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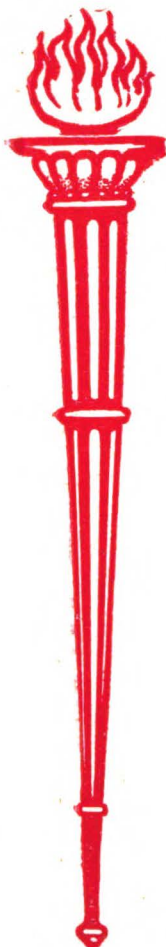
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Vol 2
no. 3

THE VANGUARD

NOVEMBER, 1903

WISCONSIN
HISTORICAL
SOCIETY



EVERY atom says to every other one, "Combine," and, doing so, they change chaos into order. When every woman shall say to every other, and every worker shall say to every other, "Combine," the war-dragon shall be slain, the poverty viper shall be exterminated, the gold-bug transfixed, the saloon drowned out, and the last white slave liberated.

—*Frances E. Willard.*

PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY

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Edited by J. M. A. SPENCE

WE BELIEVE IN THE FATHERHOOD OF GOD; IN THE BROTHERHOOD OF MAN; IN THE CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH; IN MORAL EVOLUTION; IN SPIRITUAL UNFOLDMENT; IN CONTINUOUS INSPIRATION; IN PROGRESSIVE REVELATION; IN MENTAL HARMONY; IN PHYSICAL HEALTH; IN UNIVERSAL GOOD; AND IN THE GOLDEN RULE, HERE AND NOW AND EVERYWHERE AND ALWAYS

The Vanguard is published monthly at Green Bay, Wisconsin; and is entered at the Green Bay Post-office as second-class mail matter.

The subscription price is Fifty cents a year to any address in the United States, Canada or Mexico. To other countries in the Postal Union the price is Sixty cents.

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Announcement

Commencing with the December number we will inaugurate a Woman's Department of THE VANGUARD, in charge of Mrs. Wenonah Stevens Abbott, President of the Woman's National Socialist Union. This will be a regular feature of much interest and value. Mrs. Abbott is an experienced worker in the cause of social betterment, a clear thinker and an accomplished writer. Her department will add greatly to the strength and influence of our magazine. We want our readers to call the attention of their women acquaintances to this announcement and solicit their subscriptions.

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Price 5c each, postpaid; 6 for 25c. The Vanguard Press, Green Bay, Wisconsin.

The VANGUARD

"We're beaten back in many a fray,
Yet newer strength we borrow,
And where the vanguard camps today,
The rear shall rest tomorrow."

VOL. 2.

GREEN BAY, WIS., NOVEMBER, 1903.

NO. 3.

Women, as a class, have been the world's chief toilers; it is a world-old proverb that "their work is never done." But the value put upon that work is pointedly illustrated in the reply given by an ancient Seminole to one of our white-ribboners who visited the reservation of that tribe in Florida, where she saw oxen grazing and a horse roaming the pasture, while two women were grinding at the mill, pushing its wheels laboriously by hand. Turning to the old Indian chief who sat by, the temperance woman said, with pent-up indignation: "Why dont you yoke the oxen or harness the horses and let them turn the mill?" The "calm view" set forth in his answer contains a whole body of evidence touching the woman question. Hear him:

"Horse cost money; ox cost money; *squaw cost nothing.*"

There is a world of philosophy in the phrase; for by the laws of mind, each person in a community is estimated according to his relation to the chief popular standard of value. Today, in this commercial civilization of ours, money is that standard. Hence the emancipation of woman must come, first of all, along industrial lines. It is only through financial freedom, that she will rise to that truer freedom which is the measure of all faculties in trained, harmonious, and helpful exercise.—*Frances E. Willard.*

This month's VANGUARD is a special "Woman's Edition" devoted to the discussion of Socialism from the woman's standpoint. Our contributors are able and earnest women. Their articles cover a wide range of thought. We urge all mothers, fathers and home-lovers to read what is said on the relation of Socialism to the most vital and sacred interests of life. Then ask yourselves whether you can afford to ignore or treat with half-heartedness this movement which seeks the protection of the family and the betterment of society.

In her public utterances for many years, Miss Willard expressed herself as in full accord with the Socialist movement. This issue of THE VANGUARD contains a considerable number of excerpts from Miss Willard's published addresses showing her wide grasp of the industrial situation and her clear understanding of the trend of events. It is not too much to say that in this direction lay her "unfinished work" and that if she were to speak to the white-ribboners today it would be to urge them

to deal frankly and courageously with the economic problem and to enlist in this great world-movement for the emancipation of the race which she so well characterized as "the very marrow and fatness of Christ's Gospel."

That was a terrible arraignment of capitalism which Rev. W. N. Yates of Philadelphia unintentionally made in a recent sermon. He recalled the horrors of negro slavery with its auction block which so often parted children from their parents and husbands from their wives. Then he demanded:

"But what, in the name of high heaven, have you to say today when you read of white women, white daughters of white parents, being sold into a hell of the most cursed slavery right in our very midst, right in our own city?"

But, why, in the name of common honesty, did not Mr. Yates go on and state the cause of such diabolism? What, in the name of high heaven, do so many pulpits mean by dodging the simple fact that the profit system is responsible for the enslaving of child-

hood, the debauching of womanhood and the destruction of the home? The same papers which daily contain reports of the sale of women and children into "hells of the most cursed slavery right in our very midst" announce with flare head-lines, "Unparalleled Prosperity," "Every Line of Business Booming." Verily! This is the kind of prosperity capitalism breeds, the kind that pays dividends, no matter at what cost to human life.

Mayor Jones, of Toledo, in a recent address said: "In Toledo I can secure any of you ladies present a first-class baby girl or baby boy, of any color you may desire—white, black-brown or yellow—simply by the asking. But if you want a second-class pup you will have to pay from \$5 to \$50 for it. Friends, what do you think of a civilization that values pups above babies?" Socialism will reduce the price of pups and raise the value of babies.

Father Hagerty, in a recent address, stated the economic situation in the form of a startling question to the workingman's wife. He said: "Suppose you would find out that your husband is buying silk dresses and diamonds for some other man's wife and would buy you only calico dresses and no jewelry? How would you like it? This is exactly what the working man is doing. He toils for one-sixth of what he produces so as to buy silks and diamonds for the capitalist's wife, while his own wife must be satisfied with calico dresses." It is time for the workingman's wife to "strike" against such an iniquitous and shocking system. Socialism will put an end to this kind of "dividing up" and it should receive the loyal support of every woman who believes in fair play to her sex.

