charged against it are ignored, its treatment of its employes receives practically no censure. And although the award must increase its expenses it has and is already exercising the power to more than recoup itself for these added costs. The net result is, therefore, decidedly favorable to Mr. Baer and his associates.

"For aught that this investigation has accomplished the trust remains as impregnable as ever in its attitude toward the people, and will take the advance in wages out of the people. The question now is, will the representatives of the people permit it to go on undisturbed in its defiance and infraction of the law?"

What, then, is there deserving of the President's commendation in the conclusions of a commission which having before it evidence that the business methods of the coal trust are vicious and criminal makes no comment thereon and no recommendation in the case? What kind of "sound social morality" is taught by passing over the cruel and infamous practices of the operators without a word of censure? There could be no more unsound social morality taught than that of the attitude of a body of men such as composed the commission reviewing the facts placed before them and uttering no vigorous disapproval of the shocking immoralities brought to light.

So far as the work of this commission is concerned, the great moral and legal questions involved in the coal strike are as far from settlement as ever. They always will remain unsettled until the mines are taken over by the people and run in the interest of the public. Socialism alone will rightly solve this and other similar problems, and not till we get Socialism can we look for industrial peace and equity.

The Need of Change

By James Russell Lowell

The time is ripe, and rotten ripe for change;
Then let it come. I have no dread of what
Is called for by the instinct of mankind;
Nor think I that God's world will fall apart
Because we tear a parchment more or less.
Truth is eternal, but her effluence,
With endless change is fitted to the hour;
Her mirror is turned forward to reflect
The promise of the future, not the past.
He who would win the name of truly great
Must understand his own age and the next.
And make the present ready to fulfil
Its prophecy, and with the future merge,
Gently and peacefully, as wave with wave.
The future works out great men's purposes:
The present is enough for common souls,
Who, never looking forward are indeed
Mere clay, wherein the footprints of their age
Are petrified forever. Better those
Who lead the blind old giant by the hand
From out the pathless desert where he gropes,
And set him onward in his darksome way.
I do not fear to follow out the truth,
Albeit along the precipice's edge.
Let us speak plain: there is more in names
Than most men dream of; and a lie may keep
Its throne a whole age longer, if it skulk
Behind the shield of some fair-sounding name.
Let us call tyrants tyrants and maintain
That only freedom comes by grace of God,
And all that comes not by His grace must fall;
For men in earnest have no time to waste
In patching fig-leaves for the naked truth.

GOVERNMENT COMMERCIALIZED

By Rev. E. G. UPDIKE, Madison, Wis.



It is a very difficult thing to bring together seventy millions of people and secure perfect unity of action. There is the greatest diversity of character, ideals, opinion and practices. All nationalities are represented. Public opinion is of recent development and is commensurate with democracy. There could be no public opinion until the printing press, but even today there is no proper appreciation of the public rights. In time of war we call a man a traitor who betrays his country, but to betray the public interests in time of peace is the same in principle. We allow the public rights to be trampled upon and totally disregarded. Our patience is often born of laziness of spirit or rather selfishness. We sit by and see the contest for office go on when the game of politics is being played when the whole thing is lacking in patriotism, and can result only in a betrayal of public interests. There is little resentment when special privileges are asked for special classes.

After the war of the rebellion, the best ability of the country was called to the service of industrial expansion. Great railway lines were constructed. Government aid in some cases was a necessity, but it did not stop with the necessity. Infant industries were protected, some of which still bear the name while they are giants with power that is a menace to the mother that gave them birth. The concentration of capital stands in such relation to government that you can scarcely define what you mean by government except in terms of commerce.

IT IS THE SAME DEVIL

The power at the heart of every despotism of the past was the desire for special privileges for special classes. It was this that our fathers resented in the Revolutionary war. It was at the heart of the slaveholding aristocracy in the south. And today in new form it comes again and demands special legislation for its vested interests.

There is no condemnation for wealth honestly won and honestly used, but when it comes to corrupt legislation and to trample upon the rights of the many in the interests of the few, it is the same devil that was at the heart of Nero and Judas.

The history of political corruption in this country is the history of commercialism seeking to secure special legislation for itself. It makes possible every political boss. Croker and Platt and Quay could not stand an hour if you were to remove the commercialism which sustains them. The puppet in the chair of the Illinois legislature is not the source of corruption; neither is the boss behind him. It is the corporate interests that want special favors, and will do anything to secure them.

