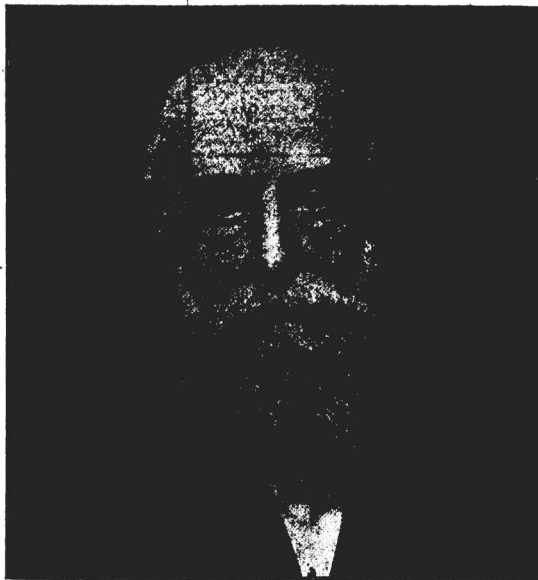
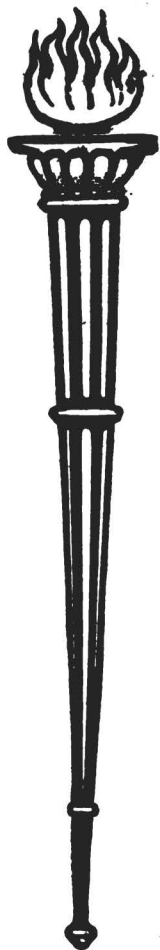


WISCONSIN THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY VANGUARD

A Magazine of Progress

APRIL, 1903

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T HIS IS THE PROBLEM OF OUR AMERICAN COMMONWEALTH,—TO TEACH MEN THE MEANING OF THE WORDS THAT RUN SO GLIBLY FROM OUR TONGUES, OF JUSTICE AND LIBERTY; TO TEACH WHAT ARE THE LAWS UNDER WHICH MEN AND WOMEN SHOULD LIVE IN ONE GREAT BROTHERHOOD; TO SWEEP AWAY THE CANT THAT OBSCURES THIS WORD BROTHERHOOD AND TO GIVE IT A CLEAR AND DEFINITE MEANING, NOT BY OUR WORDS CHIEFLY, BUT BY OUR LIVES AND OUR NATIONAL CHARACTER.—Lyman Abbott.

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The Vanguard

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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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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., APRIL, 1903.

NO. 6

EDITORIAL

This country, said Lincoln, cannot remain half slave and half free. He was not talking then of industrial slavery as it exists today, but his words are as applicable to the conditions now as then, conditions which Lincoln foresaw and warned us against. Paraphrasing Lincoln's declaration, Dr. Lyman Abbott says: "We cannot have a country part democratic and part autocratic," and he declares himself in favor of democracy. "We cannot do away with combinations," he continues, "the question is whether they shall be democratic or autocratic." In other words the question is whether the nation shall own the trusts or the trusts own the nation. Socialism we are bound to have or despotism and chaos. Dr. Abbott does not hesitate to avow his faith: "I believe," he says, "the movement toward Socialism in this country to be irresistible, and I believe, too, it ought not to be resisted."

THE VANGUARD believes in Socialism because it believes in Christianity. By Christianity we mean, not theological speculations and ecclesiastical vestments, but the religion of love and service which Jesus lived and taught; not dogmas and forms but plain every-day right doing and the Christ-spirit of justice and brotherhood in all the relations of men to each other. Creeds and churches we believe in only so far as they stand for these things and inspire men to practice them. We further believe in Socialism because we believe in the soundness of its economics. It rests on a thoroughly scientific basis. It offers the only possible solution of the industrial problem. But this is simply saying that the Golden Rule ought to be and can be made the working law of life, that it is the only wise and safe basis for society and government. Some Socialists reach this conclusion by reasoning along the purely economic side of the question. Others find in its ethical aspect that which appeals to them most strongly. There is no real difference between the two. There is unanimity as to the meaning and aim of Socialism. Both recognize altru-

ism and mutualism as essential to human welfare and progress. This fundamental agreement is an argument of tremendous force. All straight roads lead to Socialism. Life is one. The race is one. Life is moral. The progress of the race is moral progress. It was Mazzini who said: "Every political question is rapidly becoming a social question, and every social question a religious one." Only let us not confound religion with "religiosity." Here is a distinction which Jesus was ever careful to draw and emphasize. For fasts, fringes and the whole paraphernalia of "religiosity" he cared nothing. For truth and righteousness he cared everything. This is pure religion, and this is Socialism. Its ethics and the ethics of Christianity are identical.

What, then, shall the attitude of the Christian church and ministry be? It is to be hoped that for the church's own sake it has learned something from history. Yet how sadly true are the words of John Bascom:

"Reforms of the most imperative character meet with hesitating and wavering support from the church, and sometimes encounter bitter opposition. Most of the social questions of the last hundred years have brought nearly as much discredit as credit to the church."

Surely the time has come for the church to change its attitude and to boldly face the great social problem that is pressing for settlement, and to proclaim the Gospel of the Kingdom which means "the righting of social wrongs, the rigid squaring of institutions and laws by the Nazarene Carpenter's divine square of justice." Never was there such an opportunity before the organized religious forces of America as today. They can lead in the struggle; can push forward to the goal; can bear witness to the economic soundness of Christ's teachings, to the practicability of the Golden Rule in industrial life, or they can still content themselves to lag away behind, fearful of "consequences," careful of "bread and butter," choosing ever the line of least resistance, feeble, ineffective, busy with "the puerilities of piety"—a parody on the religion of Jesus.

We are glad to note the increasing number of clergymen who are actively identifying themselves with the Socialist movement. Every week we hear of new accessions and we look for remarkable developments in this direction within the year. There is a strong undercurrent of Socialist sentiment among the ministers of the country. How could it be otherwise? What a field for conscience is here? Says Professor Albion W. Small, head of the department of Sociology in the

University of Chicago:

"Capital has become the most undemocratic, inhuman, and atheistic of all the heathen divinities. It would be infinitely more for human weal if every dollar of wealth should be cleaned from the earth; if we could have instead of it industry, and honesty, and justice, and love and faith, than be lead much further into this devil's dance of capitalism."

Socialism is nothing else than the protest of the growing social conscience against this most godless, heartless tyranny of the ages. What can the Christian minister do but cast in his lot with the movement?

In a communication to the editor, a clergyman who has recently declared for Socialism, writes:

"Why should I be ashamed of my views on social and economic questions when I am not ashamed of the truths that cluster around the cross? It will afford me more satisfaction to declare my views now than to wait ten or twenty years until the slanderous misrepresentations of Socialism have been removed and the sublime philosophy of the movement is better seen and more fully appreciated. In this movement for human welfare the church should be in front."

