

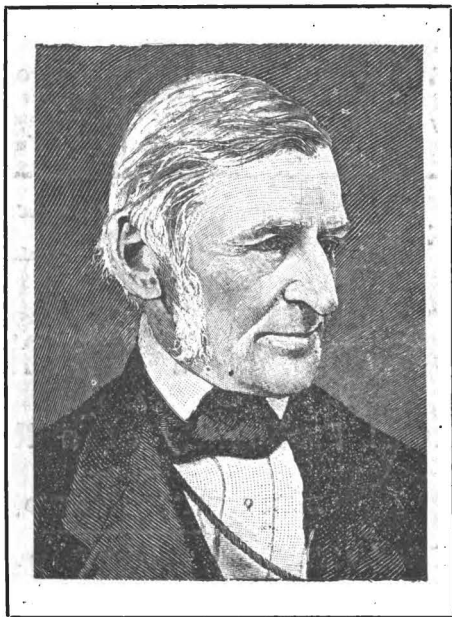
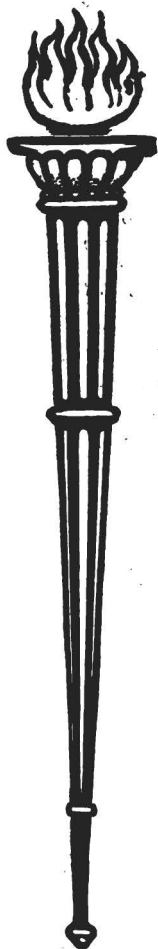
Vol 1, 322

THE VANGUARD

A Magazine of Progress

JUNE, 1903

PRICE 10c



TO THY FELLOW COUNTRYMEN THOU SHALT PREACH THE GOSPEL OF THE NEW WORLD, THAT HERE, HERE IN AMERICA IS THE HOME OF MAN, THAT HERE IS THE PROMISE OF A NEW AND MORE EXCELLENT SOCIAL STATE THAN HISTORY HAS RECORDED.—Ralph Waldo Emerson.

The Vanguard Press
GREEN BAY, WISCONSIN

The Vanguard

PUBLISHED MONTHLY

J. M. A. SPENCE - - - EDITOR

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The VANGUARD PRESS
Green Bay, Wisconsin

ANNOUNCEMENT

This is the June-July number of THE VANGUARD. The next issue will be the August-September number. As announced in the publisher's column, ten issues constitute our year of publication. Between this and next issue we shall make plans for improving and strengthening our magazine in several directions. Already we have arranged for some special contributions from able writers on the three important movements for which THE VANGUARD stands, and we can promise our readers a feast of good things from month to month during the year.

Meanwhile we urge upon our friends the enlarging of our subscription list. Send for a bunch of Postal Sub. Cards, which you can readily dispose of at the exceedingly low rate of 25c each. This is the easiest and most convenient way of securing new subscribers. For ten new subscribers we give a copy of "Our Presidents" picture; for twelve new subscribers we give a dollar's worth of books from the list on page 29. Address,

The Vanguard Press, Green Bay, Wis.

THE THEORY OF HUMAN PROGRESSION

AND

Natural Probability of a Reign of Justice

— BY —

PATRICK EDWARD DOVE

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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TWENTIETH CENTURY PRESS

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"A wonderfully impressive book"

—Charles Sumner, 1850

"A revelation to the human race"

—Victor Cousin, 1851

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., JUNE, 1903.

NO. 8

EDITORIAL

The most significant and encouraging feature of the centenary celebration of Ralph Waldo Emerson is the extent to which various organizations and schools of thought unite in honoring the Sage of Concord. It is but three-quarters of a century since Emerson began to preach the gospel of the New World and was, like the Man of Galilee, denounced as an "infidel." Already he takes his place with the world's great teachers of pure religion. Truly, we are making progress. It is not only to the honor of Emerson but to the credit of the race that he is now recognized as possessed of the same spirit which inspired Moses and Isaiah and Jesus and Paul and all the noblest sons of God who have trod this earth.

The value of Emerson's contribution to religious thought can hardly be over-estimated. Here is the heart of his message, the affirmation of the truth perceived by his own soul, the burden of his own vision of God.

"O, my brothers, God exists. There is a soul at the centre of nature and over the will of every man.

"Men have come to speak of revelation as somewhat long ago given and done, as if God were dead.

"The assumption that the age of revelation is past, that the Bible is closed; the fear of degrading the character of Jesus by representing him as a man, indicate the falseness of our theology.

"It is the office of the true teacher of religion to show us that God is, not was; that he speaketh, not spake.

"What hinders that now, everywhere, in pulpits, in lecture rooms, in houses or fields, wherever the invitation of men or your own occasions lead you, you speak the very truth, as your life and conscience teach it, and cheer the waiting, fainting hearts of men with new hope and new revelation?"

These are not the utterances of an "infidel," but of a true prophet of the Most High, remarkable for their anticipation of what we are coming to regard as the essential and permanent element in Christianity as a revelation of the Divine. When Emerson thus spoke, his words were considered iconoclastic and met with stern protest. Today they represent the

thought of a rapidly enlarging constituency in all branches of the Christian church; and the gospel of Emerson is being recognized as identical with the gospel of Jesus, the gospel of the ever-living, ever-present, ever-speaking God. "There is," says F. W. Gunsaulus, "no other such echo of Jesus in this new century as that which comes through him."

To state this aspect of Emerson's message in a word, we might say that he proclaims the high privilege and the absolute necessity of seeing and hearing and knowing God at first hand.

"Everywhere I am hindered of meeting God in my brother because he has shut his own temple doors and recites fables merely of his brother's or his brother's brother's God.

"Our quoting of scripture seems to deny the omnipresence, the eternity of God. Once he spake through good men these special words. Now if we have ought high and holy to do, we must wrench somehow their words to speak it in. Humbly let us rather go and ask God's leave to use the hour and language that now is."