ONE WOMAN'S CONVICTION

It is not too much to say that no woman in America ever had such a large and enthusiastic following as Frances E. Willard, and no woman was ever more deserving of the love and loyalty of her comrades. The quotations from her addresses which we print this month are significant utterances, not only as indicating the great heart of this woman in her sympathy with oppressed humanity, but as evidencing the breadth of her vision and the growing conviction which possessed her intellect and soul regarding the problem of the twentieth century. They show that her eyes were open to the trend of events and of human thought in these new days. And had she lived it is certain she would have given yet more of her wonderful energy to the cause of Socialism which she declared to be "God's way out of the wilderness and into the Promised Land."

It would be interesting to know the mental process by which this gifted and ardent advocate of temperance and social purity was led to a frank avowal of Socialism when the movement was looked upon with suspicion and met with hostility on all sides. But doubtless her method of reaching her conclusion was not different from that of the increasing number who are giving their allegiance to this cause.

Miss Willard saw through things. She looked beneath the surface and recognized the fact that the sore spots that plague our civilization are but symptoms of the deep-rooted disease which affects the whole body politic, namely capitalism. It was Miss Willard's contention in her later years that intemperance, as well as being the cause of poverty, was its effect, and that there is no more prolific source of vice and crime than

the misery and destitution in which so many multitudes of people are compelled to live. To relieve that destitution, therefore, seemed to her the most rational means by which to reach not only the drink evil but the many vices which flourish under the baneful influence of want and receive their impulse from the system which produces want. She sought and found the root of all evil to be the profit system which grinds the people between two mill-stones, which pushes them to the point where they fall a prey to the demons of drink and lust, and are here again the victims of capitalistic greed which reaps a second harvest out of their shame and suffering. "Profit is the cause of the saloon, of the brothel, of the gambling den, whether they be respectable and legitimate or disreputable and illegal."

Therefore, we may say that Miss Willard's acceptance of Socialism was the most natural thing in the world. It was the logical and inevitable result of her clear and honest thinking and her acceptance of patent economic facts. And we are persuaded that it would also be the natural, logical, inevitable position which thousands of women would reach if they would but lay aside their prejudices and do some clear honest thinking. But thinking, as Emerson said, is the hardest task in the world, and too many women as well as men prefer not to trouble themselves with the undertaking. On the other hand, we fear there are many women, like many of the clergy, who appear unwilling to candidly investigate Socialism lest they should be convinced of its truth and feel morally bound to give it their support, possibly at the sacrifice of ease and social prestige.

But whatever may be the reason that many women take little interest in a movement which means the

elevation of motherhood, childhood, home and family, it is a constant surprise to us that those who were associated with Miss Willard in the temperance and woman suffrage movements remain so indifferent to this greater movement.

In advocating Socialism, Miss Willard was no "visionary" enthusiast, carried away by an "iridescent dream" of the impracticable. The real "visionary" is one who looks for substantial good to be obtained by petty, half-way measures. Miss Willard recognized the futility of all such efforts so long as social conditions remain unchanged. She looked beyond the mere triumph of a specific "reform" to the general reorganization of society which should include all other reforms. She saw that no abatement of intemperance would be permanent until those general conditions were first established which would of necessity carry with them such abatement. In other words, she regarded the "social revolution" as the larger object to be worked towards and as involving every minor reform. And if the men and women who desire the betterment of society in various directions would devote their thought and energies to the Socialist movement, the ends which they now seek would be secured far more quickly and their permanency more certainly assured.

"Oh, that I were young again, and it should have my life!" exclaimed Miss Willard shortly before her death. Will not the women of the white ribbon army respond to these words of their noble leader? We appeal to them to take up the cause which lay so near her heart. We appeal to all the women of the land to unite in demanding that the accursed system which breeds intemperance, poverty, child-labor, prostitution and every form of crime shall give way to the Co-operative Commonwealth, of which Miss Willard said: "Nothing else can bring the glad day of universal brotherhood."

Extra copies of this issue of The Vanguard may be obtained while the edition lasts at the rate of 8 copies for 25 cents.

SOCIALIST PRAYER

Give us this day our daily bread, O God!

Not for *my* bread alone I selfish pray.

Such prayer would never reach thy loving ear;

Such prayer my human lips refuse to say.

I pray for those whom thou hast given me here—

All men and women to be one with me,—

To soothe, sustain and comfort, love and cheer,

And draw in loving service nearer Thee.

My sister suffers in a garret bare,

My brothers labor and grow faint and pine;

My baby wails—for food! I cannot bear it, God,

For all the babies in the world are mine!

Father, and they are Thine! I claim thine aid;

Thou needst must help us in our righteous cause!

Make strong our hands to tear Oppression down,

And build a world according to Thy laws!

I cannot eat my daily bread alone,

Give none to me if these cannot be fed.

With them I stand or fall, for we are one.

Father, give *all* of us our daily bread.

—MARGARET HAILE.

Capital has learned the value of combination. Labor must learn it too, and the greatest number's greatest good must be the Christian's motto in this fight.—*Frances E. Willard.*

WOMEN UNDER CAPITALISM

By WENONAH STEVENS ABBOTT.

PRESIDENT, WOMAN'S NATIONAL SOCIALIST UNION



SOME there are who still maintain that, as women can not vote, politics do not concern them; but economic conditions directly affect those women who comprise one-fifth of our wage-workers and indirectly affect every woman in the land, since the social and industrial well-being of all humanity, without regard to sex, rises and falls together. Remembering that education, ethics, art and life are as dependent upon industrial conditions as are politics, let no woman say: "I'm not interested in economics." It is our duty to be thoroughly conversant with all which affects the welfare of our fellows.

Too often we hear outcries, from those who have never studied existing conditions, as to the probable influence of a Co-operative Commonwealth upon women and the home. This would be amusing were it not serious. A good physician diagnoses a case before he prescribes for it and it is well for us to have knowledge of the disease in the body politic, before we suggest any of the hundred and one "sure cures" recommended by

those earnest reformers who fight weeds by killing stalks instead of roots. Some of us know the appalling nature of this festering sore; but a large majority are carelessly indifferent to their duty as "sister's keepers" and by their sins of omission add to the committed sins of those who legislate to continue the present state of affairs.