The man at the end of the wire, who moves in respectable society and supports church and gives to philanthropy but who uses the boss to do his dirty work, is the real traitor against whom condemnation should fall.

The source of the corruption in St. Louis is not in the boodling aldermen, who have been sent to the penitentiary, but the commercial interests

that want special favors, that have attempted to use these men.

CONDEMNATION WHERE IT BELONGS

Let us go to the root of the matter. Let us pronounce condemnation where it belongs. There is no more vital principle than this, that government is for all the people and not a favored few.

The members of our own legislature who heard in last week's discussion the protest of the shippers and not the indignation of a mighty people, are short sighted. The people of this country, when they come to their senses, will never consent to have the railroads, which are common carriers, run in the interests of a special class.

The power to build up one man and destroy another, to build up one community at the expense of another, is as vicious at heart as taxation without representation which so stirred the souls of our fathers. It has made possible the Standard Oil company, with its iniquitous millions. It has made possible all the abuse in the coal fields, where a whole nation is plundered in the interests of an oligarchy.

GREAT ISSUE THAT MUST BE FACED

We are entering, as a people, upon a great struggle, which will be an irrepressible conflict as surely as was the war which gave the slave his freedom. For a time, perhaps, both parties will refuse to face the great issue. We shall have a repetition of the attitude of the Whig and Democratic parties before the civil war. But the time will come when the issue will be clearly defined. One party will stand as did the old Democratic party in the slavery days, for the notion that vested rights, property contracts, obligations, even legal technicalities are more sacred than human life. The other party will stand for the principle that property and other legal rights were created for man, and that he must not be the slave of his own institutions.

One party will have great power—the power of corporate wealth. It will be an oligarchy. The other party will be the people. The oligarchy will proclaim that civilization and all its glories will perish if the reckless masses are permitted to gain control of all the means of wealth.

The party of the people will go forward to meet the issue, and it will do it in the name of patriotism.

It will establish a government of the people and by the people and for the people.

A commercialized government for a favored few will then be an impossibility.

Every man must take side in this conflict. There is required as great statesmanship today as in any past crisis in our history. As much courage, wisdom, common sense, civic grit and true patriotism are need now as when our flag was dishonored by the rebel guns at Ft. Sumter.

The great question of the future is money against legislation. My friends, you and I shall be in our graves long before that battle is ended; and unless our children have more patience and courage than saved this country from slavery, republican institutions will go down before moneyed corporations. Rich men die, but banks are immortal, and railroad corporations never have any disease. In the long run, with legislatures they are sure to win.—*Wendell Phillips.*

THE VOICES OF THE PEOPLE

By ELLA WHEELER WILCOX

Oh, I hear the people calling through the day time and the night time,
 They are calling, they are crying for the coming of the right time.
 It behooves you, men and masters, it behooves you to be heeding,
 For there lurks a note of menace underneath their plaintive pleading.

Let the land usurpers listen, let the greedy-hearted ponder,
 On the meaning of the murmur, rising here and swelling yonder,
 Swelling louder, waxing stronger, like a storm-fed stream that courses
 Through the valleys, down abysses, growing, gaining with new forces.

Day by day the river widens, that river of opinion,
 And its torrent beats and plunges at the base of greed's dominion;
 Though you dam it by oppression and fling golden bridges o'er it,
 Yet the day and hour advances when in fright you'll flee before it.
 Yes, I hear the people calling, through the night time and the day time.

Wretched toilers in life's autumn, weary young ones in life's May time;
 They are crying, they are calling for their share of work and pleasure,
 You are heaping high your coffers, while you give them scanty measure,
 You have stolen God's wide acres, just to glut your swollen purses—
 Oh, restore them to His children ere their pleadings turn to curses.

THE NEW PATRIOTISM

By SAMUEL M. JONES, Mayor of Toledo

Before one can be patriotic, he must understand that patriotism means something more than red fire, bunting, Fourth of July orations, fire crackers, white squadrons and big standing armies; that when the real patriotism—the love of our fellows—is more fully developed, these fraudulent representations will have disappeared from our society and be no longer known except as relics of the developmental period. The best definition that I know of patriotism was given us by Lammenais; here it is: "I love my family more than myself, my village more than my family, my country more than my village and mankind more than my country." There is a definition of patriotism that will last

"Till the sun grows cold,

And the stars are old

And the leaves of the judgment book unfold."