When Emerson said these things Palestine alone was looked upon as the holy land, the literature of the Hebrews alone as the word of God; and we must search the records of the past, we must open the sepulchres of the east, we must unearth long-buried monuments, we must decipher strange documents and examine the obscurest texts of ancient scriptures if perchance we may ascertain in the will of the Almighty. Such an attitude is one of unbelief, not of faith, declared Emerson: "If any man claims to speak and know all God and carries you backward to the phraseology of some old moldered nation in another country, in another world, believe him not." And we have come to say the same thing. We have come to say, and it is high time, that America is holy ground, that "earth's crammed with heaven, and every common bush afire with God," that "he speaketh in every faithful human spirit," that his voice is as audible now as in any past age, that the Bible is still being written, that "revelation is not sealed," that inspiration is forever operative. We have come to say that the view of the Bible which assumes inspiration to have come to an end with the twelve apostles is in effect a denial of the deeper truth of the scriptures and the promises which point ever forward to larger, not lesser, manifestations of the Spirit of Truth. We have come to a view of God which removes the limitations which traditional theology put upon revelation. The doctrine of the Divine Immanence has replaced that of "an absentee God," and belief in continuous creation has replaced the legend of a six-days production. And to Emerson more than to any other we are indebted for our transition from the old to the new

with gain instead of loss to faith. Years before the facts of evolution and Higher Criticism had been fully set forth, he anticipated their results by an interpretation of religion in accord with modern knowledge. And thousands of souls, confused by the discrediting of dogmas which they had been taught were essential to religion, have found in Emerson's direct satisfying vision of the Infinite that which gave them hope and courage to press on through their doubts and "find a stronger faith their own."



The New Thought movement of our time owes much to Emerson. He was a Mental Scientist who possessed mental balance. Matthew Arnold said: "I loved Emerson because he never lost his sanity," and Carlyle spoke of him as "the cleanest intellect in the planet." We are not surprised, therefore, that "Mother" Mary Baker Glover Patterson Eddy, the "discoverer and founder," of Christian Science, should in a recent epistle to her children vigorously resent the assertion of a magazine writer that her "philosophy" is based on the teachings of Emerson. But the disclaimer is quite unnecessary. No thoughtful person would make such a ridiculous suggestion. There is little in common between Emerson's Essays and "Science and Health." As well compare Shakespeare's plays with a dime burlesque. Henry Frank rightly says: "This just and emphatic criticism of Christian Science may be made that it employs a scientific law as a religious superstition, and thus befogs the minds of the simple, while it fills the temples of worship with a meaningless jargon whose very verbosity defies the gods."

There is, however, much in common between Emerson's idealism, and what is truest and best in the New Thought movement. The truth on which he insisted, that man is spirit and that the true life is spiritual rather than material, is the truth that lies at the heart of the New Thought, and which is needed to save us from the materialism that so largely characterizes society today. To Emerson, Divine Immanence makes possible and imperative Divine Manhood. His idealism is intensely practical. He measures men by their moral worth. Success consists in the attaining of spiritual excellence.

"The world is made up of moral forces.

"The laws of virtue are resident at the heart of things and radiate to the circumference.

"All nature is on the side of the man who strives to do right as he sees it; all nature is against the man who violates that inner monitor or wilfully blinds the light that shines for his guidance.

"If I can at any time express the law and the ideal right, that should satisfy me.

"The history of Jesus is the history of every man written large.

"One man was true to what is in you and me.

"Now and then a soul is born which offers no impediment to the Divine Spirit."

Thus does Emerson, in matchless language, proclaim the divine possibilities of the individual. If, as he said, "there is no wall between the soul in man and the Over-soul," if the individual opens directly into the Absolute, it follows that we may live the god-life.

"Each one of us can bask in the great morning which rises out of the Eastern Sea, and be himself one of the children of light.

"Build, therefore, your own world.

"Trust thyself. Every heart vibrates to that iron string.

"Nothing is at last sacred but the integrity of your own mind."

This is a wholesome and much needed gospel. The doctrine of depravity has been too much preached and too much lived up to. There is no sufficient excuse for moral delinquency. And the message of Emerson comes with a timely note of optimism to this new century. It is finding expression in the best phases of the New Thought movement which is giving humanity a new birth into consciousness of unlimited power and dominion.



But scant justice would be done to Emerson did we overlook his contribution to the Social Movement. And we regret that in so many appreciations of his work this has been overlooked. The pulpit, which should be the first to make acknowledgement of his demand for brotherhood and justice, has given it least notice, an omission which goes a long way toward confirming the criticism of an able writer who says: "The greatest evidence of the degradation of the pulpit is found in its gingerly treatment of right and wrong."

Emerson's social ideals are the logical outcome of his faith in God and his exalted view of human nature. He beheld with pity the social strifes of his day. He felt deeply and wrote trenchantly concerning the violation of moral law in business and political affairs:

"The trail of the serpent reaches into all the lucrative professions and practices of men. Each finds a tender and very intelligent conscience a disqualification for success. The young man, on entering life, finds the way to lucrative employment blocked with abuse. The ways of trade have grown selfish to the borders of theft, and supple to the borders (if not beyond the borders) of fraud."

If he could thus arraign the competitive system thirty years ago what would he say of it today? Yet his optimism never forsakes him. It rather enables him to discern the real char-

acter of the Social Movement, which is, after all, a struggle for the supremacy of the spiritual over the material. "Things," he says, "are in the saddle and ride men." The machine masters the man who made it. The dollar mark is upon our legislatures, our colleges, our churches. But we are going to reverse this order. Some day men will be in the saddle and ride things. The present industrial system is becoming intolerable. On every side men are feeling that it is utterly unworthy of them as men and brothers. Even now we are in the throes of a social revolution. And when the revolution has done its work we will see that in no small measure its inspiration has been drawn from Emerson and his insistence on the dignity and worth of the individual. But there is a world-wide difference between the individualism of Emerson and that which Dr. Hillis and Father Sherman preach. Contrast the creed of these apologists of capitalism with the following from Emerson:

"No one is accomplished whilst anyone is incomplete.

