

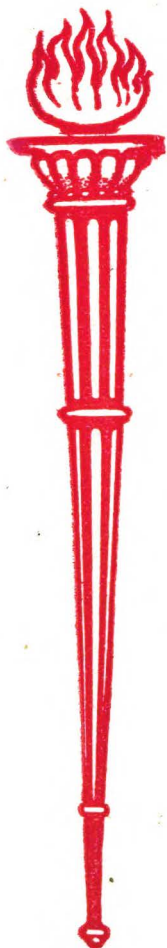
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no 5

THE VANGUARD

JANUARY, 1904



THE Christ of the twentieth century is not the same as the sectarian Christ of the nineteenth, or the dogmatic Christ of the seventeenth, or the officered Christ of the thirteenth, or the metaphysical Christ of the fourth, or even the Christ after the flesh which Paul had already outgrown in the first.

The Christ of the twentieth century is pre-eminently the social Christ and as such is greater than all that has gone before.

—*William De Witt Hyde.*

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Edited by J. M. A. SPENCE

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The great merit of Marx, therefore, lies in the work he has done as a scientific inquirer into the economic movement of modern times, as the philosophic historian of the capitalistic era.—Encyclopædia Britannica



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., JANUARY, 1904.

NO. 5.

Our inequality materializes our upper class, vulgarizes our middle class, brutalizes our lower class. We owe our uncivilizedness to our inequality.

Culture seeks to do away with the classes; to make the best that has been thought and known in the world current everywhere; to make all men live in an atmosphere of sweetness and light, where they may use ideas freely,—nourished and not bound by them. This is the social idea; and the men of culture are the apostles of equality.

—*Matthew Arnold.*

The feudalism of capital is not a whit less formidable than the feudalism of force. The millionaire of today is as dangerous to society as was the baronial lord of the middle ages. I may as well be dependent for my head as for my bread. The time is sure to come when men will look back upon the prerogative of capital with as just and severe condemnation as we now look back on the predatory chieftains of the dark ages.

—*Horace Mann.*

We take little stock in the ignorance and superstitions of the past. They may have some use in showing the progress made and the things from which the race has escaped through development. To study the bickerings and quarrels of theologians of the dark ages, or even of a century ago, over dogmas and creeds, forms and ceremonials, if it does not make one atheistic, must cause disgust and loathing at the littleness, bitterness and cruelty of the professedly good. It certainly contains nothing helpful, unless taken as a warning. Let us be thankful that the twentieth century is one of free thought and free faith; and let us set to work in earnest to preach the gospel of the new world and propagate the glorious religion of humanity.

The competitive system is at best a fierce combat with the prize of success going not to the best man but to the strongest and shrewdest and in most cases to the most unscrupulous fighter. Nothing could be more directly contrary to the gospel of peace and good-will. Socialism, with Christianity, recognizes the need of a powerful incentive in the develop-

ment of individual character and proclaims it in the beauty and joy of emulation where all may strive and none need lose, in contrast to the cruelty of competition where whoever wins does so at the expense of his fellows.

One does not have to accept literally Edward Bellamy's picture of the ideal commonwealth to feel the force of following. He says:

"The present social and economic system is morally abominable and thoroughly anti-christian, it destroys men's souls and bodies. Nevertheless, you must not think of trying to change it for a better system, because you are not yet good enough to try to be better. It is necessary that you should wait until you are more righteous before you attempt to leave off doing evil. You must go on stealing and fighting until you shall become fully sanctified."

The "human nature" objection to Socialism is equivalent to saying that it is natural for men to lie, cheat, and steal, to plunder and murder each other whenever they get the opportunity to do so. Socialists have

more faith in mankind than to believe such nonsense; but even from the standpoint of the "human nature" objectors, Socialism is desirable, because it will remove most of the opportunities for the exhibition of these undesirable traits.

(Reprinted by request.)

CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIALISM

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 altruism 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. Humanity 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 justice and brotherhood 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 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 led 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 the 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 in 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.

Do not fail to read the able article in this issue by Rev. Owen R. Lovejoy, the well known Congregational pastor of Mt. Vernon, N. Y. It indicates the trend of thought among the ministers and is a timely discussion of the class struggle.

THE GOSPEL OF DISCONTENT

By Prof. CLARK E. PERSINGER



SOCIALISM has been called the "gospel of discontent." It has been said of it that only the unprosperous and the discontented are its disciples. This is not wholly true, but it is more true than false. And it is right such should be the case.