Patriotism means love of the whole, and the new patriotism will not be limited by boundary lines of states or nations, but will include the whole human family. It will not be satisfied nor content until a social and political order of love and justice shall have been inaugurated that will grant to every baby born equal opportunities with every other baby to live the best and noblest kind of a life that it possibly can live. The new patriotism will help us to see that we are patriots only when each individual finds his or her greatest pleasure in making the individual life a contribution to the building up of the whole common life. The new patriotism will lead us to

understand that patriotism and partyism cannot abide together; that if one is a patriot, he cannot be a partisan; that an idle life cannot be a patriotic life; that a man or woman who lives an idle life, who does nothing to build up the community life, who makes no contribution to the good of the nation, is not a patriot. Just as each key of a piano or great organ is necessary to make the complete whole, so in the new patriotism we shall see that each individual soul must be in its place, fulfilling its mission to bring about the harmoniously organized society that is yet to be developed under our government.

TOLEDO, O.

SOCIALISM AND CHRISTIANITY

By J. E. HARRIS



SOCIALISM shows to the disciple of Jesus the way in which the ideals of the Nazarene may be followed and ultimately fulfilled. It points Christianity to what is necessary to make possible that unfolding of the kingdom of God to which all Christians look forward. Socialism applies to material things, the spiritual truths taught by Jesus and says to the man of talent, your genius, your inventive ability, your power in every direction are given you by God not for your own advancement alone, not to enable you to secure your own selfish desires, but for the good of all mankind. You will not follow Jesus' teaching, will not attain the divine purpose for which you are intended until you devote your life to the betterment of all instead of your own welfare.

In the New Testament is given a story of the temptation of Christ, in which it is said that Satan took Jesus up on a high mountain and showed him all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them. All these were promised to Jesus if he would fall down and worship Satan.

Jesus, we are told, "was in all points tempted like as we." This was, therefore, a real temptation. It appealed to him with all the force that temptation to gain wealth, to gain material power, to control men, appeals to man today.

We can understand from this story of the temptation of Jesus that at this time in his life, just at the beginning of his earthly ministry, he saw clearly before him two possibilities. He realized that all the power latent within himself might be devoted to personal ends, to the aggrandizement of self. He saw the Jews eagerly waiting for the Messiah, a place to which he would be welcomed if he would consent to ignore the errors of the priests, to accept religious ideas as they had been. For him to have yielded to this placing of self-interest as supreme aim in life, would have been to yield to the temptation, and it will hardly be questioned that the result would have been as promised by the tempter.

But the result of the opposite course was equally plain to him. He saw the value to the world of a few short years spent in making known to others the precious gifts of truth and righteousness with which he felt himself inspired. He saw the need of the world, not so much for knowl-

edge of these things, as for some one who would devote his life to living them out as a practical, shining example that would stand as a pattern for all time—nay, for one who could even give up his life and all its beautiful possibilities, that truth be established.

And, seeing both paths, Jesus gave up all chance for personal advantage and devoted his life to others.

Does not every person meet just such a temptation as Jesus met, differing only in degree as the ability of the individual is greater or less? Are not men of genius called upon to decide the same question that Jesus decided on the mountain? They have the choice of using their God-given powers for their personal advantage, or for the benefit of their fellow men. Their lives are the answer to this temptation.

This unselfishness, this living for others rather than for oneself, is the supreme test of Christianity, just as the temptation referred to was the final test by Satan of Jesus' moral strength. Whatever helps towards that life is Christian; whatever discourages it is opposed to Christianity.

That our present social and industrial system tends to encourage selfishness no one will deny. Under existing conditions life is a struggle for existence in which unselfishness or even honesty is almost a hopeless handicap. We demand competition, yet Jesus taught co-operation. The strong should assist the weak, not prey upon them.

Socialism supplements and aids Christianity by offering a plan of government in which each would work for the benefit of all. Socialism applies to industrial and political conditions the central truth of Jesus' teaching—service to others.

GREEN BAY, WIS.

A SOCIALIST PARABLE

By HERBERT N. CASSON



ONCE upon a time there was a village in a beautiful valley. It was entirely surrounded by steep and lofty mountains, which sheltered it from the storms of winter and the heat of summer.