This is surely the manly and reasonable position to take. Any movement for human betterment finds plenty of friends when it has become popular and respectable and when one runs no risk and makes no sacrifice in allying himself with it. But it is little to a man's credit to wait until a good cause has won its way through the heroic effort of others before he is willing to enroll himself among its adherents.

No man should stand aloof from Socialism because there may be some things about it that do not quite suit him or because he is not in accord with every detail of the movement at the present time. We have heard ministers say to those who remained outside and criticized the churches: "If you do not think the churches are what they ought to be, go in and make them better." The point has been well made, and it points both ways. It holds good with reference to the attitude of those who rail at the churches yet who do nothing to improve these organizations. But let our church friends remember that it holds good in regard to their attitude toward the Socialist movement. This movement for social justice and for the uplift of humanity demands their aid *now*. As one who has borne witness to the truth at no small cost writes:

"I could not wait until Socialism should be exactly pleasing to me in all its aspects, or until I should be altogether pleasing to Socialists in some of my views of life; my place was with my comrades, sharing with them their struggles, the defeats and disgraces that are always involved in the first creative steps of an organized movement."

Many persons who today are ready to cast the stone of contempt at the Socialist movement will be anxious enough in

a few years to be counted among its ardent supporters. This will be especially true with the men in the pulpits and pews of the churches. Already their sympathies are with the movement, and they only lack faith and courage to demand the application of Christ's teachings of justice and brotherhood in the industrial world. Even the Roman Catholic church, which is now so pronounced in its opposition to Socialism, will one day be glad to point back to Fathers McGrady and Hagerty and count them among its most loyal sons, saying: "Were not these devoted priests pioneers of the Co-operative Commonwealth?"

"Socialism is all very fine in theory, but it wouldn't work," is one of the stock "arguments" of its opponents. And this is said with a top-lofty air as though it settled the whole question. But Socialism does work. Here is a sample of its working. Mr. Wm. E. Curtis, the well known newspaper correspondent, writes in the Chicago Record-Herald as follows:

"The Socialists are in control in the city council of Berlin, and it may not be a coincidence only that experts in municipal problems are almost unanimous in the opinion that the city government of Berlin comes nearer to the ideal than that of any other great city in the world. There every one of the prominent municipal officers, from the mayor down, is employed because of his talents and peculiar skill, instead of for political reasons. The municipal officers of Berlin are selected just as the board of directors of a railway company select engineers, their general manager or their superintendents, in order to obtain the highest degree of talent and secure the best service, and to raise them above the control of any individual or corporate anarchist, or party organization, who may desire to interfere with the management of public affairs. When a vacancy occurs in the city government of Berlin and other German cities where the Socialists have control, they seek throughout the country for the best man in that line, and some specialist who has distinguished himself in a similar position, and is not only entitled to advancement but can be more serviceable to them than any other man, is elected to fill the position."

This is not a bad showing to make in imperialistic Germany. No "dead level" about it either. No destruction of "incentive," after all. Nothing "immoral" that we can detect in such business methods. No attack upon religion or the home. What's the matter with Socialism, anyway? Let us whisper it: "No political 'pull,' no chance for 'boodle,' that's what's the matter with Socialism." Of course it wouldn't "work." No "grafter" need apply. See the point?

An encouraging sign of the times is the change that is noticeable in the way Socialism is discussed by independent newspapers and in particular the Chicago Record-Herald which stands at the head of the daily press in character, influence and circulation. The Sunday Record-Herald devotes

columns of its "Battle Ground" each week to the movement. Here some of the ablest Socialist writers present their arguments. But what is more significant is the editorial attitude of this journal. While not avowedly Socialistic it is doing good work for the cause. It has repeatedly pointed out the wide difference between Socialism and anarchy, while the Chicago Chronicle, Milwaukee Sentinel and other party organs continue to associate the two—something which we can no longer attribute to ignorance but to a deliberate intention to deceive and prejudice the public mind. The Record-Herald not only seeks to give a fair definition of Socialism but has gone so far as to defend and uphold its claims against its most plausible opponents. Thus, under the heading, "The Bugaboo of Socialism," it recently showed that the movement is simply a continuance of the fight against feudal lords and extortionate kings for human liberty, saying:

"There is nothing novel in the idea when applied to moneyed monopolies. A new application of the old principle cannot be damned by calling it Socialistic. On the contrary the contest of centuries will be continued with greater spirit than ever because the greater the intelligence of the people is the more will it be outraged at the thought of a nation's paying a species of tribute to a few individuals and corporations."

Again, replying to the assertion of Father Gleason that Socialism would "make the individual nothing," the Record-Herald pointedly declares: "Individualism is threatened with extinction under the present system." When such papers talk in this fashion there is something "doing." But perhaps the most "dangerous" utterance of this metropolitan journal of late has been in regard to what it terms "the shibboleth of prosperity," meaning the attempt being made by the moneyed interests to lead the workers to suppose that high prices and increased volume of business are cause for jubilation while the average wage earner is really suffering from less purchasing ability than formerly. After showing from figures carefully compiled that the cost of living has increased from 25 to 33½ per cent. while in some cases only wages have increased from 10 to 20 per cent, the editor says: "For thousands upon thousands of people this means just so much money out of pocket without compensatory gains of any sort." The "stand pat" bubble he then punctures with the following incisive paragraph:

"The prosperity which stops before it increases the incomes of the wage-earners all over the country, in proportion at least to the increased cost of living coincident to prosperity, produces a condition which is not healthy and cannot be enduring. What will it profit American industry if it conquer the whole world's trade while its own millions find their revenues decreasing in proportion to the cost of living?"

THE TREND OF THOUGHT AMONG THE CHURCHES

Rev. R. F. Coyle, D. D., Central Presbyterian Church, Denver.

The rising power of the people I consider the most significant thing on the horizon today. Demos, the common man, is asserting himself. The era of the common man is dawning; democracy is shaking thrones and compelling attention on the part of Christendom. Long the people were dumb; then they began to stammer a little. They were trying to say something, but their tongues seemed to be tied. They could not tell what was in them struggling for utterance. A little later their stammering became speech. Their protesting souls found expression. Now their speech is a gospel. With burning, passionate eloquence they are preaching a new salvation, the salvation of society.

From Siberia to California there is a breaking away from the dominions of every sort; from priestcraft dominions, moneycraft dominions, dominions autocratic, plutocratic and religiocratic. You see it in Russia, in Germany, in England, in the United States and even in Spain.

Look at our own country, and I doubt whether we shall see anything quite so striking, quite so worthy of earnest thought, as the increased assertiveness of democracy. Capital is feeling it; politics is feeling it; the church and the press and literature are feeling it. As a proof consider the march of Socialism. No other word so accurately expresses the fact. Ten years ago the Socialistic vote in this country was 30,000; today it is 400,000. At the same rate of increase, Socialism will elect a President of this United States before 1920. Thinking men no longer pooh-pooh this movement.