Yet those same thoughtless ones are greatly excited when they hear of famine and suffering abroad, unmindful of the Rev. Myron Reed's pithy: "We have no tears to export." Frequently they send to these foreign sufferers garments made in our sweatshops, by starving women! Strange? Not in a land where we shout for equality and celebrate its birthday (?) by decorating with flags whose girl-makers received less than six cents an hour while engaged in their manufacture. Are we smitten with a modern hypocrisy that we fail to note the self-evident? No, this is not a new human trait. Centuries ago a man waited long at the pool of Siloam. To-day countless numbers wait, while multitudes pass heedlessly by.

Any unjust economic condition bears more heavily upon women than men, because women do not understand the gain of united action and being more individualistic, bear the brunt of individualism in the form of lower wages and worse surroundings. There are thousands of women in the U. S. whose weekly wage is less than \$1.50 for six days of long hours. The average wage of women-workers throughout the whole country is less than \$5 a week, yet fifteen per cent of our working-women have families dependent upon them. Women who are forced to work in the average factory and sweatshop are more to be pitied than if condemned to life imprisonment at hard labor, for they can not obtain even prison fare to maintain health and strength.

State Labor Commissioner Ratchford investigated conditions in Ohio (which is far from being our worst state as regards labor matters) and as his figures are not those of a reformer but a Republican, they may be studied with gain. His special agents interviewed 6,920 women employed in workshops and factories of Cincinnati, Columbus and Cleveland. Of these 5,924 were Americans and the average age was 21.8 years. They averaged 48 weeks' employment, 47½ hours per week, at an average weekly wage of \$4.83. Dependent upon them were 1,606 persons. Ratchford estimated that \$5.26 was the average living expense per person in that state. Is there nothing wrong when 8,526 people depend upon \$3.75 in an environment which necessitates the expenditure of a sum which exceeds it by \$1.76?

These figures take no account of those whose income is much less than three dollars. What of them? Basing my reply upon years of experience in the rescue work I say: this is one of the premiums which Capitalism puts upon prostitution.

At present one woman in every thirty-eight above the age of ten is living by the public sale of her womanhood—taking no account of those who "go astray" through their affections. Two-thirds of these cases are due, directly or indirectly, to poverty, so we have the strange spectacle of a Land of Wealth and Freedom in which one woman out of every fifty-seven has been starved into the worst form of slavery.

Is it any wonder that our court records are full of cases of theft; obtaining money under false pretenses, or blackmail committed by those

who deem these crimes a refuge from that which is worse? Nor must we forget that each year thousands of girls suicide to escape this evil. All these might be happy wives under proper economic conditions.

I have known (not heard, but *known*) eight girls to rent a room together; live through a cold winter without any fire, with no method of cooking except an oil stove; sleep on the floor, because they could not buy furniture: go to bed, week in and week out, without undressing, because they had not sufficient bedding to keep them warm; and live nearly three months at a time on corn-meal mush, without milk, molasses, or any other assistance toward making it palatable; all this that they might retain the one thing left to them—honor. These girls were all gently bred, well educated and worked six days of every week from seven in the morning until six at night, with a half hour nooning.

Of course some one will exclaim: "Why did they not appeal to charity?" Charity is bitter sauce and does not take the place of justice, even when offered. Besides some of us know that organized charity and organized humbug are synonyms.

The working-women of America are the grandest beings that the All-Father has yet put upon this planet; and the system which makes thousands of them live under the conditions which they endure is the most diabolical thing that has ever blotted the earth—and I do not except chattel slavery.

U. S. Labor Commission is authority for the assertion that one-third of our working women live in houses classed "very poor" and one-tenth of them work in shops characterized as "neglected and unhealthful." What sort of health will the generation born of these mothers have? THE VANGUARD appeals to a cultured class, so I venture to inquire whether any of my readers have ever been so situated that personal cleanliness was almost impossible for days. If so, imagine what it must be to dwell in the tenement districts of large cities, where whole families are huddled in a single room and there is an average of one bathtub to each 6,000 persons. What kind of animals could be bred with an equal disregard for sanitary conditions? What is the probable future influence of the children so reared? Yet this is one of the minor discomforts of the million and a half child-slaves in America.

Our civilization must finally be judged by its treatment of the poor. The system which traffics in the lives of children is legalized murder! This is one of woman's wrongs, because we can not disassociate woman from the homelife. Yet more fortunate mothers are callous, regarding the horrors of work in cotton mills, breakers, factories and countless other places where babes toil. Is it because the mind of the unaccustomed can no more grasp the actualities than can they make concrete their idea of heaven and hell?

The five great menaces to womanhood are: the social evil, drunkenness of loved ones, wrecked childhood, decline of homelife and the ruined health of the sex. A large proportion of each of these evils is directly traceable to poverty, which in turn springs from the fact that workers receive only a small portion of what they create and are forced to buy their own productions at unfair prices. Prof. Clark, of Columbia University, prepared a chart showing the expenditure of the average worker's dollar: food 49½%; clothing 18½%; rent 15½%; fuel 4½%; leaving 12½% for every thing else.

Apply this to the average woman's wages and you will find that the "everything else" is procured by less than one per cent of what she produces.

Yet they say women are not affected by politics!

Capitalism causes loveless marriages—in high life for social position, in the middle classes to avoid entering the industrial world, in the lower strata as an escape when health has broken down through overwork. It prevents marriage in many cases where love is strong but poverty stronger. It creates homes in which the stern realities of life have crowded out all manifestations of the love which was and where the hard struggle for bare existence has deadened all happiness and contentment. It is to blame for families whose members are almost strangers to one another, because father and mother are forced to be absent all day, returning at night too weary to talk to the children or even to rise above the animal plane where food and sleep suffice; and worse conditions, where children support the parents, who are unable to obtain employment. It gives us tramps galore and the equivalent of a million and a quarter workers who are forced to be unemployed twelve months in the year. Because of it, less than seven per cent of the workers in large cities own property, while our railroads have been granted tracts equal to twelve states the size of New Jersey. It sells commodities paying starvation wages to the workers, 20% profits to manufacturers and 40 per cent to retailers—an indirect taxation exceeding any in the time of Geo. III; and food which is adulterated to swell profits. To it are traceable the social evil, the drink traffic and upwards of 30,000 suicides annually, a large proportion being due to poverty; nearly one-sixth of our population unable to read and write; a steadily shortening span of life as we go downward in the economic scale; thousands of infants annually offered for adoption by mothers who are too poor to procure food for them and who must give away their own flesh and blood rather than see them starve—and mothers so bereaved live by an open grave.