"Weal does not exist for one with the woe of any other.

"While another man has not land, my title to mine, your title to yours is at once vitiated.

"As to what we call the masses and common men,—there are no common men. All men are at last of a size. Heaven reserves an equal scope for every creature."

We have no wish to attach the name and fame of Emerson to any special program of social re-adjustment, but it will be readily seen that while an individualist is the most pronounced type, his idea was not that of "competition in individualism," but, as Carlyle put it, of "individuality in co-operation." In his Boston Hymn, Emerson gives a splendid statement of his social faith even to the question of "compensating" the holders of "vested interests" when called in the name of justice and humanity to relinquish their 'divine rights.'

"I cause from every creature his proper good to flow:

As much as he is and doeth, so much he shall bestow.

But laying hands on another to coin his labor and sweat,

He goes in pawn to his victim for eternal years in debt.

Pay ransom to the owner and fill the bag to the brim.

Who is the owner? The slave is owner, and ever was: Pay him."

This is also the gospel of Socialism, and we may rightly claim Emerson as a prophet of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Objection may be made to clergymen taking active part in the Socialist movement for the reason that it is political. But, it is only those who measure all things political by the partisan aims and corrupt methods of capitalist politics who fail to see anything higher in the Socialist program. The Socialist minister may say what Charles Sumner once said:

"I am not in politics, I am in morals." He is certainly not in politics in the ordinary sense. Socialist politics is as different from old-party politics as Christianity is from the peccadilloes of sects. Socialism has no concern for the weal or woe of any party or candidate merely as such. While it must form and use a party to accomplish its purpose, anyone acquainted with its organization knows how unlike the old-party organizations it is in spirit and working. There is in it no place for the "boss," no room for the "gang." The Socialist ideal is infinitely higher than the spoils of office. If you doubt this, investigate.

EXTRACTS FROM EMERSON

ON THE REFORMER

What is a man born for but to be a reformer, a remaker of what man has made, a renouncer of lies, a restorer of truth and good, imitating that great Nature which embosoms us all and which sleeps no moment on an old past, but every hour repairs herself, yielding us every morning a new day and with every pulsation a new life? Let him renounce everything which is not true to him and put all his practices back on their first thoughts and do nothing for which he has not the whole world for his reason. If there are inconveniences and what is called ruin in the way because we have so enervated and maimed ourselves, yet it would be like dying of perfumes to sink in the effort to reattach the deeds of every day to the holy and mysterious recesses of life.

The power, which is at once spring and regulator in all efforts to reform, is the conviction that there is an infinite worthiness in man which will appear at the call of worth and that all particular reforms are the removing of some impediment. Is it not the highest duty that man should be honored in us?

ON THE CONSERVATIVE

Conservatism stands on man's confessed limitations, reform on his indisputable infinitude; conservatism on circumstance, liberalism on power. One goes to make an adroit member of the social frame, the other to postpone all things to the man himself. Conservatism is debonair and social; reform is individual and imperious. We are reformers in the spring and summer, in autumn and winter we stand by the old—reformers in the morning, conservers at night.

Reform is affirmative, conservatism negative. Conservatism goes for comfort, reform for truth. * * * It makes a great difference to your figure and to your thought whether your foot is advancing or receding. Conservatism never puts the foot forward. In the hour when it does that it is not establishment, but reform.

Conservatism tends to universal seeming and treachery, believes in a negative fate, believes that men's temper governs them; that for me it avails not to trust in principles; they will fail me. I must bend a little. It distrusts nature; it thinks there is a general law without a particular application—law for all that does not include any one.

What We Stand For

For the Christ of Galilee,
For the truth which makes men free,
For the bond of unity
Which makes God's children one.

For the love which shines in deeds,
For the life which this world needs,
For the church whose triumph speeds
The prayer: "Thy will be done."

For the right against the wrong,
For the weak against the strong,
For the poor who've waited long
For the brighter age to be.

For the faith against tradition,
For the truth 'gainst superstition.
For the hope whose glad fruition
Our waiting eyes shall see.

For the city God is rearing,
For the New Earth now appearing;
For the heaven above us clearing
And the song of victory.

—J. H. Garrison.

THE TREND OF THOUGHT AMONG THE CHURCHES

Rev. Arthur L. Byron-Curtiss, St. Joseph's Episcopal Church, Rome, N. Y.

I am heart and soul with the Socialist movement. My own idea is that nothing short of pure Socialism must be aimed for.

Rev. W. De Witt Hyde, D. D., President Bowdoin College.

Modern social conditions are offering men and women of today the life blood of their fellows, and the souls who have strength to put the cup away are rare.

Rev. George C. Lorimer, D. D., Baptist, New York City.

Morgan is the best organizer in the world for the Socialists. There are a great many people who think that Socialism is all wrong because advocated by labor men. But let some able leader take up the idea and advocate it, and it will spread with tremendous rapidity.

Rev. H. M. Brooks, Pastor Christian Church, Paris, Ill.

Yes, I am a Socialist, and have been for ten years; but for five years of that time I did not know what was the matter with me.

Bishop F. D. Huntington, Protestant Episcopal, New York.

Speaking morally, I don't think a man has a right to be worth fifty million dollars or twenty million dollars. But if you find fault with the present system, and preach the need of change, they call you anarchist. We have agitators. There must be such. Let us listen to them. I'm willing to hear any earnest, sober thought on the subject. First there must be a general realization that something must be done, then something will be done. It will be some of these agitators and fanatics that in a future day we shall honor as the saviors of our country.