Rev. Edward E. Hale, D. D., South Congregational Church, Boston.

There is an improvement correcting the sensitiveness which people had a few years ago about using the word "Socialist." I think people are finding out that in a way we are all Socialists. The man who buys a share in the Elevated Railroad Company is so far a Socialist. The man who insures his house in a mutual company is so far a Socialist. In modern life, indeed, very few of us live lives so like Robinson Crusoe's that we are not sometimes "Socialists." True, you can conceive of a man who lives in his own cave, gathers his own leaves for his bed, washes his own face in the brook which goes by, picks his own acorns and chestnuts and pig-nuts for his own breakfast, dinner, and supper. But there are not many such men. Most of us are, to a certain extent Socialists, because Socialism is more comfortable and easy than a separate life, which, indeed, Artemas Ward would describe as a "cussed life." There is a very close alliance between what people call democracy and what they call Socialism.

Dr. Emil G. Hirsch, Jewish Rabbi, Chicago.

The teachings of Judaism are practically identical with the principles of Socialism. The principles of Socialism are the basis of all modern government. In the teachings of Judaism property in land is unknown. In the Pentateuch, which the champions of orthodoxy claim as a direct mandate from God, it is stated that no piece of land can be held in perpetuity.

What is this but a teaching of Socialism? The doings of the last year have made many persons think of Socialism who never knew aught but individualism before. We have been taught that certain things produced by nature ought to be used for the benefit of all. Whatever we have had given to us by God has been given us as stewards, and we are responsible for the use we make of it. Our civilization is only a promise, not a performance, and will never be a performance while men stalk about in naked conceit of wealth and others cry out for the right to work for bread. Many people balk at the word Socialism, but they do not realize that there are certain American institutions of which Americans are proud in which we have adopted purely Socialistic principles. There are our public schools, public libraries, universities, county hospitals, institutions for the care of the insane and laws for the protection of people at work in factories. All modern government is proceeding along the line of these institutions, and these are the teachings of Judaism. The ultimate note of our religion is true, humane, enlightened Socialism.

Bishop Henry C. Potter; Protestant Episcopal, New York.

I have stood by the open excavation of the new underground railroad in New York city, looking at the men digging. They have told me that they got \$2 a day for fair days when the work could go on. Living is expensive in New York. These are not the submerged; they are the men of brawn and health. They are the "labor."

I have gone through the corridors of the fashionable hotel at midnight hours and looked on the diners and winers, with liveried waiters obsequiously serving the viands of all kinds.

These are the "employers."

Are the interests of the two classes mutual? Can easy going optimism conjure up any relation between the two? Can any bridge span the chasm between them?

When I go through our factories and see fine able-bodied men, dexterous, earnest men working nine hours a day every day and every year a life through, fashioning the uncouth raw material of wood and metal and marble into house material I ask myself, "Will the laborer have any of these polished and luxurious appliances in the home of his family, or will they only go into the well-to-do, the mansions of the rich—the 'employer' class?" Are the interests of the laborer and capitalist mutual in this work?

I know full well that many will say the money payments settle the whole score; but even if that were so, is there any mutuality where one makes and the other enjoys?

Rev. Father Mario Oddario, Roman Catholic Priest, Turin, Italy.

Advancing the cause of Socialism is not the work of factions and giddy heads, as some think, who see scarecrows in every new movement, but the progress of humanity.

I call Socialism the doctrine of love and justice which was taught by Christ. Socialism is not tumult, destruction and ruin, but is food and work for all, a home and clothing for all, a living assured to all, happiness and justice for all. Socialism means being the sons of God and brothers, not in word but in deed.

I DO NOT ASK FOR EASE

By J. WILLIAM LLOYD

O Life of mine, yield me great work, great work!
 Let not my sentence be a weakling's victory!
 Give me the foremost rank, I shall not shirk!
 Grant that the central peaks of Truth I see
 Beyond all gulfs and misty miles of mirk!
 The years of ease I do not ask for me,
 Or peace from pain, but just a brave man's artery,
 Beating the onward march where pale threats lurk.

I ask for great result and beauteous deed,
 The strength to give, and human helpful gain,
 To hold the one word Freedom for my creed,
 To sow in virgin soils the Future's seed,
 Eloquence to speak, and courage calm to bleed:
 I do not ask for ease or peace from pain.

WESTFIELD, N. J.

PROGRESS

By Rev. FRANK O. HALL

The human race is not formed like an army, standing shoulder to shoulder in regular order and solid column, and moving forward with rythmical footsteps that beat as one. We all are struggling up the hill, impelled by haunting unrest with which God has gifted the soul of man, and urged from behind by the fear of what we have left there. We are baited and driven on by unseen forces. Now and then some man with superior energy forges ahead and gains a height, never beyond calling distance, but still much loftier than that occupied by the multitude. Then this lone pilgrim, enchanted by the view which he obtains, calls back, and urges the multitude on, crying: "It is better up here! the air is purer, the scenery grander!" One would suppose that the multitude, hearing such a voice, would respond to it, rejoice in the message, and hurry forward with re-doubled energy. But, somehow, that is not human nature. First of all, the crowd begins to laugh. "Ha! ha!" they cry. "Look at the fool! He thinks that he sees more than we. Really, he sees nothing at all. All he sees is in his mind's eye,—the eye of a disordered mind. Ha! ha!" cries the multitude. But the man on the heights keeps on calling. Then people begin to get angry. They curse him. They revile him. They declare he is trying to coax the whole human race over a precipice. They throw stones and mud at him. And in the end they probably drag him down from the height and kill him, and cast contempt upon his corpse. But, later, one man will begin to say to another, "I wonder what he saw up there, anyway!" and they climb to find out, and will discover that what the scout affirmed was true. And then more and more climb, until this spot, explored by the man of courage first of all, becomes the camping-ground of humanity.

NEW YORK|CITY.

THE SOUL OF THE SOCIAL MOVEMENT

By B. O. FLOWER.