Whose is the fault? Even Iceland provides for all the people and educates every child. These things exist in our land because men have not learned to reason and women are not awake. When women realize the gravity of the conditions which bind children and weaker sisters, they will demand a change. History shows that when women earnestly and concertedly demand anything, it is forthcoming.

We used to say intemperance was the cause of poverty. Now we have completed the circle of truth by saying poverty causes intemperance, and the under-paid, under-sheltered, wage earning teetotaler deserves a thousand times more credit than the teetotaler who is well paid, well fed, and well sheltered. In the slums they drink; to forget. We should make life something they would gladly remember, so would you. Our objects are the same. Let us clasp hands in the unity of spirit and the bond of peace.
—*Frances E. Willard.*

The fact that three-fifths of this country's wealth is in the hands of one-eighteenth-hundredth of our population; that the Labor Bureaus of two of our best states declare the average wages of workingmen are not enough to bring up families upon, even in the cheapest way, unless wife and children are also wage earners; the fact that the combinations of capital are bringing about the serfdom of labor—these and a score of others like them point to an industrial revolution. As Christians we ought steadily to proclaim that the golden rod of capital must blossom into a national flower that shall glorify the common roadside of the common people's life. If to teach this is to be a Socialist, then so let it be.—*Frances E. Willard.*



Frances Willard

ON

Socialism

Look about you, the products of labor are on every hand; you could not maintain for a moment a well-ordered life without them; every object in your room has in it, for discerning eyes, the mark of ingenious tools and the pressure of labor's hands.

But is it not the cruelest injustice for the wealthy, whose lives are surrounded and embellished by labor's work to have a superabundance of the money which represents the aggregate of labor in any country, while the laborer himself is kept so steady at work that he has no time to acquire the education and refinements of life that would make him and his family agreeable companions to the rich and cultured? The reason why I am a Socialist is just here.

I would take, not by force, but by the slow process of lawful acquisition, through better legislation as the outcome of a wiser ballot in the hands of men and women, the entire plant that we call civilization, all that has been achieved on this continent in the four hundred years since Columbus wended his way hither, and make it the common property of all the people, requiring all to work enough with their hands to give them the finest physical development, but not to become burdensome in any case, and permitting all to share alike the advantages of education and refinement. I believe this to be perfectly practicable, indeed, that any other method is simply a relic of barbarism.

I believe that competition is doomed. The trusts, whose single object is to abolish competition, have proved that we are better without than with it, and the moment corporations control the supply of any product they combine. What the Socialists desire is that the corporation of humanity should control all production. Beloved comrades, this is the frictionless way; it is the higher way; it eliminates the motives for a selfish life; it enacts into our everyday living the ethics of Christ's gospel. Nothing else will do it; nothing else can bring the glad day of universal brotherhood.

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 and fatness of Christ's Gospel. It is Christianity applied.

The above in leaflet form, 35 c. a hundred, postpaid. Address, The Vanguard Press.

The December Vanguard will be a Christmas number, filled with facts, arguments and appeals suited to the season. If you want to help forward the time when "peace on earth, good-will among men" shall be realized, get your friends to subscribe now that they may receive our Christmas message.

WHO ARE THE NATION'S MOTHERS?

By ANNA A. MALEY.



THE term "man factory" will ring familiar to those who have read Mark Twain's "A Yankee in King Arthur's Court." No matter how the ingenious Yankee found or made opportunity to "expose the nineteenth century to the inspection of the sixth." Accept the Yankee. He did it very well and cleverly, and found, back in the dim days of the Tables Round, from the highest despot to the lowest serf, a manhood so degenerate that he sometimes struggled with an almost uncontrollable impulse to "go out and hang the whole human race." For the purpose of this discussion, let the nineteenth century represent the standard from which the manhood of the sixth degenerated. Assuming that you have read the story, the gymnastic powers of your imagination are equal to any feat.

The constructive tendencies of the nineteenth century prevailed in the Yankee, however; so instead of making wholesale application of the modern lynch remedy, he built a man factory, in which, by a process known to the Yankee, men were made over and boys started right.

The sixth century factory is a laughable anachronism. The progress of the years has brought the factory, but in the nineteenth century, the man factory idea is still unembodied.

Nature gives into the hands of man the bounteous products of her ancient toil. He assumes her task where she leaves it. By patient study and experiment he has learned her processes, and by subtle contrivances he continues them. Her powers become his hand-maids. Forest and earth, water and air, yield to his wizard question their secret and lend their forces to the mighty mechanics of our modern civilization.

The standard of mechanical production is perfection, but how about the mechanic? Ours is an age of wonderful things, but how about the men? No man presumes to direct an instruction, no man presumes to superintend in shop, mill or mine without adequate training for his work. Before he can do or direct others in their work, he must know. All this makes for the perfection of the thing. To the end of mechanical perfection, all human right and dignity are subserved, so that the masses of our manhood and womanhood are controlled by a gigantic mechanic scheme which grows under their hands—are the creatures and not the masters of their own creations.

Meantime, reversing the levers of machines that all but think; going through the monotonous preparation of material for manufacture; receiving and packing the product of the iron fingers, or standing for ten hours behind the counters of shops where things are sold, lives a great proportion of the potential motherhood of the race. These are the custodians and directors of the nation's future manhood and womanhood. How does their training fit them for their task? The healthful child has some capital with which to begin life; but the chances are sadly against any babe whose mother has worked on inadequate food, for too long hours, and in unsanitary surroundings until her own health was shattered, and then

married a fellow-worker, perhaps, who could give her scarcely better conditions.

That child has something which will abide through life who learns at his mother's knee the habit of high thought, the value of discipline, and the inexorable penalties which follow upon the breach of eternal law.

The ribald jest and the coarse story, current from day to day among those whose mental activities receive no proper food, do not conduce to habits of high thought. The harsh and rigid discipline to which the average industrial worker is by necessity subjected, begets in him or her, as a rule, the love of license; and the sacred meanings of the word law are never known to those who are victims of and see operative everywhere in their daily lives, the rule, "Get all you can and keep all you get." Get all you can would be as good a rule for the man as for the master, were it not in the master's hands to fix the man's limitations.

Thus in the homes of the poor, the mothers. They do not constitute our entire motherhood, it is true, but a proportion large enough certainly to merit attention.