The soil of the valley was very fertile, and all manner of grains and fruits grew in abundance. Although there were frequent droughts in the country round about the valley, it never lacked for water, even in the hottest of the summer months.

A never-failing stream, sparkling like molten glass, flowed merrily down from the highest mountain, ran in a sportive, zig-zag way through the valley, and passed into a wide cavern at the further end of it.

This stream was the special pride of all the villagers. They shielded it from all pollution, built fancy bridges over it, planted bright flowers along its banks. They believed it to be a gift from the gods, as they had an old tradition to that effect; and they would not allow any one to set foot upon the sacred mountain from which it came.

The villagers were all very happy and prosperous. Every one was free to drink of the stream, and to nourish his garden with it, for it belonged alike to all, and no one had a right to say of it, "This is my stream, and not yours."

Every villager possessed his own house, and not his neighbor's, and the land of the valley was equally divided among them. There was no man who did not his share of labor, and no one who was burdened with over-much work.

Every morning they were awakened by the singing of the birds, and every evening the men and women sang songs together, and taught the little children to dance and to play on the musical instruments.

But in the course of time one of the villagers, who was deformed in his mind, became a Financier, and wickedly determined to obtain grain and fruit without doing his share of the work.

To accomplish this infamous purpose, he climbed the sacred mountain, discovered the cleft in the rock from whence the stream issued, and stopped it up with rocks and logs. Then he descended unperceived to the valley, and joined the alarmed villages, who had discovered the stoppage of the waters.

According to their tradition, they believed that the stream came from the gods, and therefore they brought many sacrifices, and offered them upon altars at the foot of the holy mountain, but of course no water descended.

They chanted hymns and repeated prayers and fasted every third day, but their thirst increased more and more.

At last the Financier spoke to the others and said: "If ye will give me one hundred bushels of grain I will even risk my life for ye all. I will climb the mountain and intercede with the gods, and persuade them to send us the stream again."

And the villagers accepted his offer with great rejoicing, and in the evening, when it became dark, he ascended the mountain, rolled away the rocks and logs, and let the stream flow once more to the valley.

When the Financier returned, the happy people greeted him with great joy, and carried him on their shoulders to his home; for they said in their simplicity, "It is he that hath saved us from thirst and famine and death."

And the Financier, when he saw how easily the people were deceived, said to himself, "This whole valley shall be my garden, and all these people shall be my slaves."

And becoming more and more greedy of gain, he began to stop the stream up twice a week.

So in a short time he became the possessor, not only of all the grain and fruit, but also of the land and the houses, the furniture and even the musical instruments.

And until the very last house was taken, most of the people believed in the Financier, and carried him on their shoulders when he returned from the mountain. They spake loudly of his patriotism and philanthropy, for whenever he received from them one hundred bushels of grain, he always restored them one bushel to feed the poor. He likewise gave many bushels of grain to the clergy, and to the schoolmasters, and the men who wrote the chronicles of the village.

And the few who suspected the Financier to be a rogue, were afraid to speak their thoughts among the others, for fear he should drive them from the valley.

But as the unhappy villagers became poorer and more destitute and miserable, they began to think upon their former prosperity, and wonder why they should be starving in the midst of plenty, and why they should have to pay so much grain and fruit to the Financier. And a few of the more intelligent ones began to inquire, saying, "Why can we not go up the mountain ourselves, and cause the water to flow?"

But this seemed a terrible and dangerous saying to the simple-minded people, for they had never thought of it before.

The clergy said it was blasphemy, and the schoolmasters said it was ignorance, and the chroniclers said it was anarchism; and so for a long time the people remained in poverty, and many of their little children died for lack of food.

But at last several of them even dared to climb the mountain one day when the stream was dry, and they discovered the rocks and logs with which the Financier had stopped the waters, and they removed them and set a guard upon the spring.

And when all the people heard of it, they laid hands on the Financier, and said to him, "Why did ye do this thing?" And he said it is the Law of Business." And he besought them to have confidence in him.

But they said, "We cannot have confidence in a lie;" and they took back their grain and their fruit and their land and their houses and furniture and musical instruments, and restored unto every man what was his own, so that they were once more prosperous and joyful.