IN speaking of the condition of the civilized world when Christianity made its advent, the late Dr. Edwin Hatch, of Oxford University, observed that as we studied society at that time we should find that "it was and age when men were feeling after God, and not feeling in vain, and that from the domains of ethics, physics, and meta-physics alike, from the depths of moral consciousness and the cloud-land of poets' dreams the ideas of men were trooping in one vast host to proclaim with a united voice that there are not many gods, but only One, the First Cause, by whom all things were made; one Moral Governor whose providence was over all his work, one Supreme Being of infinite power and goodness." It is needless to say that this spirit of investigation which permeated so many lives, this hunger for something more than form, rite, creed, dogma, or empty pretension, this feeling after a living God was not fostered by church or state. The sleek priests in the temples of Jupiter in Rome, Diana in Ephesus, or Minerva in Athens looked with the same spirit of intolerance and fear on the searching and aspiring spirits as when conventional society forced the hemlock to the lips of Socrates for conceiving and teaching something higher, finer and truer than the empty religion of his day. Nor did the rich men or the rulers look with favor upon this soul hunger, which sought in so many ways to rise above the fetters which encompassed life. They felt what Victor Hugo, more than eighteen centuries later, expresses in words, "The whole one side of actual society is tyrant and the other side is slave." And being on the tyrant side the priest, the politician, and the patrician looked with displeasure at the rising tide of religious sentiment. As long as men blindly followed the priests they were in no danger of thinking great thoughts or spelling that wonderful word Freedom, the sound of which has ever made oppressors tremble. So long as the anathema of the priest, the lash of the master, the frown of good society and the stern arm of the law could hold the millions down the reign of materialistic animalism was secure. But first came the stoic philosophers, disturbing the stagnant peace which so fostered degradation; they dignified human nature; they insisted on man's seeking the approval of his own soul, and to do right because it was right, to think and act as became children of the high power. Hence these men were disturbers of the peace. Some were slain, some were banished, and their high, ennobling teachings were placed under the ban by conventional society as being antagonistic to what cruel and unjust rulers were pleased to call "good government," and what the licentious patricians termed "sound morality." Next came Christianity, preaching the Golden Rule, emphasizing the principle which in modern life has come to be known as Socialism or Mutualism. Teaching men to love God and their fellow beings, to, as Victor Hugo puts it, "Sing the ideal, to love humanity, to believe in progress, and to pray toward the Infinite." And what was the result? The followers of the most exalted moralist that ever lived, the One who taught that it was a sin, a crime to even entertain thought relative to things which are evil or criminal, the devoted follow-

ers of this sinless One were denounced as being grossly immoral, their teaching of human brotherhood was declared to be in essence anarchical or destructive government. They were outlawed, hunted down as wild beasts, put to all manner of torture by "good society," by those who claimed to be defenders of church and state, the upholders of law and order.

Today we are facing another contest on the same issues. Today the attitude of millions of earth's children is aptly described by the eloquent words of Dr. Hatch at the beginning of this article. Today the principles of the Sermon on the Mount are stirring the souls of the lay millions as never before, and today the divisions of society are much the same as they were in that elder age. But we have *intelligent millions* where the masses of the Roman world were cloaked in ignorance. Our people have tasted something of the sweets of freedom; they have larger views of life and higher ideals than have the masses possessed at any previous period of life; they are coming into a realization of their rightful heritage, and because they love justice, because they appreciate the dignity of manhood, because they reverence the purity of womanhood, because they realize the marvelous possibilities of a society in which one-half shall no longer be tyrant and the other half slave, because they know that under just conditions, with the wonderful inventions of man and the fruitfulness of the earth, humanity "can proceed to grow Godward," can enjoy life and develop, physically, mentally, and spiritually, as never before, because they long for justice, freedom, fraternity, and the reign of the Golden Rule or the advent of Mutualism, and because they know the better way is as feasible as it is imperative they are demanding a change. The rapidly growing social spirit which is moving onward with increased momentum is profoundly religious in the truest sense of that long-abused term. It is intelligent, enlightened, and just. It will triumph. The forces of the day, seen and unseen, are leagued with it. The new order is assured; The present hour is big with possibilities never before within the reach of earth's millions. It is a time calling for high, unselfish thinking, pure and disinterested living. The august present demands a union of all who love with all who suffer. As the victory to be won is the most stupendous which has ever been achieved—the culmination of the dreams of the prophets and poets of the ages—so it calls for all the heroism, all the essential divinity in our being. What nobler epitaph could be placed over one's grave than the words, "Here lies one who helped usher in the glad new day." The future will bless the brave social reformers who today are fighting the battle of the ages for justice for all the people.

O happy, happy, ye, that ye were born
In the sad slow night departing, in the rising of the morn.

Fair the crown the cause has for you, well to die or well to live
Through the battle, through the tangle, peace to gain or peace to give!

Ah, it may be! Oft, meseemeth, in the days that yet shall be,
When no slave of gold abideth twixt the breadth of sea to sea,

Some shall pause awhile and ponder on the bitter days of old,
Ere the toll of strife and battle overthrew the curse of gold;

Then twixt lips of loved and lover solemn thoughts of us shall rise:
We who once were fools and dreamers then shall be the brave and wise,

There, amidst the world new-built, shall our earthly deeds abide,
Though our names be all forgotten, and the tale of how we died.

Life or death then, who shall heed it, would we gain or would we lose?
Fair flies life amid the struggle, and the Cause for each shall choose.

Here a word, a word in season for the day is drawing nigh
When the Cause shall call upon us, some to live and some to die.

BOSTON, MASS.

NEW YORK DIVISION OF HELL

By EDWIN MARKHAM



HO! This is the New York Greek colony, eh?

Whew! What dirt, what disorder!"

This was my cry as three of us—Sir Youthful, Sir Gray-head and myself—began picking our way through Roosevelt street. Everywhere little clumps of little children, of little groups of noisy tradesmen. Every one seemed to be busy, but all things were confusion—no order, no beauty, no high intelligence. Was it to such as these that St. Paul preached on Mars Hill? Was it for such as these that Socrates drank the hemlock? No, since there has been a thousand years of the "Unspeakable Turk."

"Look out or you will step on these half-naked little fellows. A man's big foot would flatten one out like a fly."

We stop a moment to look at seven little tots, all crowded in the cranny of a wall. The least one of these little fellows was eating with great satisfaction a penny's worth of miserable ice cream. This little one was a great tragedy, with its chalk face, pinched features and starving expression in the eyes. It was one of those terrible babes that are old at birth.

On all hands there were the indications of watered milk and adulterated food. But there were also the shadowy remains of the old and classic beauty. The Greek outline, the small Attic features, the fawnlike eyes that do not think but feel! In the midst of all this squalor arises the imposing front of a Greek Catholic church. At the sight of it there bursts upon us memories of the great Constantine and the splendors of the Byzantine era.

My guide directed me to a place in Chrisie street. "This is a sweatshop," said my guide, and at the words, with the glance that followed, I thought of the bloody sweat of Christ—the eternal martyrdom of man. We had to step softly through the dark, winding and slippery passages that led to this human hell. Soon we were on the third floor, looking out upon the neighboring roofs, covered with refuge and garbage, broken bottles and sloppy pools. Deadly odors were continually blowing through the workshops. The work people were bowed to their work with a strained intensity in every movement. Anxiety was written on every feature. Hunger rode astraddle, with spurs on his heels, as if death came riding hard behind.

Every worker, in every room was more or less misshapen. Those who ran machines had great humps on their shoulders, hideous abominable dis-

tortions of the majesty that God made. Out through all this horror would sometimes break a crackling rill of laughter. Truly it was a Dantesque scene.