It is perhaps a subject for congratulation that the luxurious homes of the land forego so largely the luxury of children; that the indolent, pampered and enervated women of those homes shirk the duties of motherhood as they do. And it may be said in passing that the women of the idle classes, or the idle women of the classes, in their indisposition and refusal to propagate their kind, show a unique characteristic in the genus parasite.

These are but suggestions on a theme which merits more exhaustive discussion, of which space does not permit. There is compensation, however, in the knowledge that in this busy age one is less likely, even than of old, to be heard for one's much speaking; and in the meantime let us hope that every word earnestly said may do somewhat for the attainment of Industrial Democracy, the next step in the world's emancipation.

SOCIALISM AND THE CHILD.

MAY WOOD SIMONS



It is a fact recognized by all those who have followed the development of humanity that the prolonged period of infancy of the human child has been one of the factors that has aided in the accumulation of the mental resources of the race. It is fully established in biology that success in life for the offspring of many animals depends on the care and protection given by the parents to their young. In every stage of society those tribes and nations that have given most care to the children have been the people who have been able to make the greatest strides in aiding the progress of the race. In any given epoch it must be at once apparent that the care of the young is closely dependent on economic conditions. Since the beginning of civilized society, with the existence of two economic classes one of which is able to control the means of life of the other, there has prevailed a disregard on the part of the ruling class for the welfare not

alone of the adult worker but for the children of the laborer. These children represent to the employer but a means for realizing greater profits.

How then does present capitalist society treat the children of the great producing class? First of all, statistics show that 50 per cent of the children born of this class die before the age of 4 years.

Thousands of these little ones, protected in some states by a nominal labor law that is easily avoided by the employer and in most states by no law at all, toil in the department stores, in factories of every description, in the sweat shop and mines until these great industries have become monuments to the suffering of children.

One has but to walk on a summer night through the ghetto or the district "back of the yards" through the East Side of New York or the East End of London to see these dwarfed and aged little ones lying on the door step and side-walk asleep after their day's toil, driven from the house by the heat and oppressive air. Or on a wintry morning one encounters these same waifs struggling through the darkness in their thin thread bare clothing to their ten or twelve hours of work. Yet this is the 20th century civilization with its avowed high ideals and its certain power with its new and improved machines to clothe and feed the world!

Again, turn to the cotton factories of the south that thrive on the "slaughter of the innocents." One cannot but feel how effete is our civilization when it sorrows for the children slain in far off lands and ages and without a pang of conscience draws dividends from the toil of these helpless ones. The average length of the life of the child who goes into the southern cotton mill is but four years and these are four years of aching littles bodies and benumbed brains.

Through the unscrupulous conduct of politicians and law makers and enforcers the sanitary conditions of the working class districts are such that on certain streets of Chicago for instance the death rate for children is higher than the birth rate. This is due to the fact that the city garbage is "dumped" in the midst of a dwelling house district and that open ditches serve for sewers.

Again, today, the mother of the working class is taken from her babies and sent to work in the factories. The babies are put in a charity creche and after her ten hours of work the mother hurries home with her little flock of children to the desolate room or two that serves for a home.

Let us sum up then our indictment of capitalism in its treatment of the children of labor.

Should they live to enter the industrial field they begin often at the age of 6 years (in the southern cotton mills as young as 5 years) to enter the competitive struggle. Because of their weakness industrially and their lack of protection by the law they take the places of women and even men since modern machinery requires little human strength, only a guiding power. Capitalism purchases the cheapest labor power whether embodied in man, woman or child and where machinery permits its use child labor is utilized

In many wards of the cities and in many a country district not $\frac{1}{4}$ of the children of school age are to be found in school. Moreover, as pointed out in the British Report on Education, and the same condition prevails here, of those who do attend school, many are so poorly fed and thinly clad that

it is impossible to teach them. There are no red corpuses left in the child's body.

In short the most superficial observer must confess that great efforts are being put forth even by society today to protect the children from the brutality of the present industrial system.

Truly if Socialism could give to the children of the working class no promise of a better life than capitalism condemns them to it would be a failure. What then does Socialism claim in regard to the future it offers to the child? First of all it will give to every child an equal opportunity to live.

Today the child born into the laboring class is born into a class from which there is as little chance for him to rise as for the low caste Indian to become a Brahmin. Yet many a laboring man will still believe he may yet become a capitalist and that his children have equal opportunities in a free republic. How many children of laboring men will graduate this year from Chicago University where the minimum cost per year is \$600? No! equality of opportunity does not today exist.

It is only with the removal of the element of profit from production and the vesting of the ownership of the tools of production in the whole people that the children will be freed from the mine and factory and given an opportunity to live and develop their manhood and womanhood.

It is then that every parent will know that there is work always for him to do to enable him to care for his little ones. There will not always confront him the horror that he may lose his "place" and be forced to see his babies driven into the factories or starved.

The most prejudiced must own that the hope of the child of the laborer lies in Socialism.

CHICAGO, ILL.

WOMEN UNDER SOCIALISM

By MILA TUPPER MAYNARD



THE position of women under Socialism is a subject about which much is said, but in regard to which the principles seem not to be well understood.

Socialism will change the position of women only gradually and indirectly, except the women now employed or desiring employment. *These it will free from dependence and exploitation as it frees men.*

"O but there will be co-operative housekeeping!"

Not necessarily.

In all probability none at all. Sometime not far distant we may hope that there will be an evolved domestic industry under which cooking, cleaning and the like will be organized in a truly modern fashion. Just as laundries and bake-shops now do the work of hundreds of homes, so we may reasonably expect that "delicacy stores" and "home cooking" departments will enlarge and extend, until most, if not all, of the meals of a community will be served from common centers.

That will not be "co operative housekeeping," except that after our victory profit will be eliminated here, as everywhere, under Socialism. "Co-

operation" savors of personal relations too much and amateurish machinery.

What, then, may we expect? Understanding that changes will come only as natural evolution brings them and as men and women are ready for them, what new progressive agencies will Socialism set in motion?

First. Women can be employed at any time they wish to be on the same terms as their husbands or any other citizen. Employment will be guaranteed to all.

This will in itself virtually revolutionize the position of woman. It will make her independent financially if she chooses to be.

This will at once stimulate domestic industry. Washing, cleaning and much of the cooking would go at once to collective service.

Second. The real needs of children will command greater attention. The fact that the child knows its mother now as its cook, nurse, dishwasher, seamstress and general attendant, is not productive of the best results.