I wish the Church was not so silent in this matter. But the minister is too apt to be curtailed in his independence. He is the mouthpiece of his rich parishioners, he is the hired man of that millionaire who sits in one of the near pews. The Church will lose its power if it lacks courage and dare not assert its moral leadership. If our churches keep on preaching theology, metaphysics, casuistry, there will continue to be more and more reasons for solemn Monday meetings of ministers to bewail the vacant pews of the day before. The Church ought to be able to speak on these national topics. It was just that the old Hebrew prophets talked of. It is not necessary that the preacher should anger his people or lose his temper, but he should speak.

Rev. Wm. Rader, Third Congregational Church, San Francisco.

The people who do not attend church are not atheists. Workingmen have a theology. It did not come from a theologian seminary, but from a factory. Labor is becoming more and more a social conscience. It believes in the sincerity of Christ whose carpenter shop is labor's cathedral. Labor believes in justice and a kingdom, not in the eternal future alone, but now. It asks for a heaven today, in commerce, business and society. Workingmen criticise the church and the church finds fault with the work-

ingmen; both must be patient. But they do not criticise Jesus of Nazareth. Upon his head is labor's crown. The fault found with the church is because it fails to make Christianity vital.

Rev. J. W. Malcolm, First Congregational Church, Cleveland, O.

We have been hearing for years that if the state were to take charge of these great public utilities, such as railroad, mines, etc., it would corrupt the state and intrench a plundering class in power that could never be dislodged. Now, what does such a claim as this mean? It means that the people who make it have an ax to grind. It means that they are unpatriotic; that they distrust the ability of the government to care for its citizens without these all wise outside organizations. It means that they assume the role of prophets and prophesy evil of the state and measure the corn of the government in their own fraudulent measure. Now the question is, Will they continue to make these outrageous claims any longer in the face of existing conditions, and will the people listen to their stories any longer?

Can any change that we may make bring things to a worse pass than they are at this hour? Can there be greater corruption than now exists? Wages advancing a little and the necessities of life—food, rent and fuel—climbing skyward, leaving the people on an average 33 per cent worse off than they were before and the city and state called upon to bear the burden of poverty and crime brought about by this very scheme which clamors for perpetuation, is about as bad as we can well imagine.

It has been figured out by high and competent Christian scholars that in New York city alone there are 100,000 fallen women and that 80 per cent of these are earning a livelihood by their shame because of the impossibility under our present economic regulations to earn enough to support themselves by other ways. Following the same methods of computation, it would appear that there are about 12,000 such fallen ones in our own city, about 9,600 of whom are forced to such a life because they find it impossible to earn a living in any other manner under the present conditions and methods of society.

Now, is it possible that there are yet men who will in the face of these facts and others equally sad stand up and plead for the continuation of present conditions and the methods which have produced them?

Is it settled that two-thirds of the citizens of this great community must forever live on the verge of serfdom and in the fear of want? Is there a decree registered anywhere that a few should dwell in luxury and the many wear their lives out in penury?

The dream of the better day is in the very air. The old yoke galls the neck of toil, the people are restless, all are looking for juster methods. Terrible crime, crookedness and shame trouble the thoughtful. The unsafety of life causes the opulent to reflect, the thought of a change stirs the heart of the millions, the people catch a glimpse of the way to claim their own, and the trusts, concentrative confederations, as well as all the pain and shame, poverty and crime which our existing regime has produced, are all working together more than anything else to bring this to pass.

No one dreams that public ownership or control of public utilities or any method of co-operation will change men or women to saints or usher in a millennium. These changes can only make moral advancement possible by removing the impassable barriers. Temptation and struggle up to a certain point aid development. Beyond that point they destroy. We would remove those things which destroy.

DEEDS VS. CREEDS

By FANNY L. FANCHER

What's true religion?
 Tenets, and isms,
 Ardent adherence to time honored creeds?
 Nay, 'tis soul yearning
 For all creatures weal,
 Life filled with loving, and kindest deeds.

DODGE CENTRE, MINN.

THE RELIGION OF JESUS

By EDWIN MARKHAM



URN theological millinery! Put old doctrines into a museum!"

Thus cried Rev. Dr. Behrends in his address to the last Ecumenical Conference. I heartily approve the bonfire and the shelving. It was pleasant to hear the applause which greeted the doctor's vigorous language.

Once I stood in the gloom of a theological library, and what I saw on the shelves touched my spirit with melancholy surprise. There were tomes and folios and pamphlets, tier on tier—works on the Standards of the Church, Apostolic Succession, the Real Presence, Baptismal Regeneration, Eternal Reprobation, Imputed Righteousness, Predestina-

tion to Eternal Death, the Hypostatic Union, Salvation by Faith Alone, the Divine Right of Episcopate.

Books numberless, all written, forsooth, to tell the way to the blessed life. Christ tells it in a single line! But there they were, tier on tier, the rubbish heap of ages. An occasional grain of good in it, perhaps, like the infrequent jewel in the catacombs. But the general impression was disheartening, appalling, sepuchral.

If religion is real, if it is worth while at all, it certainly rests on some deep, fundamental principle, something simple, practical and obvious. God is Love and Wisdom, and it is unthinkable to suppose that he has made the salvation of his children depend on belief in some metaphysical creed whose intricacies leave them in hopeless intellectual confusion.

I do not remember that Jesus exacted of his twelve disciples any statement of opinion. They were simply to follow him, engage in works of charity and good will, help in the new teaching, healing and feeding ministry. He forced no creed upon the twelve. They were permitted to serve and grow in silence, the truth unfolding within them like a flower.

Men will not always be agreed concerning speculative theology, but they can always love and serve. In simple love and service, then, we find the only possible basis for union among men of good will.

Everywhere is heard a general demand in the churches for a simpler creed. How would the Sermon on the Mount do for a confession of faith?

If we wish something simpler still, we might take the Golden Rule.