At one of these houses we entered, the old lady thought we were intending to purchase the building. Her face suddenly brightened. She led the way through winding halls. She gave a guttural cry as she reached the back yard and a dozen young ragmuffins scattered to a dirty wool sack in the corner. She saw nothing but virtue in the old rookery. "See what sunny rooms." All of them were dingy and dark. Perhaps the mole, too, finds joy in his unlit chambers below ground. But the mole gets his rent for nothing, while these wretched families are forced to pay \$7.50 a month for one wretched little room. And this room, this rat-hole, this den of dirt, is a home.

So, after all I have seen, I am certain that I have found the "hoeman" taking root on our American soil. Certainly the decadent of labor is here in the making. Give us time and we will be able to "point with pride" to a fascinating horror equal to the older lands. As we passed out to the open air someones remarked that Colonel Ingersoll was always insisting that there was no hell. What fatuity, thought I. While theologians have been debating whether or not God ever make a devil in the industrial work of the world.

In these last days society is confronted by two gigantic evils—the trust and the sweatshop. They are two giants destroying the industrial life of the republic. One stands for congested capital and the other for emaciated poverty. They are the *reductio ad absurdum* of the competitive system. They come from a failure to justly distribute the products of labor. They both show the power of co-operative principle. They are the modern Titans who are shaking the public safety so that everywhere the voices are beginning to cry: "Let us consider the new duties of new occasions—let us build the New Republic." Co-operative industry, then, is the hope of the New Time. In the ever-enlarging realization of the principle of fraternity is the hope of social progress—in this age, and in all ages.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

SOCIALISM VS. INDIVIDUALISM

By CHARLES H. VAIL



THE individualist method of abolishing social evils deals with the individual. The individualist sees that people are actuated by selfish motives, and so concludes that the social evils from which we suffer are due to the "ever selfish human heart." Many of the clergy belong to this class. They seldom if ever really inquire as to the cause of selfishness, much less take the time and study necessary to analyze present industrial conditions. They rather fall in with things as they are, and observing that their precepts are disregarded they usually ascribe the cause to the perversity of human nature. It rarely occurs to a member of this class that there are environ-

ing forces which nullify all his efforts. Not being familiar with the economic question, he naturally traces all social evils to man's selfishness, and his remedy, of course is to preach and awaken the conscience and inculcate the desire for things. This is well as far as it goes, but if sermons were all that is necessary to elevate society, it would have been accomplished long ago. We have had over eighteen hundred years of this method, and it is no wonder that our friends talk of the ever selfish human heart, for their method seems largely ineffective in even bettering the individual, to say nothing about society. The failure of the remedy to abolish social evils ought to suggest to them that there is something lacking in their method, and that possibly by beginning at the other end of the problem they might create conditions wherein their preaching might be more effective. A man may go to church and listen to a fine discourse on the law of service and be moved to help his fellows, but he goes out into a world of competitive strife and is obliged to take advantage of those he comes in contact with or suffer failure himself.

The fact is, the "ever selfish human heart" is largely due to an ever selfish economic system. Under all forms of industry in the past individuals have been arrayed against each other, but in no system have the antagonisms been more pronounced than in the present order. There is scarcely a field today where selfish interests, begotten by a selfish system, do not dominate. Just so long as it is to man's interest to be dishonest and selfish, we need expect no improvement. There is no use lamenting this condition so long as we retain a false organization of society. We ought not to expect the law of love to be practiced under an environment of the law of strife. Sermons will not extirpate the evils; they are too deep rooted—they inhere in the system itself. We may preach brotherly love, but let us not be so foolish as to expect it to be practiced to any extent under the present order.

Socialism would abolish these evils by removing the cause. Selfishness is only possible when one man can gain at the expense of another. Under Socialism no one could thus gain, for the interests of every man would be identical with the interests of every other man. No one could serve his own interests without serving the interests of others, and conversely, no one could injure the interests of others without injuring himself. The solidarity of humanity so long preached, Socialism would realize. The very first requisite, then, of the ideal state is the establishment of harmony in the industrial realm—the substitution of co-operation for competition.

"But," says our individualist friend, "you cannot make men honest and unselfish by legislation." Very true, we cannot directly, and no one expects to. What we do expect, is to surround men with a suitable environment—one conducive to honesty and unselfishness. We desire to so reconstruct society that if a man is inclined to be honest and unselfish he will not have to be dishonest and selfish in order to succeed. If a man is placed in an infectious district and compelled to remain there he will become sick. What we ought to expect to do by legislation, is not to prohibit his sickness, but to provide for his removal or the removal of the infectious environment. When we have removed by legislation the cause of the disease, the effect will disappear. So when we remove the infectious environment of capitalism its evil results will disappear. As a matter of fact, these evils

can only exist in an economic system of special privilege, where some, by virtue of their ownership of the instruments of production, are enabled to take advantage of their fellows. The source of all tyranny, injustice and exploitation is the economic dependence of the oppressed upon the oppressor. The basis of every kind of servitude, social misery, political dependence, and industrial tyranny is the dependence of men upon the monopolists of the implements of work and the sources of life. Socialism would destroy this economic power by the few, by placing the instrument of production in the hands of society.

We need to recognize that economic conditions give color and shape to social and political institutions, and even affect intellectual and moral tendencies. The Socialist method of abolishing social evils is based upon this scientific fact. It demands betterment of economic conditions. The present condition of all classes of society—whether the poverty and hardship of the poor, the worry and anxiety of the middle class, or the idleness and luxury of the rich—are fatal to a noble life.

An unselfish heart will not save a man from the evils of our perverse economic order. Many a man of ideal character is a victim of our system of grab and greed. And even were all unselfish—a thing impossible under capitalism—the very fact that business must be conducted on the competitive principle would necessitate the existence of these very conditions against which we protest. The evils are social and can only be removed by social readjustment. Socialism proposes to better economic conditions and establish an environment favorable to the development of moral qualities.

The Socialist has faith in human nature. The great majority of men are not bad. Separate them from their economic interest and you will find that they are morally sound. Human history shows that according to the light which men have had they have done grandly well. Socialism would secure to human nature proper soil and environment. It will guarantee men the physical basis of life, give to each the full product of his toil, and secure justice and freedom to all. Until this is accomplished there is no use talking about teaching science, art and literature to the masses. These fields are barred to all who do not possess the requisites—the millions of the over-worked and out of work.

The Socialist, then, presents the only effective method by which to abolish the social evils. And even the end which the church seeks, that of personal righteousness, can only be realized to any extent in such an environment as Socialism proposes. The church should aid in establishing the new order as the first step toward the realization of its ideal. The whole competitive struggle for existence leaves scarcely any margin for the practice of real Christianity. The basis of our industrial system is unjust and unrighteous, its operation unchristian, and its results damnable. The social and industrial evils from which we suffer are inherent in the present system of production, and can only be abolished by the abolition of the system itself.