The orders issued daily in thousands of homes in every community by young hopefuls, is not prophetic of considerate wives and husbands later on. Children who have not been able to command the slavish attentions of a mother all day long throughout all their childhood will be much more desirable citizens.

Third. Socialism, as such, would not affect marriage except as it would free women from financial dependence.

That alone, however, would work wonders. Sordid motives—wealth, ambition, a "home," social position—all of these would disappear as foundations for marriage.

Mistakes would still be made, but financial freedom would relieve both men and women of the embarrassing complications which now lock in deadly misery so many unfortunate men and women.

Undoubtedly, the freedom from the financial problem would make divorce easier morally and legally even without any great change in public sentiment or laws, but there would in all probability be *far fewer separations*, as marriages would be made under so much more favorable conditions.

Remember, that whatever ideas individuals may have on this subject, they are not a part of Socialism. Socialism is collective control of industries organized by a natural business evolution. Public sentiment will control then, as now, and great changes may come, but all matters of this sort are affected by Socialism only indirectly.

We cannot lay too much stress on the truth that Socialism will grow no figs on thistles, will grow no acorns even on oak sprouts in a year. Everything will come naturally by a process of growth.

We demand the absolute equality of the sexes before the law, and the repeal of all laws that in any way discriminate against women.

Socialist National Convention.

THE TRUTH ABOUT "RACE SUICIDE"

By KATE RICHARDS O'HARE

"The factories are full of old maids; the colleges are full of old maids; the ball rooms in the worldly centres are full of old maids. For natural obligations are substituted the fictitious duties of clubs, meetings, committees, organizations, professions, a thousand unwomanly occupations.

"Among the American born women of the country the sterility is greater, the fecundity less than those of any other nation in the world, unless it be France, whose anxiety regarding her depopulation we would share in full measure were it not for the foreign immigration to the United States, which counteracts the degeneracy of the American."



THE above is a quotation from Elizabeth Van Vorst's new book, "The Woman Who Toils." President Roosevelt, after reading the chapter from which this is taken, and recognizing the tremendous effect on the race from this tendency, sent a commendatory letter to the author, of which the following is a part:

"The man or woman who deliberately avoids marriage, and has a heart so cold as to know no passion, and a brain so shallow and selfish as to dislike having children, is in effect a criminal against the race, and should be an object of contemptuous abhorrence by all healthy people."

Both Mrs. Van Vorst and President Roosevelt entirely overlook the fact that the real reason for the decrease in the birth rate and marriages is neither physical nor moral, or as the President says, "ease loving laziness" of the poor, but the problem of subsistence. Girls do not remain old maids for the sake of the pleasure of working in a factory, attending club meetings or entering the professions, but because it is impossible for men to earn enough to support a wife under our present social order, and be secure in doing so day after day.

I deny that the American girl has become so perverted that the divine instinct of motherhood is dead in her heart. I deny that the American man has become so calloused and self centered that love has no place in his life, or that the clink of dollars is to him sweeter than the tender words of wifely love or the patter of baby feet.

American men and women are making the greatest sacrifice in all the history of the race in denying themselves the inestimable boon of companionship and parenthood, that they may not bring into the world helpless little ones they have no assurance of being able to provide for.

If to-morrow every man could be assured of a continued income adequate for the support of a wife and family, would not priest, preacher and magistrate have a busy season for many days to come?

If to-morrow every husband's income could be increased fourfold would not many a woman's heart thrill with the thought that motherhood, the joy so long denied, might be attained?

The race to-day in its ignorance seeks to avoid that which alone crowns and glorifies life, not from choice but from stern necessity. Celibacy, childlessness and prostitution are not the choice of the American people, but are increasing with the difficulty of obtaining bread.

The American workers now create fourfold the amount they receive in wages. We have solved the problem of making bread and must now solve the problem of securing what we produce. Socialism alone does that. Only when we know this and refuse to act, or when we do not know it and refuse to learn, do we become the criminals President Roosevelt calls us or the frivolous creatures Mrs. Van Vorst deems us

WOMAN'S NATIONAL SOCIALIST UNION

By MARION H. DUNHAM Corresponding Secretary

"Why the Woman's National Socialist Union?" is the question often asked. Why have a separate organization instead of all working together in the regular party local?

The answer is found in the present conditions. Because of custom, education, tradition and environment, comparatively few women have given study to political or economic questions, and the great majority are as yet unreached and untouched by the great wave of the Socialistic movement which has brought hope and inspiration to so many thousands of men, and is already causing alarm on the part of those who from selfish motives desire the continuance of the present system. But if woman is not helping the movement, she will be a clog upon it, and for its sake as well as her own, she must be aroused and enlisted in it.

All concede this, the only question is as to the method of doing so.

If we go to her as representing in any way a political party, we at once arouse what political opinions and prejudices she may have and most women have some, and their hearts are closed to us.

But going to them as members of an organization of, and for women, we gain their attention, and the rest is not difficult.

And again, not all men who call themselves Socialists, are fully so where women are concerned. They do not hold to absolute equality of rights between men and women just as firmly as to equality among men.

The old habit of considering them a dependent, if not inferior class, still clings to them, and there are local clubs in the country where the membership of women is not desired, and in such cases the women must be reached, if reached at all, by an outside organization.

For lack of funds, a condition readily understood by Socialists, we have not yet sent out an organizer, but expect to in the near future, but already one state, California has a state organization and is doing fine work, while there are a number of thriving locals in other states, and individual members scattered over the country.

We divide our work into departments, one being devoted to the study of Socialism, another to its propaganda, a third to the education of the young in the principles of co-operation, and add to these parliamentary usage, and securing data as to present social and industrial conditions.

Because of the power of united effort, we urge all women like-minded with us, to give their membership and aid, that we may the sooner interest and enlist other women in the promotion of this greatest movement of the ages, which means so much to man, but will do far more for her.

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From Declaration of Principles:

We stand pledged to teach the principles of the higher industrial system called the Co-operative Commonwealth; to enlist women in the advancement of these principles in every practical way; to educate the young in these truths; to form a better public sentiment; and we pledge ourselves to do all in our power, individually and collectively, to bring about that universal co-operation founded upon the Golden Rule of Love and Justice, which shall take the place of competitive strife and discord.

Shafts of Truth

Women! who shall one day bear
Sons to breathe New England air,
If you hear without a blu-h
Deeds to make the roused blood rush
Like red lava through your veins,
For your sisters now in chains,
Answer! are ye fit to be
Mothers of the brave and free?