The Master declared this rule to be "the Law and the Prophets." This certainly will do to begin with; the practice of this divine principle will keep us all busy for centuries to come. When we have committed this rule thoroughly to life it will be time enough to ask for the next problem.

Or, if you prefer, let us take the direction given the rich young man who went running to Jesus, and who, kneeling, asked him, "What shall I do that I may inherit eternal life?" Here certainly Jesus announces the essential requisite. What does he answer? Does he refer the young man to a metaphysical confession of faith? No, his answer is as direct, simple and reasonable as the light. He tells him to keep the commandments. Finally he tells him to consecrate his life and fortune to the common good. On another occasion Jesus announces his own commandment, saying: "This is my commandment, that ye love one another as I have loved you."

Those commandments are simple, yet profound as life, all pointing to one central principle—that a man should look away from self-interest and learn to help the neighbor in the spirit of humanity and joy. How would those commandments serve for a confession of faith?

And now take that dramatic passage where Christ describes the last judgment. Men have lived their lives and are now standing before the Great Judge at the Final Assize. What in that dread hour decides the fate of men? Not their belief nor disbelief in dogmatic theology. Not even their opinions about God. No, the one thing that tells for destiny is their treatment of their fellows. Those who are accepted are received with the words. "I was hungry and ye gave me drink; naked and ye clothed me; sick and ye came unto me. . . . For inasmuch as ye did it unto the least of these my brethren ye did it unto me."

What a sublime vision of justice and humanity!

When happily we learn that religion at bottom is secular service, that to love God is to love the true and ordered life, we shall be too busy living our religion to find time to hunt heretics for their opinions. If we must have church trials, let them all be in reprimand of those brethren who are falling to live by the law of charity and affectionate justice. Let us have trials, if you will, in cases where there has been failure to feed the hungry and clothe the naked—where men have ground the faces of the poor to pile up their blood-marked millions.

The insidious tunneling of the worm of Mammon, the slow crumbling of our ideals of justice and fraternity—these are the things to fear; not the opinions of our brother concerning abstruse and controverted problems. Opinions are ever forming and fading like clouds in the firmament; but the fundamental principle of conduct remains unchanged, race after race, cycle after cycle. And the fundamental principle is the one on which Jesus bases his divine religion—the principle of humanity, the sense of the unity and interdependence of all lives, the feeling of responsibility to God for our treatment of the neighbor. Here is a truth, simple, imperious, sublime. Opinions change like the clouds, but this truth endures like the sky.

We need not fear to push all ecclesiastical lumber aside and take our stand with our Lord and Leader on the humanity principle. This is a principle as old and as permanent as the universe. Here all men can stand and be at rest in their reason—stand dignified yet humble, knowing that the immovable granite is under their feet and the unwasting constellations are over their heads.

LESSONS IN AMERICAN SOCIALISM*

By Prof. CLARK E. PERSINGER

6. Who is For and Who Against Socialism



IN the days of kings and kingdoms, before democracy had become the accepted rule of Anglo-Saxon life, there were certain classes of the people who might always be found in opposition to every proposed democratic movement.

THOSE WHO OPPOSED POLITICAL DEMOCRACY

The first of these classes was composed of kings, their families, and their favorites. The second class were the knights, whose profession and pleasure was war. A third class comprised the landed gentry, the nobles and the barons. A fourth class included the bandit—the “free lance”—who neither sought nor owed allegiance to any sovereign. And lastly came the lawless, who did not desire the stricter accountability of democracy.

THE SAME OPPOSE INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

These same five classes may be easily distinguished among the present day opponents of Socialism. They are not often so recognized in the public prints, but their outlines are none the less clearly discernible. Their position in the industrial world, their arguments, their methods of attack and defense—all correspond to those of the old anti-democratic elements of the days of monarchies and aristocracies.

THE MODERN KING

The kings of our industrial world are the capitalists—the monopolists—operating through the corporation and the trust. From these kings came for a long time all the privileges of the laboring man. They dictated the terms upon which he might work, the length of his laboring day; and for whom he should work. To them were given the chief privileges and opportunities of the national life, and they shared these with the people only as they saw fit. It is true there have been some good men among these many industrial despots; men who have sought to turn their own prosperity to the public good. But so it was also with the ancient kings, and yet they fell. For one good monarch, in either the political or industrial world, there have always been many bad ones; so the people have rebelled against them all, and sought out a better way.

And just as in those days the great majority of monarchs were opposed to the coming of democracy, so in these days do we find capital and monopoly enlisted among the opponents of the oncoming Socialism.

THE MODERN KNIGHT

The knights of the industrial world are those who love the crush and turmoil of competition for its own sake; whose hearts are not sickened by

*This is the sixth 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 Methods of American Socialism.” The five 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.

its scenes of carnage and desolation. The old time knight sought battle wherever it might be found, and gloried in it for its own sake. The modern knight finds his pleasure in the keen and generally merciless struggle of private competition, and cannot look with liking upon the prospect of a life in which his appetite for strife and adventure cannot be satisfied.

For the knight of those days democracy had no charms; its ways were too peaceful. And for the adventurer of today—the lover of industrial conflict—Socialism has no charms: for its ways are also the ways of peace.

THE MODERN NOBILITY

The conservative well-to-do are the modern equivalent of the ancient nobility and landed gentry. The latter feared democracy because it meant a radical change; a change was to them a thing full of dread uncertainties. They were the contented classes, and they had no sympathy with that vision of the discontented—democracy.

Nor does the conservative class of today—as a class—approve of Socialism. It is well-to-do, and has no assurance that Socialism will not produce confusion and the loss of what it already has. And so it is naturally and sincerely among the opponents of Socialism.

THE MODERN FREE LANCE

Then there is the modern “knight of the woods,” the man who values his own industrial freedom more highly than he does that of those about him. He is not a common outlaw, not the ordinary “lawless.” He is sometimes of aristocratic, sometimes of democratic, family. But he cannot endure the slow and tedious process of honest wealth-production, and turns his wits to the making of his own gain from other people's losses. His effort is not to build up, but to tear down; not to aid social progress, but to force society to support him in unproductive idleness.