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LESSONS IN AMERICAN SOCIALISM*

By Prof. CLARK E. PERSINGER

4. What Socialism Would Mean to America



HAVE no intention of claiming that Socialism would mean for America the dawn of the industrial millenium. Political democracy did not bring to the world a perfect political order; no more will Socialism bring to it a perfect industrial order. But what political democracy—the rule of the *people*—meant to political America, that will Socialism mean to industrial America. Our present industrial life is disturbed and handicapped by five economic evils:

1. Trusts or Monopolies.
2. Strikes.
3. Crises.
4. Plutocracy.
5. Poverty.

These are the greater evils which are the source not only of our other and lesser industrial problems, but of many of our most grievous social and political troubles. Would Socialism cure any of these?

SOCIALISM WOULD DESTROY MONOPOLY

Generally speaking, trusts and monopolies would not be objectionable to the people, if it were not for two things: (1) They will persist in using inventions, improvements in machinery, etc., for the increase of their own profits, instead of for the decrease of prices; and (2) they cannot resist the temptation to interfere with legislation. "Trusts" have the greatest of good in them, in the way of organization of the industrial machinery and economy of production, but they make themselves hated of the people by promoting private ends at the expense of the public good.

How would Socialism keep the good and eradicate the bad from the trust? Simply by putting the people in the place of the present trust magnates. It is well enough known that all of the actual work of controlling the trust machinery and operations is done by the "hired men" of the trust owners. To substitute the people for the trust owner would in no way decrease the efficiency of the trust machinery and operation, but would turn the present enormous profits into the pockets of the people, instead of into the coffers of the few industrial kings. Concentration, economy, production on a large scale—all these are acceptable to the people; they have no grudge against the trust; their objection is against the purpose to which the trust is put. "Let the nation own the trust," and let the people own the nation, and the evil of monopoly has been destroyed and the good left intact.

IT WOULD DO AWAY WITH STRIKES

Nearly all of our strikes may be treated to one of two causes: The necessity of a higher wage, or the demand for a further recognition of the

*This is the fourth 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." The three numbers of THE VANGUARD containing these articles will be mailed to yearly subscribers for 15 cents. Order at once as the supply is limited.

rights of labor. The first is the cause of "hard-times" strikes and the second is responsible for those occurring during periods of prosperity. Socialism is in itself and by its very nature destructive of both these causes. Its first principle is "the people their own employers;" its basis is the destruction of *class* interests, and the making of labor and capital one and the same. The laborer, under Socialism, will receive the full product of his labor, minus only the wages of management and his share in the general expenses of government. Strikes, under the Socialistic order, could be declared only by one part of the people against the whole people, and never by the wage-earner against the profit-absorber. Strikes would be as infrequent and unnatural to Socialism as are revolutions and wars to republics.

IT WOULD ABOLISH CRISES

Practically all of our crises have been due to over-speculation, over-production, or extensive crop failures. And how would Socialism be able to remedy these?

It would remove the first of these three causes of crises by removing all possibility of private speculation. It is true some ventures would have to be made by the nation, just as risks are now taken in the development of the postal department, the educational system, etc. But *speculation*—the deliberate attempt to make one's own gain from the losses of another—would have absolutely no place under Socialism.

Neither would socialized industry ever suffer from extensive over-production. That is such a simple and evident fact as to scarcely need explanation. Instead of a hundred factories all producing the same kind of goods, and so duplicating each other's products and encroaching upon one another's markets, both production and distribution would be organized and regulated, and there would no longer be any occasion for over-production crises. Industry would *supply* demand, instead of continually attempting to create and force it.

Crop failures at present fall most heavily upon a few farmers, and then spread in widening circles of less evil effects through all other classes—merchants, shippers, manufacturers, and the laborers associated with each. Under Socialism the farmer would be paid for all work faithfully done, whether any crop resulted from it or not. Under such conditions a failure of crops would mean a small loss to every one, but a serious loss to no one. Instead of a series of blows, disabling in turn each branch of industry, there would be a slight lessening of profit all around, and no crisis.

IT WOULD MAKE PLUTOCRACY POWERLESS

There is a double evil in excessive wealth. It injures both those who have it and those who have is not. It makes its possessor tyrannical, and forces those not possessing it to submit to that tyranny. Wealth encourages oppression, and gives its possessor the means of perpetuating the oppression.

This evil Socialism would cure. It would not permit the rich man to purchase the industrial slavery of the poorer one. It would give him no opportunity to loan his money at interest, for there would be no necessity, under Socialism, for any loans. It would not permit the man of wealth to undertake any private enterprise for the sake of private gain. It would not allow him to get possession of mines, oil-wells, or any other possible monopoly, and develop them for his own profit. The only income anyone

would receive would be that given him by the nation. He may save as much of this as he wishes to and can, but in no other way can he increase his wealth. And this would not only prove no small check upon plutocracy itself, but also remove that great power of oppression which the possessor of great wealth now wields.

IT WOULD PREVENT POVERTY

There would be—in fact, there *could* be—no such thing as honest poverty under Socialism. The helpless and aged would be provided for on the mutual-protection basis, just as in our present fraternal insurance societies, which are a species of Socialism. The able and industrious would possess incomes beyond any possibility of honest poverty. The family would not be dependent upon the father, for each member of it would possess an independent income. The able but non-industrious would be a species of criminal, subject to the compelling arm of the law. The rich could no longer oppress the poor by turning the needs of the latter to their own profit. Neither could misfortune reduce any man to want. *Poverty could not come to any man except as a result of his own deliberate choice.*

IN SHORT

Socialism would mean no monopolies, no strikes, no crises, no extremes of wealth and poverty. Yet it would not mean that all must be reduced to the same life—to a common, dull, unambitious grind. What it really means is an organized, efficient, and economical control of industry, a just assignment of labor, and an equitable distribution of wealth. Socialism offers the greatest opportunity for the enjoyment of life, but no opportunity at all as preventing the like enjoyment of others. It would mean *all the pleasure in life that can be bought by honest effort, but no pleasure whose price is the suffering of others.* And that is what Socialism would mean to America.

LINCOLN, NEB.

WHY I AM A SOCIALIST

By Rev. GEORGE H. MARSH



AM a Socialist because nothing short of the principles advocated by this party can solve the problems of ever-increasing complexity that face us and the dangers that threaten us. Passing strange that in a world which was rounded in the palm of a God of equity, love and generosity, there should have grown up an industrial system, "that confiscates for the benefit of a few the land of whole continents; that monopolizes the cotton industry, the coal industry, the iron industry; that snatches the corn he has grown from the hands of the Russian peasant on the Volga in order to send down prices in Mark Lane; that depopulates Italy and is filling its hospitals with men and women suffering from the effects of hunger; that in the paradise of peasant proprietors, France, has left eighteen millions without a foot of land to call their own; that in the rich, democratic, and educated states of the American Union is repeating these marvels of the old world, laying its dead hand upon millions of acres," getting possession

of all the God-given utilities, even to the subtle electric current, raising up a proletariat from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and, to the eternal shame of our civilization, regulating the pay of the millions who compose the labor world, not according to their wants, but by the law of supply and demand. As long as the present system lasts, pig iron, coal, oil, cattle, men, women and children will be merely commodities on the world's market..