—WHITTIER

Oh, rich women of the churches,
have you no social and political duty?
You, who spend so much on your own
persons, have you no care for the body
of society? And you women of the
middle classes, who have a great
power, will you not use that power to
wipe out these stains on our national
character? If you take up a deter-
mined stand with the churches, they
will be compelled to become active.
The work will be done without you,
but quicker with you than without
you.—TOM MANN.

The deadliest enemy to our republic
at this hour is the aristocracy of our
women. The ballot box is beneath
their dignity. They have all the
rights they want. So has the pope of
Rome; but what of the multitude out-
side the Vatican? Reform comes
from the laboring classes. Talk to
their women and you make an impres-
sion. The gay and fashionable are
but the mummies of civilization, to
be galvanized into life only by earth-
quakes and revolution.—ELIZABETH
CADY STANTON.

I believe that every step in human
civilization has been marked by the
nearer approach of woman to her
just and equal place of influence in
the State. I believe that every such
approach has at the same time pu-
rified the home and rendered woman-
hood sweeter and more feminine.
Everywhere she has "moved with us
to our good." No nation, no city, no
household, ever took a lofty place
where the influence of woman did not
inspire it with the heroic temper.
And when she takes this new and
final step, bringing to the service of
the State her purity, she will not only
ennoble the State, but will elevate
also

Whate'er of peace about our hearthstones
clings,

Whate'er our household gods protect of dear.

—SENATOR GEO. F. HOAR.

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BRIEF TALKS ON SUGGESTION*

By A. C. Halphide, M. D.

2. The Relations Between Mesmerism, Hypnotism and Suggestion



THESE terms are the names applied to suggestive therapeutics at the various periods of its development, and they indicate a progressive understanding of the subject. Fredrick Anton Mesmer, during his course in the University of Vienna, became much interested in the therapeutic use of the magnet, and the theory of universal magnetic fluid emanating from the heavenly bodies, and capable of use as a curative of all human ills. Upon his graduation (1776) he prepared and presented to the university a thesis on "The Influence of the Planets in the Cure of Disease." In this he argued that there is in man and animals an animal magnetism which responds to the influences of the planets similar to the action of the moon on the ebb and flow of the tides. At first Mesmer uniformly used a magnet in giving his treatments, but later he abandoned it, and produced the crises by manual contact and passes. Animal magnetism thus developed and advocated by Mesmer was soon identified with him, and given his name, e. g., Mesmerism.

For more than a half century the subject was known as Mesmerism, or animal magnetism, when James Braid an English surgeon (1842), became interested in, and made a careful study of Mesmerism, and was led by his finding to discard its old name and rechristen it. Experimentation early convinced him that the phenomena of Mesmerism depended upon mental rather than physical causes,

and that the so-called mesmeric trance was a nervous or psychical state similar to natural sleep. This was the reason for his selection of the Greek word *hypnos*, meaning sleep, in naming it hypnotism. By a few writers it was named after Braid.

Then for upwards of twenty-five years the subject was variously called hypnotism, Braidism, Mesmerism, animal magnetism, and the like, until A. A. Liebeault a French savant, of Nancy, France, in a work, published in 1866, on "Sleep and the states analogous to it, specially considered in the action of the mental upon the physical," in which he emphasized the psychic nature of the subject, and declared that suggestion was its key-note. To him belongs the honor of being the founder of suggestive therapeutics.

Bernheim, who was associated with Liebeault in his clinic, and took up the same at his death, said, "In hypnotism, suggestion is everything," and the same is equally true in suggestive therapeutics. Therefore it is safe to say that mesmerism, hypnotism and suggestion are very nearly synonymous terms.

THE SEVERAL SCHOOLS OF HYPNOTISM AND SUGGESTION.

The school at Paris, often called the Saltpetriere School, because Charcot held most of his clinics in the hospital of that name, only recognized the profound states of hypnosis, such as somnambulism, lethargy, and catalepsy, because the methods used produce only deep hypnoses. Charcot and his followers used methods which profoundly shocked their subjects' minds, such as a loud gong, or a brilliant arc light. This, in conjunction with another fact, namely, that the subjects experimented upon at Salpetriere were mostly hysterical women, accounts for the peculiar, not to say erroneous, conclusions arrived at and taught by this school of hypnotism. They frequently threw their subjects

* This is the second of an instructive series of articles by Dr. Halphide which will be continued in subsequent issues of The Vanguard, covering the whole ground of Suggestive Therapeutics in a concise plain fashion. Dr. Halphide's book, "Mind and Body" is very valuable. For sale by The Vanguard Press. See advertisement in this issue.

into actual cataleptic fits, and so they held that hypnosis was a morbid state, and therefore harmful to the subject.

The Nancy school recognizes both light and profound states of hypnosis, but most often produces the lighter states, for light states are oftenest used in suggestive therapeutics. The methods used by Liebeault and his followers were all mild, and calculated to soothe their subjects. There was no sudden transition, and no profound mental shocks. The methods used are much like those used by the mother or nurse to soothe and put an infant to sleep. A gentle, prolonged, sensory stimulus, as rubbing the hand or the forehead, or talking to the subject in a monotonous tone of voice, or having him look fixedly at some object, will suffice, in most cases, to induce hypnosis. These mild methods are rarely contraindicated, and it is plain that they furnish an ideal means for soothing and treating many nervous conditions and diseases. Suggestive therapeutics owes most of its success to this school of hypnotism, and not a little honor is due Drs. Liebeault and Bernheim for the untiring labors in their clinics at Nancy.

The animal magnetism school consists of those who cling to the ancient belief promulgated by Mesmer to the effect that a subtle magnetic fluid exists in animal bodies which it is possible to project upon others by means of passes and otherwise for the cure of their ailments. In the words of one of their writers, "It remains clearly established that, apart from physical agents, there exists a useful, beneficial and salutary influence of the individual in sound health over the diseased person." "A contagion of health." The existence of any considerable magnetic force in the human body is highly problematical, as was well shown by the commission appointed by the French Academy (1784) of which Benjamin Franklin was a member. In their report they said, "They have demonstrated by decisive experiments that imagination, apart from magnetism produces convulsions, and that magnetism without imagination produces nothing." It is probable that all results obtained by magnetism are really due to unconscious

suggestions, and not produced by the magnetic passes or contact.