And after much reasoning together, they set free the Financier, and allowed him to live in the cavern at the end of the valley, and gave him a herd of swine to watch, so that he might be useful to the people.

And though at first he made a great outcry, when he afterward considered what the thing was which he had done, he was very thankful that the villagers had not taken his life.

NEW YORK CITY.

Thoughts for Thinkers

Prejudices are to be destroyed, not tolerated.—*Winwood Reade.*

Oh, the ignominy of being a popular preacher.—*F. W. Robertson.*

What is morally wrong can never be made politically right.—*Burke.*

My lad, if thee would be truly successful, ally thyself in youth with some righteous, unpopular cause.—*John G. Whittier.*

Whilst another man has no land, my title to mine, your title to yours, is at once vitiated.—*Ralph Waldo Emerson.*

No Christian who knows the gospel can possibly believe it warrants him in living uselessly by the sweat of another's brow.—*Goldwin Smith.*

Every noble work seems at first impossible.—*Curlye.*

All truth is safe and nothing else is safe; and he who keeps back the truth or withholds it from men, from motives of expediency is either a coward or a criminal, or both.—*Max Muller.*

LESSONS IN AMERICAN SOCIALISM*

By Prof. CLARK E. PERSINGER

5. THE METHODS OF AMERICAN SOCIALISM



HOW will Socialism be brought to pass in America? By what methods will the control of our industrial life be transferred from the hands of the present industrial kings to those of the people? This is no easy question to answer. Who has ever successfully foretold the ways of democracy's coming? Who can now accurately predict them? The future has ever out-run and made ridiculous the blind prophecies of its most able devotees. Who rightly prophesied the methods by which political democracy came to America in 1776? or to France in 1789? or to England in 1832? Yet the fact that democracy has twice, first in religious and later in political phase, made its way into world life, renders a little more hopeful the task of the would-be prophet of the present. And so, without in any way wishing to seem to take upon myself the name or guise of seer, I shall risk a few conjectures on the methods of Socialism's coming.

THE PAST HAS SHOWN TWO METHODS

The methods of past democratic progress have been two: the short, sharp, revolutionary transition from the old order to the new, of which the American and French revolutions are types; and the more gradual political change, almost a pure evolution, such as took place in England in the '30's. Of these two methods, the former has been far more numerously used than the latter. The more peaceable method is now being tried in New Zealand. My reading of the contradictory reports from that country leads me to question its success. It has so far been a process of compromise; and such crucial movements of democracy have never yet succeeded through compromise alone. They have so varied from the old that they could not be builded upon the old foundations, and must needs have new ones.

THE PRESENT POINTS TO REVOLUTION AND CONFISCATION

As late as two years ago I still hoped to see American industry popularized by the mere evolutionary process—the peaceable growth of municipal and state ownership, until the people finally stood possessed of all public resources and enterprises. But I cannot longer hold to that opinion. The conviction has been growing upon me that the process of Socialism will be revolutionary, and its method will be confiscation. My reasons for so believing are these:

REQUIRED TO BREAK THE BOND OF PRECEDENT

First, the fact that the present private-property system is so deeply rooted in our prejudices that it will require the sudden shock of revolution

*This is the fifth of a series of articles by Prof. Persinger of the University of Nebraska giving a concise yet complete exposition of Socialism, of great value to beginners in the study of the movement. The articles already published are, 1—"American Socialism Defined;" 2—"How American Socialism Came to Be;" 3—"The Aims of American Socialism;" 4—"What Socialism Would Mean to America." The four numbers of THE VANGUARD containing these articles will be mailed to new yearly subscribers for 20 cents. Order at once as the supply is limited.

to break within any reasonable length of time the firmly-riveted bonds of precedent. Only thus did the world wrench itself away from the fixity of its past in religious and political life, and succeed in establishing therein the dominion of the popular will.

STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY WILL PRODUCE IT

Second, because we are just now in the stage of "benevolent despotism," so great is our wealth and so insignificant as yet is the competition between the great wealth-getters, that competition has not yet forced to the surface the harsher character of our new-found kings. But shortly—there is already evidence of its coming—these great "captains of industry" will be coming into a life and death competition with each other; and their struggle for supremacy will force them to forget their benevolent habits of today, and gradually resort to all the grinding cruelties of the old-time "competition." To this step they will be hastened by the rival efforts of another trust, now rising with great rapidity into a position of influence and power—the labor trust. Of the two kinds of trusts, I naturally take the side of the labor one; yet believe it will in due time show all the characteristics of the older trusts, and seek only its own advantage, to the exclusion of the interests of all those outside its own membership. Crushed between these two great trusts of capital and labor, there is no refuge for the people except in the creation of a third and larger corporation—the industrial people of America—and the confiscation of the properties of the two older ones.