With the increasing intelligence of the masses, the belief has become universal that the laborers are not receiving the full reward of their labors. The wealth of the Moguls, and the perfumed breezes that bore the voluptuous Cleopatra in a blaze of splendor in her state barge on the Nile, pale before the colossal fortunes and unbounded extravagance of our American millionaires. \$200,000 for a pleasure yacht is a modest sum. A single block of stone in front of a New York mansion costs \$40,000. A race horse sells for \$50,000, and a dog is listed at \$10,000. A Boston millionaire gives \$30,000 for a single carnation plant. Many of the precious stones which formerly belonged to European royalty are now in the diadems of American heiresses. Elizabeth Stuart Phelps says: "The jewelry of our ladies has reached such value that they dare not wear their gems; such pricelessness is sewn into invisible seams that female fashion on a summer tour is a temptation to a train wrecker." Balls that cost a hundred thousand dollars are common events. Yet think of the average pay of the anthracite miners, and the sickening evidence that was brought to light before the commission. We read of women in our cities who make twelve shirts for seventy cents and supply their own thread, and that "during the winter months of a recent year, in three judicial districts of New York City over 21,000 men, women and children were evicted because unable to pay their rent; and in the course of the year 23,895 families, or 119,000 persons were put on the streets." In one year in the same city 3,819 persons were too poor to live or die decently, so their bones were rattled over the stones and dumped into the Potter's Field. "It's not the rents I look to," said the undertaker-landlord of a wretched tenement to Octavia Hill: "it's the deaths I get out of the houses." That man of hard facts, the late Professor Huxley, had seen the aborigines of many lands, yet his testimony is: "The surroundings of the savages of New Guinea are more conducive to the leading of a decent human existence than those where the East Londoners live." An ever-widening gulf separates the plutocracy from the toiling millions, poverty perishes at the gate of riches, while the crop of millionaires and the standing army of tramps are larger in the United States than in any other country. Tennyson's words are as truly descriptive of American and European conditions today as they ever were:

"Is it well that while we range with science glorying in our time,
City children soak and blacken soul and sense in city slime?
There among the gloomy alleys, progress halts on palsied feet,
Crime and hunger cast our maidens by the thousands in the street.
There the master scrimps his haggard seamstress of her daily bread,
There a single sordid attic holds the living and the dead;
There the smouldering fire of fever creeps across the rotted floor,
And the crowded couch of incest in the warrens of the poor."

I am a Socialist for the same reason that General Booth saw the necessity of adding a "social wing" to his great movement so as to make the spiritual work more effectual. If the two factors, heredity and environ-

ment, play such an important part in moulding destiny, then it would seem that the church should study conditions, work for an economic foundation, and then erect a social structure in which "spiritual caste shall be the basis of social rank." Well does Washington Gladden say: "Christianity, by the lips of all its teachers, ought, with all emphasis, to say to society, your present industrial system which fosters those enormous inequalities, which permits a few to heap up most of the gains of this advancing civilization and leaves the many without any substantial share in them, is an inadequate and inequitable system, and needs important changes to make it the instrument of righteousness." Some will say, Christianize the system. We might as well try to Christianize the caste system of India, polygamy, feudalism or slavery, as our present competitive industrial system. The inequity of the system may be illustrated by the story of ten monkeys who were hunting together. On coming to a stream they see a cocoanut on the other side, but how to get the prize is the problem. Nine of them, however, form a bridge, the tenth monkey goes over, seizes the cocoanut and claims it by divine right. This is the claim of the capitalist. But how did the first monkey get the cocoanut? By walking on the backs of the nine; in other words, he secured the prize by exploiting the labors of the others. Exploitation is the magic wand that has created the colossal fortunes, and turned out of its channel the stream of divine generosity.

I am a Socialist because Socialism is in harmony with the ethics of Christianity. It is the logic of Christianity; it is altruistic and humane. It has been terribly slandered and misrepresented by the capitalists and demagogues who have associated it with bombs, dynamite and anarchy. The politician, to catch the vote of the ignorant rabble, couples Socialism with anarchy as though they were identical. Nothing could be farther from the truth: they are opposite as the poles. Socialism no more favors anarchy than Washington's patriotism would favor Benedict Arnold's treachery. Many of the great, the good and wise are its enthusiastic champions. That beautiful woman Frances E. Willard, championed it before she died, and in one of her last addresses said: "Oh, that I were young again, and it would have my life! It is God's way out of the wilderness, and into the promised land. It is the very marrow of Christ's gospel. It is Christianity applied."

I am a Socialist because of the lofty ideal embodied in the Socialist platform. I know of no ideal more lofty than the absence of class-interests and the establishment of human brotherhood. Yes, some will say, the ideal is too high; aerial architecture is all right, but where is the ladder by which we reach our mansion in the skies? Every new movement for human welfare has been balked by the incredulity of mossbacks, conservatives and pessimists. Sir Walter Scott, writing to a friend in Scotland, said: "We have a fool here in London who is trying to light the city with smoke." The fool however succeeded in realizing his ideal. The ideal is the basis of the practical. Why sneer at the man who is thinking God's thoughts? Political idealism is the soul of prophecy.

"For I dipt into the future, far as human eye can see,
Saw the vision of the world, and all the wonders yet to be.
When the common sense of most shall hold a fretful realm in awe,
And the kindly earth shall slumber, lapt in universal law."

Civilization can be no higher than men's ideals. Idealism has moulded

the world from savagery to its present civilization. In this age as never before, statesmen, professors, poets, philosophers and a whole army of the rank and file, have before them the vision of a world in which brotherhood shall be a reality, and the millions shall no longer be like Tantalus, surrounded by luxuries they cannot obtain, or mocked and dazzled by the wealth they made but cannot touch. The nations are dreaming of industrial democracy and economic independence. "The dreams that nations dream come true."

I am a Socialist because the science of government is progressive, and civilization is an irresistible movement toward an ultimate triumph. Barbarism, slavery, feudalism, wage system, socialism; these are the logical steps in the upward march of man. As Socialism is an endeavor to realize upon earth the ideal of the ages, I look upon it as the most practicable way of solving the social and industrial problems, and hastening the inauguration of the Kingdom of God on earth. Toward it all the movements of history point the way. In it all the radiating lines of prophecy meet. The hope of the church is not fulfilled, the victory of redemption is not finished and cannot be until righteousness reigns, and righteousness can never reign until we abolish an industrial system which tolerates and fosters gigantic inequalities and iniquities, "mocking every dictate of ethics and religion, and rendering well-nigh futile the efforts of religion and philanthropy."