To the bandit of those days democracy was a most galling and unwelcome prospect; and it is no less so to the industrial free lance, the true knight errant—the speculator—of today.

THE LAWLESS AND THE SHIFTLESS

The lawless and the shiftless of old and of today are the same. They approved of democracy while they thought it meant anarchy, but opposed it when it proved to mean the reign of law. Today they aid Socialism where it promises confusion, but resist it as they discover that it means increased control of crime and criminal.

WHO ARE THE FRIENDS OF SOCIALISM?

If all these—the capitalist, the lover of industrial conflict, the conservative well-to-do, the speculator, the lawless—are among the opponents of Socialism, in what classes are its friends to be found, and what is the prospect of its future?

THOSE WHO SUFFER UNDER THE PRESENT ORDER

First and chiefly we may look to those who bear the burden of the competitive system—those same “middle” and “lower” classes whose constant discontent brought democracy to pass. Among these are two classes: Those who suffer severely, and those who suffer moderately. The former are the people of the slums, the sweat-shops, and the mines. The latter are the laborers in factory and field, the smaller merchant, and the farmer. The former seek Socialism because they must have a change, and Socialism

seems most the promise of that change. The latter advocate Socialism because they believe industrial democracy will prove as beneficial to the common people as has political democracy.

These are the bulk and body of Socialism. Leaders, advocates, endorsers, may be found among other classes; but the future of Socialism depends, as did once the future of democracy, chiefly upon the support of those to whom it promises a more hopeful life.

THOSE WHO LOOK FOR A BETTER FUTURE

Yet many others will join the movement toward an industrial government of, for and by the people. One will be the evolutionist, who believes the future is to be better than the past, but is to become so by the persistent effort of the present. Another will be the consistent believer in democracy; for whoever accepts the theory of the right and capacity of the people for *political* self-government, must in time accept also the proposition that they are entitled and equal to their own *industrial* self-government. And to these, with numerous others, must of course be added the philanthropist, who aids in the spread of Socialism, not because of any particular personal benefit he hopes to derive from it, but because it will help to lift a great burden from the backs of a struggling people. And in this increase of other people's happiness the philanthropist finds his own.

THE PROSPECT OF SUCCESS

Working for Socialism are the same forces, the same portions of the people, that gave success to political democracy. It is not a long journey, as history views it, from the industrial "constitutional monarchy" which we have attained to the industrial democracy which we seek. For Socialism are all the great and permanent forces of the national life. Not for long can any combination of lesser interests check its progress. The day of industrial democracy already draws near.

WHAT SOCIALISTS DO NOT BELIEVE IN

By HERBERT N. CASSON

We don't believe in "anarchy"; and therefore we demand that the present industrial anarchy shall cease and that our national business shall be managed in a just, orderly and economical way.

We don't believe in destroying law and order; and therefore we labor to bring the present state of chaos and misrule to an end, by applying the American principle of collective ownership.

We don't believe in anything that is not practical; and therefore we antagonize the present wasteful, broken-down, and ridiculous business system, and substitute a common-sense and systematic method.

We don't believe in "dividing up" and therefore we demand that workers shall not be compelled to divide their earnings with idle and useless parasites.

We don't believe in confiscation; and therefore we desire legally to get back what has been confiscated from the people.

We don't believe in abolishing the rights of property; and therefore we are endeavoring to secure those rights for every useful citizen.

We don't believe in paternalism, and therefore we wish to prevent the law from favoring a few monopolists.

We don't believe in losing our individuality; and therefore we object to a grinding process that stops human development, condemns nine-tenths of us to monotonous drudgery, and one-tenth to a life of apish etiquette and frivolity.

We don't believe in diminishing incentive and ambition; and therefore we resist a state of things which places everything worth striving for beyond our reach.

We don't believe in the destruction of the family; and therefore we protest against a social system that has broken up our homes and fostered every species of licentiousness.

We don't believe in less morality; and therefore we are trying to establish a purer, holier and more brotherly state of society.

THE NEW TIME

By LEWIS MORRIS

There shall come from out this noise of strife and groaning
 A broader and a juster brotherhood,
 A deep equality of aim, postponing
 All selfish seeking to the general good.
 There shall come a time when each shall to another
 Be as Christ would have him, brother unto brother:
 There shall come a time when brother-love grows stronger
 Than the narrow bounds which now distract the world;
 When the cannons roar and trumpets blare no longer;
 And the ironclad rusts and battle flags are furled:
 When the bars of creed and speech and race, which sever,
 Shall be fused in one humanity forever.

WHEN THE WORLD GROWS FAIR

By WILLIAM MORRIS

Then a man shall work and bethink him, and rejoice in the deeds of his hand
 Nor yet come home in the even too faint and weary to stand.
 Men in that time a-coming shall work and have no fear
 For tomorrow's lack of earning and the hunger-wolf anear.
 O strange, new, wonderful justice! But for whom shall we gather the gain?
 For ourselves and for each of our fellows, and no hand shall labor in vain.
 Then all mine and all thine shall be ours, and no more shall any man crave
 For riches that serve for nothing but to fetter a friend for a slave.
 An what wealth then shall be left us when none shall gather gold
 To buy his friend in the market and pinch and pine the sold?
 Nay, what save the lovely city, and the little house on the hill,
 And the wastes and the woodland beauty, and the happy fields we till,
 And the homes of ancient stories, the tombs of the mighty dead,
 And the wise men seeking out marvels and the poet's teaming head.
 And the painter's hand of wonder, and the marvelous fiddlebow,
 And the banded choirs of music—all those that do and know.
 For all these shall be ours and all men's nor shall any lack a share
 Of the toil and the gain of living in the days when the world grows fair.