At present there are three schools of hypnotism, namely, first, those who stick to the ancient belief in an animal magnetic fluid, the Mesmerists; second, those who believe in Liebeault and follow his methods, as practiced in his clinic, the Nancy school; third, those who believe in Charcot and follow his methods, the Salpetriere school.

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Mind and Body

Suggestion and Hypnotism Applied in Medicine and Education by

A. C. HALPAIDE

A. B., M. D., Etc.

President of Chicago Society of Anthropology,
Professor of the Theory and Practice of
Medicine, etc.

This is an able work on hypnotism and suggestion reviewing the subject from its earliest records, tracing its evolution through the teachings of Mesmer, Braid, Charcot, etc., to the present day. The different schools of the past and present are compared, the relation of hypnotism to therapeutics and education clearly stated, and the relation of hypnotism to crime is discussed.

Dr. Halpaide advocates the efficacy of suggestion during natural sleep for educational and therapeutic purposes and fairly points out the legitimate uses and the dangers of hypnotism. He is not a faddist in any sense, but a conscientious and progressive physician who makes much use of suggestive hypnotism in his practice and has obtained many remarkable results through its agency.

The book is well written, lucid, scholarly, instructive and has already met with a flattering reception by the secular and medical press of the country. As stated by the Journal of Suggestive Therapeutics: "It is not too much to say that 'Mind and Body' is the best book dealing with this subject that has been printed for years, because of the author's determination to make plain to his readers how they are to proceed to secure their results, and why these results, may be expected to follow."

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SOCIALIST HEADQUARTERS



To achieve the objects of Socialism, the American Socialists have formed the Socialist Party, now organized in all the States of the Union. In some states, as for instance in Wisconsin, this party is known, for legal reasons, as the Social Democratic Party.

NATIONAL SECRETARY: WILLIAM MAILLY, Rooms 303-304, McCague Bldg., Omaha, Neb.

Notes of Progress

The National Organizing Fund has received a contribution of \$1000 from Comrade J. A. Wayland of the Appeal to Reason, of which Secretary Maily says: "It comes at a time when most needed and when it can be put to the best uses for the Socialist Party, which is the concrete expression of the Socialist movement in America." After outlining plans in mind, but which have been delayed for lack of funds, the Secretary makes a stirring appeal for redoubled efforts on the part of the workers everywhere: "Don't think that Comrade Wayland's donation has equipped us completely for the work of organization. It has only given us a splendid opportunity to become equipped, through organization, for the great battle of next year and the ones to follow. Coin cards for donations to the organizing fund will be furnished upon application by the National Secretary."

The Ohio campaign affords the amusing spectacle of Senator Hanna calling Tom Johnson a "Socialist" and Tom repudiating the "slander" while both pose as the "workingman's friend." Their tactics will doubtless befuddle the minds of many and serve to prolong the rule and ruin of capitalism. But amid the noise and dust of this sham battle the real Socialists are quietly getting in their work of education which is destined to overthrow the present system of wage-slavery with its attendant bossism and political tomfoolery. They are getting free advertising from the old party leaders and will give a good account of themselves on election day.

The hottest political contest of years is now in Massachusetts where the increased Socialist vote of last year has roused the old parties to put forth tremendous efforts to stay the tide that is setting in towards the Co-operative Commonwealth. The anti-Socialists have the active assistance of the National Economic League, formed recently by the capitalists for the express purpose of combating Socialism and composed of leading republicans and democrats. The hope of these politicians is that if they can give the Socialist movement a back-set in Massachusetts this year they will deal it a death blow. But they are ignorant of the forces they are contending against. Socialism is a world-conquering movement. The comrades of Massachusetts are putting up a splendid fight and in the face of the united opposition of the old parties expect to poll an increased vote.

Good news comes from British Columbia. In the general election just held the Socialists polled 4,000 votes and elected two candidates. In a number of other constituencies they ran very close to the winning candidate leaving one or other of the old parties behind. This is an amazing growth. The vote in 1900 being only 684. Late reports say that a new election will be necessary. The law requires that to carry on the government a party must have a majority in the Legislature. Neither of the old parties is in this position. The Socialists refuse to fuse and are preparing for a more vigorous campaign than ever.

SOCIALISTS, ATTENTION!

There are undoubtedly many Socialists living in places where there are no local organizations who would like to have a speaker visit their localities but are unable to assume the financial responsibility attached to the undertaking. If every such Socialist reading these lines will send his name and address to the National Secretary, Socialist Party, Omaha, Neb., and state what he or she can do in the way of entertainment, arranging and advertising a meeting, guarantee toward the expenses of speaker, how much notice of speakers coming would be needed, etc., the names will be filed and attention given to the application as soon as possible. Of course it is understood that the national office does not guarantee a speaker immediately for every locality, but the best efforts will be made to satisfy the demand. We want to see every militant Socialist a member of the Party. Address the National Secretary, Socialist Party, Omaha, Nebraska.

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HOT SHOT

Keep still about the fact that workmen and women are being made "servants to the lap dogs of the wives of millionaires in New York City", you might stir up class hatred.—NEW TIME.

President Roosevelt has denounced lynching in the South, but up to the present has not found occasion to say a word about the murderous system of child labor in that part of the land. No capitalists are drawing a profit from lynching —CHICAGO SOCIALIST.

Socialists do not want to divide up. They ridicule such an idea; but as some one has sagely observed, even on that proposition the working class would have nothing to lose, for Uncle Sam could give 120 acres and the equivalent of about \$5,000 to each family in the country. Socialists want to stop the system of letting parasites divide up the products of the laborer. —PUEBLO COURIER.

We Socialists charge the capitalist system with being against the home. We charge it with wrecking the homes of the people and yet when we point out the proof—proof that is overwhelming—up jumps some capitalist editorial hack or mammon serving priest and warns the people against Socialism "because it will break up the home!" Where are our homes to-day? Who among the working class owns his home? Capitalism lowers wages and raises the price for necessities so that the young man is actually afraid to ask a girl to marry him and live on his slender income. And what results? The girl seeks self-supporting employment, at a wage that brings her into competition with a man, thus bringing down the rate of his wages, and the man, prevented from setting up a home of his own, turns, in too many cases, to the "gay" life that means late hours in questionable places and a menace to the purity of womankind. Thus the girl drags the man down and the man drags the girl down, and there you have it! And in spite of this the press and pulpit try to blind people's eyes to the present situation and impudently sound their hypocritical warning: "Look out for these awful Socialists; they want to break up the American home!" Pah!—SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD.

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