I am a Socialist because Socialism is already here. We have a degree of national, state and municipal Socialism in active operation. The army, navy, mail service, police and fire departments, public schools and hospitals—in fact it is said that nearly four hundred enterprises which at one time were private property, have been socialized by different nations, and still there's more to follow. Socialism is here and it is here to stay; and as it is "the result of the centuries, teachings of Christian conceptions of justice and brotherhood," to oppose it is to fight against God. It is not a materialistic movement to the man who sees God in history. It is at bottom an intensely spiritual movement, and it is for the church to decide whether it will itself become materialistic by its indifference or opposition to a movement the ethics of which are identical with the ethics of Christianity. Will the church fall into line?

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POINTED PARAGRAPHS

By J. E. HARRIS

The last toll road leading into Milwaukee is to be purchased by Milwaukee county. For a wonder the capitalistic press of the state did not call attention to the "danger" of the proposed change. They might have called attention to the advantages of private ownership in this case. Public ownership of highways is Socialistic but is accepted unhesitatingly. Twenty-five years from now public ownership of railroads will be as much a matter of course as the other is now.

Archbishop Quigley, of Chicago, says, "No man can be a Catholic and a Social Democrat." If you happen to be a Catholic take the last platform of the Socialist party, read it over carefully and see if you can find anything in it that conflicts with your religion.

Prof. Oscar L. Triggs of the University of Chicago predicts the coming of a "new man." He says, "There shall come a new man. The motive of this new being will be so different from that which now animates society that the new man will be entirely different. The business man will wish to share his successes with the rest of society." Prof. Triggs might have put in briefly by saying the coming man will be a Socialist.

Even President Mitchell of the United Mine Workers seems to see Socialism looming up in the near future. He is reported as saying in Chicago, "But I am not one of those who believe that this is the ultimate. There is an evolutionary movement going on which is changing our social conditions and life." Exactly. Trades unionism is a step upward from the individualistic idea in industrial life, and the next upward step is from trades unionism to Socialism.

The Catholic church has started its crusade against Socialism. Much good will result to the cause therefrom. All Socialism wants is full and free discussion. It has no reason to fear publicity even in the form of opposition.

"Fundamentally, the most important lesson to be learned in our national life is the lesson of our solidar-

ity of interests, and that every man of us, if he is fit to be a citizen of this republic, must pull his own weight and must also do his best to help his brother at the same time."

This statement was made by President Roosevelt in his first speech since leaving Washington for the far West. Socialists will heartily agree with him but go further by demanding that society be organized on a basis that will make it *possible* for men to help their brothers. This cannot be done under the competitive system, which calls for strife. This is shown conclusively by the growth of trusts. These combinations are formed by individuals who have become wise enough to see the waste of struggling against each other for business. They have come together and are working for each other's interests instead of for individual success. But their co-operation is confined to their own organization and the rest of the public is plundered as much as circumstances permit. What Socialists want is to include the whole people in this trust scheme. Then President Roosevelt's ideal can be realized.

"Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

To this divine precept the individualist says, "Nonsense; human progress is the result of a struggle in which men's energy and wits are developed by the contest to get ahead of his neighbor. How can a merchant love his rival merchant as himself? To do so would ruin his business and keep him from getting ahead."

But the Socialist says, "Christ's teaching is exactly what we want to see made the basis of all our institutions. We want to do away with individualism which pits man against man, and substitute co-operation in which each would work for all and which would make it possible for men to love their neighbors as themselves."

"Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth where moth and rust doth corrupt and where thieves break through and steal." Huge fortunes could not be built up under Socialism, and those who were possessed of unusual talent would have every incentive to help others,

THE GOVERNMENT TO BE

Through the clamor and the riot
That is heard from sea to sea,
I can feel the coming quiet
Of the government to be.

Vain the effort to dissemble,
For the truth is clear to all,
And the old conditions tremble
Like a ruin doomed to fall.

Vain the veiling and disguising
Of the evils that exist.

For new systems are uprising
From the wreckage and the mist,
And the mills of God are slowly,
Surely grinding out their grist.

As the sun first tints the border
Of the darkness with his light,
So the faint, far gleam of order
Gilds the chaos of the night.

And the dawn shall grow in splendor
To the fulness of the day
When the hands of greed surrender
What from toil they tore away.

For the land to all was given—
It belongs to you and me;
Let monopoly be driven
From the fortress of the free,
And let liberty bid welcome
To the government to be.

Ella Wheeler Wilcox.

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IN MEMORIAM

It is with deep regret that we chronicle the passing of Hon. Samuel D. Hastings, high-souled, pure-minded, brave hearted social reformer, and Christian gentle-man in the truest sense of the term. He stood with the abolitionists in the early days of the anti-slavery struggle. He stood later with the prohibitionists, a trusted and honored leader of the temperance cause. Though in his eighty-seventh year he remained keenly alive to the movements of today. Devoting his life to human betterment he was ever in the vanguard of reform, and from the first took much interest in THE VANGUARD. In full sympathy with its aims, he frequently expressed cordial approval of our work. One of the last letters he penned in his characteristically clear hand was to the editor concerning the magazine. We feel a personal bereavement in the loss which the world suffers in the removal of this beloved veteran from earth's activities. We cannot believe that he is far removed; and we rejoice in the thought that his long and loving service here has but prepared him for even better service in the life beyond.

CORRESPONDENCE

REV. DR. HILLIS' MISTAKE

To the Editor:

In one of his Chicago sermons Dr. Hillis is reported to have compared the religion of Christ with the other religions of the world, asserting that the Christian religion was the only one in which love was the central and all-important idea.

Dr. Hillis ignores the teachings of the Jewish prophets. Rabbi Hillel taught: "Be of the disciples of Aaron, love peace, pursue peace, love all men and invite them to a life of virtue and holiness." In the interview of Christ and the lawyer, the responses of the former to the question "What to do to be saved," Christ directed the lawyer to "keep the law," and said: "How readest thou?" The lawyer read: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy soul, etc., and thy neighbor as thyself." Of this character was Christ's reply to the young man: "Keep the commandments." He also informed the young

man who addressed him as "Good Master," "that only God was good."

St. Augustine in the fourth century declared: "What is called the Christian religion has existed among the ancients, and was not absent from the beginning of the human race until Christ came in the flesh, from which time the true religion which existed already, began to be called Christian."

It was the dictum of one of the Hebrew prophets that: "A man who foolishly does me wrong I will return to him my ungrudging love—the more evil goes from him, the more good shall go from me." The improved Voltarian dictum is a compact and comprehensive creed—"Love the good God, be good and do good." QUAKER.

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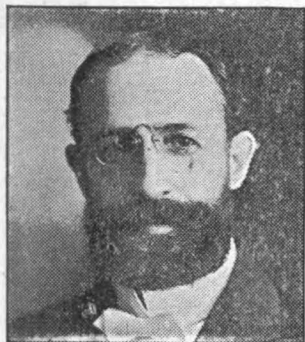
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