THE INDUSTRIAL SLAVE

By REV. HERBERT E. BIGELOW

"The Industrial Slave" was the subject of a sermon recently delivered at the Vine Street Congregational Church, Cincinnati, by the pastor, Rev. Herbert E. Bigelow. After speaking of people who deny that there is any such thing as industrial slavery and who are offended by so bold a term, Mr. Bigelow gave the following description of what he considered an example of present-day slavery:

Here is a man who has worked thirty years for one firm. He is sober. He is honest. He is industrious. His wife, too, is a hard-working, capable woman. They have toiled all their lives. They have never received a wage higher than thirteen dollars a week. They have eaten the coarsest of food. They have worn shoddy clothing. They have never traveled. They have heard of ocean billows and mountain peaks, but they have more prospect of seeing heaven than they have of seeing the glories of their land. And what have they received for this life of labor? Not even the satisfaction of knowing that their children have profited by their labor, for they have seen their children become drudges like themselves. Foxes have holes and birds of the air have nests, but these people, after all their toil, have no place to lay their heads. They have built but others inhabit; they have planted but others eat.



The other day this man called on me. He told me that his health was giving away; that his work was too hard for him; that he was afraid he would have to give up his place, and wanted to know if I could not help him get something else to do.

That man had well earned the right to rest the balance of his days. He had given his life blood to the world. His knotty hands, his stooped shoulders, his gaunt body told the story. He was like the scarred and battered hero of many battles. And how do we reward these heroes of peace? I never saw a more pathetic sight than that weather-beaten old man, looking into his future with fear, lest his feeble hands should lose their grip, and his spent body should be compelled to lay down its burden.

Years ago this man started out in life full of hope. With a light heart he led his bride to the altar. When the babies came one by one he had a father's determination to see that they should have a better chance than he had had. Love kept him at his task and hope of something better made his burden light.

The years wore away. Responsibilities multiplied. The plot of life thickened. Unlooked for obstacles arose. The struggle told on him. Gray hairs came, but that brought no fulfillment of his dreams. He had dreamed of a home, but that was not to be. He had pictured his children in the university. He saw them go to the factory instead. He had had visions of a little bank account, but that had faded long since, and the most he dared hope was that some day he might get out of debt. Almost imperceptibly he had settled down into a life of unending drudgery. His dreams of a better day gave way to his fear of a time when the helplessness of old age should be added to his burden of poverty.

Have you ever read Victor Hugo's description of the man sinking in the quicksands? No less tragic is the fate of him who experiences that dying out of hope, that gradual extinction of ambition, that fading of the dreams of youth, that final effacement in the slough of despond. Do you think the simile is extravagant?

Yet in some respects the man who perishes in the quicksands is the more fortunate. It is his body alone that perishes, while in the bogs of poverty the soul is blackened. In the quicksands the physical life comes to an end. But severe and prolonged poverty is destructive to moral beauty. In the mire of poverty there is something worse than death, there is the fearful abyss of vice and crime and shame.

What would you think of a man who would not stop to help a wretch out of the quicksands? You could not conceive of a creature so heartless. What would you think of the religion of a man who was in such a hurry to get to prayer-meeting that he had not time to stop to throw a plank or a rope to a drowning man? You would class such a man with the priest and Levite of old, and you would say that his religion was monstrous. So I say, that if you had been taught by experience, or by intimate association with poverty, or if you had the power of imagination to grasp in all its dreary details the life of the poor, and if you saw clearly how to remove the economic causes of poverty, then you would feel it to be your first religious duty to tell others, that men might learn the truth and be free.

Then the parable of the good Samaritan would read thus to you:

A certain man went down from East Aurora to New York to earn a living.

The man found work, but the cost of living was high and his wage was small. The struggle with poverty was so great that at last the man and his family lost heart. They began to go down hill. The children were sent to the factory and grew up in ignorance. Some of their number sank into vice and crime. They were drawn into the bog of poverty wherein is the end of all hope and self-respect.

Then by chance there came down that way a certain preacher, and these wretches cried out to the preacher and said: 'Help us that we may find work and earn enough to get out of this terrible place.'

And when the preacher heard this cry he passed by on the other side, declaring that a preacher ought not to meddle with the question of wages.

And likewise a deacon, an officer in the church, a man rich in this world's goods, and much reputed for piety, passed that way also. And the unfortunates cried out to the great rich man and said: 'Give us justice, that we may not need to sell our labor for the crust of bitterness.' And when the good rich man heard their cry he threw them alms and

passed by on the other side, leaving them in their wretched state.

But a certain layman, as he journeyed, came to the city. He saw how the people lived and was appalled. He set to work to study the cause of this poverty, and he might be able to help the sufferers. Having found the cause he began to proclaim the truth to men, showing them how to change their laws and deliver the poor from their thralldom.

Which of these three, thinkest thou, was neighbor unto the poor; the man who labored to abolish the cause of poverty, or the man who withheld justice from the poor while giving them charity, or the man who denied that their condition was the concern of religion?

POINTED PARAGRAPHS

By J. E. HARRIS

In an article by Grover Cleveland published some time ago, that great prophet of Individualism said: "The timid and weak that are lost can well be spared. The brave who win the fight are saved for great and noble things." You don't find Grover bothering his head over the one lost sheep. Yet such is the gospel of Individualism. Success is what counts. The man who can't keep up with the procession can drop out, fall down and die or do any old thing. He doesn't count.

Socialists have a different gospel. They speak of co-operation instead of individualism. They say it is the duty of the strong to help the weak along, to see that none are "lost." No true Socialist would be guilty of enunciating such a selfish un-Christian sentiment as that uttered by Former President Cleveland.

* * *

Germany's emperor sees probable success for the Socialist party in the coming elections and he doesn't like the looks of it. Dispatches from Germany tell of the wonderful campaign Socialists are making and say their success is almost certain. Possibly William's "divine right" to rule may prove only an imitation of the real thing.