THE SIGNS OF THE TIMES INDICATE IT

As surely as colonial opposition to the stamp act foretold the American Revolution, or the demand for the states general the French Revolution, or the mobs, pamphlets, and political turmoil of the '30's the English revolution—so certainly do the signs of today seem to point to the coming of industrial democracy. It may come by the gentle arts of peace, or by the rough hands of brutal force; but coming it surely is. The constantly increasing strife between capital and labor; the growing impatience of the people with the attempted diction of both of these; the increasing conversion of private into public industries; the growing demand for national control of great public interests now in private hands; the respectful consideration and rapid increase of Socialistic propaganda—all these foretell the doom of industrial monarchy and the drawing near of industrial democracy.

OUT OF CONFUSION, PROGRESS.

But even if the process of change prove a violent one, there is need of no great alarm or apprehension. Such has chiefly been the record of democracy. When the great democratic upheaval was under way in England, "Men heard with horror," writes Richard Green, the historian, "that the foundations of faith and morality were questioned, polygamy advocated, oaths denounced as unlawful, community of goods raised into a sacred obligation, the very Godhead of the Founder of Christianity denied." Yet out of this confusion of good and evil came at length the acceptable truth; men rejected the evil and retained the good; those who foretold ruin beheld progress. The story is old; so old I almost apologize for its further repetition. Yet it is one whose telling is again under way; one whose "moral" future historians will draw for the profit of their readers in the days to come, as we now draw ours from the past for the present.

AND THE PEOPLE WILL ENDORSE IT

But the "how" is not as important as the fact that it is coming. I do not seek to urge the acceptance of Socialism. When it comes, the majority will accept it in due time, because the American, whatever his temporary vacillations, is predominantly democratic—he believes in the capacity of the people for self-government; and that, applied to the trust, the monopoly, the corporation, the public service generally—that is Socialism pure and simple. Such a Socialism will make him a voting partner in that greatest of trusts, that best of monopolies, *the industrial people*. Instead of an employee, he will become a member of the great firm, sharing proportionately in its labor and its profits, and bearing upon his shoulders his own fair portion of its burden. *Socialism is the government of the industrial world by the people instead of by kings*; and one who is a believer in popular self-government must, sooner or later, endorse it, and approve its coming through whatever methods it may find necessary.

LINCOLN, NEB.

REVELATION IN PROGRESS

By Rev. WALTER B. VASSAR

It is doubtful if the belief in a revelation that was at one time in the world's history made complete and adequate, could have obtained, if it had not been for the lack of sufficient knowledge as to what revelation really was, and also of meagre information concerning many other matters. This is certainly true in all other branches of knowledge. The advances in the physical sciences are relegating very fast, all immature thought to the world's rubbish heap. And in the plan of God—we believe it is His plan notwithstanding man's pugnacious ignorance—the flood-light of knowledge which the dawn of the twentieth century sees, helps greatly in dispelling ignorance surrounding the science of the skies.

Perception is synonymous with revelation. In this sense of it revelation is only limited by capacity. Spiritual capacity, if a man has it in exercise, will bring all the rewards of faith. Jesus came to us with an infinite revelation, but he has given it to the world by piece-meal. How other could he have done? As one has expressed it: "A beam of divine light has been given us in what we call the word of God; but only by another beam cast on your own soul can you distinguish it."

Circumscribed notions of a book revelation have come near side-tracking the church of Christ; serving well for the kindergarten stage of growth, yet carried too far they cause the wreck of faith, for they carry grown men in the wrong lead. Looking for a completed spiritual code, the spiritual perceptions have to grow all in spite of false notions, and have a distorted bias.

What some one has called the "divine reticence," must be understood in the light of human incapacity. A complete revelation waits for the coming of complete men. The complete man, our Master talked about it; but found himself narrowed in his activity and teaching by the obtuse perceptions of his hearers. Of all men for whom Jesus had little patience the dogmatist came in for the largest reproach. He could chide disciples for their little faith, (apprehension.) The others—pig-headed churchmen—he handled without gloves.