Chicago women plan to deliver pure milk to the poor at cost and will establish a bottling and sterilizing plant. Pure milk ought to be a pretty good thing for all classes. These women are trying the Socialist plan in a limited way. Why not extend the plan?

* * *

Mayor Harrison of Chicago in a message to the city council maps out a plan of campaign on the traction question. Municipal ownership at the earliest possible moment and a referendum vote on all grants of franchises are the leading features of the document. Municipal ownership is gradually paving the way for Socialism.

* * *

Some critics of Socialism have advanced the fact that strikes have occurred in Holland and Australia in state-owned industries as arguments against collective ownership. Socialism and state ownership are two entirely distinct and different things. But Socialists are willing to compare the strike record of state-owned industries anywhere in the world with the record in that line which is being made by privately-owned industries in the United States.

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OUR magazine has now been before the public for seven months and its character is fairly well understood. We desire to express our thanks for the warm support received during that time and to make an appeal to our present subscribers.

Our work is not done for the praise of men nor for financial reward. Yet we appreciate highly the many encouraging letters received, and we greatly need the material assistance of our friends to enable us to reach a wider constituency and wield a greater influence in behalf of humanity.

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LITERARY NOTES



GOD'S CHILDREN: A MODERN ALLEGORY.

By James Allman. Published by Chas. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago. This is a clever book in which the truths of Socialism are presented in an attractive and convincing manner. A supposed resident of the heavenly

country makes a visit to the earth to inquire into the condition of God's children and commences his investigations in the heart of London. He meets with many surprises and nowhere is he more non-plussed than in the matter of "worship" where the great God is professedly honored while alongside magnificent churches social conditions stand out in shocking contrast. The sarcasm of the author is severe but we dare not say undeserved, while his presentation of economic facts and Socialist arguments is free from the objectionable Utopianism too often found in such writings. The book will be enjoyed and will be found useful in propaganda work. For sale at this office. Price, 50 cents, postpaid.

WHAT SHALL WE EAT? is the title of a new work issued by the Health-Culture Co., 481 Fifth Ave., New York City. After showing how food is digested, it gives the constituent elements of over 300 food products, with time of digestion, and 25 different tables showing the results of nearly 1500 food analyses, giving the comparative food values and cost in money of all articles of food in common use, and the relative value of various methods of preparation, with a chapter on adulteration. This will certainly prove a timely work, as never has there been so much interest in the food question from the stand-

point of health and economy as at the present time.

THE PRINCIPLES AND PROGRAM OF SOCIALISM, by Rev. Carl D. Thompson, noticed last month, is meeting with a great sale.

Ernest Untermann of the Appeal to Reason writes: "It is the most concise and comprehensive statement of our position I have seen in the English language."

This is a high recommendation and should encourage all students to read it. For sale at this office, 10 cents.

A bright and breezy new periodical for young folks has come to our table, "20th Century Boys and Girls," the aim of which is "to instruct and educate in the spirit of the times through fun and frolic, not forgetting that wisdom is power." The editor, Frances E. Mason, is the well-known author of "Daddy Gander," which has been called the "King of Funny Books." The wholesome humor and humane spirit of the editor here find play in a wider field and we wish his new venture the success it deserves. Address: 7 Warren St., New York City.

"The International Socialist Review," edited by A. M. Simons, is recognized as the ablest Socialist periodical published in the English language. Representative writers of Europe and America contribute to its pages, and its editorial treatment of the movement is vigorous and illuminating. No active worker in the cause of Socialism can afford to be without this magazine. It is one dollar a year. To those who have never been subscribers to the Review we offer it for one year together with a dollar's worth of books from the list on page 29 all for one dollar.

Wilshire's Magazine continues to put up a tempting array of good things every month and its circulation booms accordingly. Notice the liberal offers of the millionaire Socialist on page 27 of THE VANGUARD and go after some of the prizes.

✠ CORRESPONDENCE ✠

SOCIALISM AND CATHOLICISM

TO THE EDITOR:—

As a Catholic I wish to say that the Catholic who investigates Socialism finds that there is nothing in its teachings to conflict with true religion, but there is very much that is in conformity therewith. This is the reason that thousands of Catholics are becoming Socialists. Socialists are not attacking religion and never will. Socialism is the foundation of a higher life for all and if we want to better the condition of all churches we must have Socialism.

JOHN GEIS.

PLYMOUTH, WIS.

LINCOLN

TO THE EDITOR:—

In the March issue of the National Magazine appears an article by Col. Jas Matlock Scovel, a distinguished Federal soldier, on Abraham Lincoln, in which the great emancipator stated his creed—the same as the lawyer read in response to the question of Christ. The lawyer asked the Nazarene what to do to inherit eternal life, and was told to keep the law and read: "Love the Lord with all thy heart and soul and thy neighbor as thyself." This statement Lincoln endorsed as embodying his creed, thus substantially placing himself in the Judean or Theistic cult. The commendation of Rev. Peter Cartwright as a heroic preacher by a certain prominent official will grate on the moral sense of those broad-minded and scholarly theologians who remember that the said Cartwright was a belated theologian of a narrow type who, in a campaign in which they were rivals for Congress, assailed Lincoln because he was a deist, or "infidel," as certain "pious" but inadequately informed persons term those who do not assent to their belated theologic-

al views. Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, Grant and Lincoln were of the Theistic cult. In fact every president of this Nation with three exceptions have been of the liberal Theistic faith. Garfield in his later years was not a traditionalist. In the words of an eminent and scholarly divine of the Congregational Church, they stood too near God to be misled by unreasoning theologians. They illustrated the truthful declaration of one of the Fathers of the Church: "The soul is an older authority than prophecy and its voice the gift of God from the beginning." The noble dictum, "He that doth righteousness is righteous even as He is righteous" is a compact creed to be forever treasured. QUAKER.

WAUSEON, O.

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