HAMILTON, N. Y.

LITERARY NOTES



"I SUGGEST SUGGESTION AND OSTEOPATHY" is the striking title of a book by W. I. Gordon, M. D., D. O., of Cleveland, O. It is well bound in cloth, 314 pages, printed on good paper, and contains a variety of interesting and useful matter. The law of suggestion is well stated and its value in the treatment of bad habits and the cure of disease is clearly demonstrated. The author is evidently a level-headed and progressive physician. Free from the insanities of much so-called mental "science," he is yet a fearless investigator and willing to make use of suggestive therapeutics in his practice. One part of the work, of special interest to us, deals with the relation between the law of suggestion and the social problem. To this section articles are contributed by Rev. Morgan Wood, Eugene V. Debs, Max Hayes and others on social conditions. Dr. Wood writes: "Under no conditions at present is it possible for the masses to obtain justice. The independence and honor of the individual citizen and the freedom of the masses is tampered with by the political chicanery, collective robbery and defiled justice in all communities and large cities." This strong assertion Mr. Wood backs up as follows: "We are warranted in making this statement, based upon the opinion of eminent lawyers of this city and elsewhere, that it is almost impossible to obtain justice in a justice court. And practically this is the only court that the masses can apply to for justice."

We are glad to note that Dr. Gordon, himself, is an avowed and active Socialist and is devoting considerable time and money to the cause. We

commend his book to our readers and will supply it at published price, \$1.50, postpaid.

There is no abler exponent of Socialism than Rev. Carl D. Thompson, formerly Congregational pastor at Elgin, Ill. Everywhere Comrade Thompson goes he accomplishes splendid things for the cause. And now he has issued a pamphlet, "The Principles and Program of Socialism," giving in a remarkably clear, concise and satisfactory form the facts and arguments on which the Socialist demand is based. There is nothing better published for removing prejudices and "convincing the most skeptical." Price 10 cents, at this office.

"Economic Discontent and Its Remedy," is the title of a booklet of 47 pages by Rev. Father T. J. Hagerty, issued by the Standard Pub. Co., Terre Haute, Ind. The discontent is evident and is growing. The remedy is Socialism, and this the scholarly and brilliant priest urges in keen and persuasive fashion. The absurd notion entertained by some people that Socialism is a "fad" or a delusion which finds a place only in the minds of the so-called "unthinking masses," would be speedily exploded if said people would read this pamphlet. But the awakening is coming rapidly. And father Hagerty is furnishing just the kind of ammunition needed for the "battle of the ballots." 10 cents, at this office.

In the May number of *Wiltshire's Magazine* (\$1.00 a year) the editor writes up, in a breezily entertaining style, an interview he had with John D. Rockefeller at a California resort where both happened to be staying last month. There is a brilliant arraignment of The Great Families of England from the pen of the English economist and writer, H. M. Hyndman, who is easily master of his subject. Shall We Be Free? is the title

of an eloquent and stirring appeal to the higher human sentiments, by Wm. Thurston Brown. Who are Liberal Thinkers? by Eugene Del Mar, is infused with the spirit of the newer philosophy of life which looks upon man as "the master of his fate, the captain of his soul." There is the usual interesting Wilshirean comment on passing events. The editorial on De Witte's Wisdom treats of the policy of the able Russian Minister of Finance, looking towards the agrandizement of the Russian Empire. We will send Wilshire's and THE VANGUARD both one year for \$1 00.

The two well known publications, The American Kitchen Magazine and Motherhood, have been combined and are now published under the title, Home Science Magazine for Housekeepers and Mothers. This is one of the really few commendable periodicals of its class. We cannot speak too highly of its many valuable departments. It treats of all matters relating to the home in a thoroughly practical and sensible manner. Send 10 cents for a copy to Home Science Pub. Co., 28 Oliver St., Boston, Mass.

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POINTED PARAGRAPHS

These are days of political unrest and Socialists should take advantage of every possible opportunity to spread the doctrines of industrial democracy. Spread Socialistic literature and talk it whenever you can. The old parties are not satisfying the people and when they understand Socialism they will flock to it.

* *

The Milwaukee Daily News in discussing railroad legislation in Wisconsin says the only remedy for existing evils is government ownership of the railways. And the Chicago Record-Herald says it regrets that there seems to be no way of bringing the railroads of the country under direct control by the national government.

* *

Andrew Carneige, who recently returned to England is quoted as saying upon his arrival there, "You can say for me that I am thoroughly in favor of Keir Hardie's suggestion that all railways should be nationalized. It would be an excellent thing for the people if that were done." Why not include the iron and steel works too, Mr. Carnegie?

* *

President Baer is an advocate of collectivism but he limits its application to a circle that is altogether too narrow. During the inquiry into the coal combine he stated that there was "money enough for all" in the coal business. The dealers made no effort to undersell each other. This is a correct sentiment but how much better it would be if applied to the whole people. Mr. Baer is right. There is money enough, clothes enough, comforts, even luxuries enough for us all, if it were not for the Baers, the Rockefellers, the Morgans and such, who assume that they have a right to a greater share than others.

* *

Emperor William will attempt to head off the hated Socialists by starting a labor paper. The Kaiser himself will edit the sheet, which will be anti-Socialist but impartial (?). Evidently William the impetuous has discovered that Socialism is a more formidable antagonist than he at first imagined.

Every little while some one who doesn't know any better attacks Socialists as a lot of "beer guzzlers." The following recent utterance of Herr Stoermer of Hamburg, a social democrat shows the attitude of leading European Socialists on this point: "Excessive drinking among the masses in general, and among workers in particular, is the most serious bar to the emancipation of the lower classes. It undermines the mental capacities and energies of those who would otherwise be capable of attaining efficiency and culture. While it continues, the aims of social democracy—the destruction of social barriers, and the equalization of the burdens and joys of civilization—will not advance an inch. Hence we seek to free workmen from the fatal drawback of alcoholism, and prepare them both in body and mind for the stress of life." Socialism offers the only solution of the liquor problem.

* *

The state of Georgia owns a railroad which it leases to an operating company for \$420,000 a year. Half the income from this railroad goes to the public school fund.

* *

There are only nine countries in the world in which the government neither owns nor controls a mile of the railroads of the land. These nine are: China, Persia, Mexico, Greece, Spain, Canada, England and the United States. The latter three countries do not appear in very good company in this particular respect.

* *

Father Sherman in attacking Socialism draws a sarcastic picture of Uncle Sam as a maker of hairpins and baby ribbon. Well, why not. Uncle Sam runs several arsenals for the purpose of making machines for people to commit murder with; he has turned out some of the biggest and best cannons ever made; he conducts the biggest printing office in the country; he manages several industrial establishments and does it creditably, so why not others? Father Sherman must find something besides abuse and sarcasm with which to attack Socialism if he would make even the slightest impression.

J. E. H.

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THE THREE WORLD-SEASONS

By Herbert N. Casson

The winter season of the world has gone,
 Those arctic ages when the frozen brain
 Let no gray atom melt and flow to thought;
 When every hidden root lay cold and dark,
 Unconscious of its life, beneath the snow;
 When every seed, with summer instincts, slept
 And shuddered in its sleep, and dreamed of leaves;
 When every throb of life was sternly checked.
 By chill Repression, procuress to Death.
 The springtime season of the world is here.
 Heroic days of strife and turbulence.
 When blows the March wind in rebellious glee.
 They who love peace must seek a younger star;
 Here all things clash, and break and change and grow;
 The snowdrifts melt into one common stream,
 Until the swift flood hurls the ice ashore.
 The glacier slips and floats to warmer seas;
 The white grass struggles underneath the stone.
 The summer season of the world shall come,
 That final age of verdure, bloom, and fruit,
 Of which the river lisped and robins sang;
 When every acorn bursts into the oak
 Of its ideal, and clasps the genial soil;
 When every seed beneath the kindly sun
 Unfolds the fulness of its inner self;
 When winter's frost and springtime's broil are past.
 And all the purpose of the year made plain.

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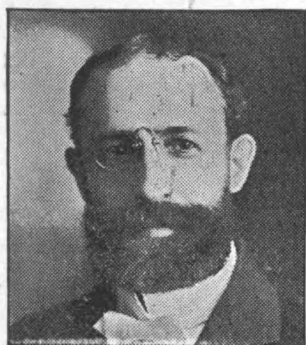
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