What betterment would the world ever have known if only the prosperous and contented classes had been consulted? How much misery and suffering would have been *permanently* done away with? Would religious democracy ever have triumphed if its fate had been left only to those who did not suffer from religious oppression? Or would political democracy ever have come into being if only those who prospered under despotism had been called upon to decide for it? In truth, what one of all the great reforms of history has come to pass solely through the efforts of those who had nothing to gain by it?

The history of progress is a history of discontent. It is the upward striving of those who suffer from existing evils, and if it were not for their efforts, barren indeed would be the records of reform.

Religious, political and industrial democracy have each and all found many influential advocates and leaders among the "upper classes." But these leaders have been but means, and not the moving cause, of the progress of democracy. Democracy and demagogery have ever gone hand in hand, and it is not likely that they will soon permit of separation. Yet none the less there lies back of their progress the thorough and abiding confidence of the people in the justness of their cause and the certainty of its final victory.

Democratic government is neither theoretically nor historically the creation of the strong, the contented, or the well-to-do. It is the defense of the weak against the oppression of the strong and the selfishness of the well-to-do. The strong are those who need no protection, the contented those who need no improvement of condition. Democracy and Socialism are the refuges of those who need protection and whose welfare demands changed conditions.

So long as there is oppression, there will be a "gospel of discontent," and with its adherents, even with all their demagogery and partisanship, will rest the hope of progress and the assurance of redemption from oppression. Behind them and their effort is the supporting testimony of all history and all experience. Ahead of them is the promise of all justice, all equality and all freedom.

In the haste of its agony the "party of discontent" sometimes makes ill choice. It sometimes mistakes the shadow of good for the substance thereof. But it learns by its error, and is ever less rash in its choice, less precipitate in its action. And its instinct has proven itself ever truer, ever nobler—even in its meanest guise—than the instinct of the apostles of contentment and submission.

The "gospel of discontent" is greater than the gospel of "laissez faire." Its creed is nobler than the creed of those who say, "Let

well enough alone." Its selfishness is of a higher type than even the unselfishness of charity; for it seeks justice to all and favors to none. It seeks not its own happiness alone, but conditions that shall give to *all* men full opportunity for happiness. And as much greater as justice is than charity, so much is the "gospel of discontent" greater than the servile acceptance of "the things that be."

All "isms" have had some dim shadow of the coming truth in them; else they would not have drawn men to them, says Carlyle. Each dogma, each creed, each religion has in its time but expressed the uppest and greatest longing of the heart of man in his eternal seeking for the truth. And when it has served its purpose, and pointed out the way to yet better things, it in turn gives way to a new and better—one more step in the progress of human brotherhood.

To this progress the "gospel of discontent" has ever lent its powerful aid. To that progress will it continue to give strong support so long as the spirit of man strives upward. Its message is of the ages. It grows with time and man. And it knows no backward setting.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

But now is near the Commonwealth of Men,
 Implanted in our hearts and known as LOVE;
 It calls us from these depths to height above
 Where we attain our Brotherhood again:
 It gives grand pleas unto the voice and pen,
 And doth to noble, generous action move,
 Until we all its power of blessing prove,
 And can to kingdom vast in glory ken!
Our earth's for all, and each must other bless,
 Dividing good and bringing greater gain—
 Of higher nobility of thought and deed.
 Our lives will suffer us to do no less;
 Nor may we put aside such duty plain,
 If we would life with strength and beauty feed!

—WILLIAM BRUNTON

THE SOCIALIST GOAL

We seek justice and fight injustice. We seek free labor and attack wage slavery. We seek the prosperity of all and struggle against misery. We seek the education of all and fight ignorance and barbarism. We seek peace and order and combat the murder of people, the class-war and social anarchy. We seek the Socialist republic and fight the despotic class state. Whoever wants these things, let him unite with us and work with all his strength for this cause, for the cause of Socialism for the cause of humanity, whose victory will soon be gained.—WILLIAM LIEBNECHT.

It is well enough for politicians and "superficials" to talk of the real harmony between the capitalists and the workingmen, but the plain fact remains that their interests are conflicting and will be always so until the capitalist is the workingman and the workingman the capitalist.

Clarence S. Darrow.

Good Christian People, Please Read This; Then Think a Little

DO NOT cheat yourself into thinking that all the finery you can wear is so much put into the hungry mouths of those beneath you. It is not so. It is what you yourselves, whether you will or no, must some time feel it to be—it is what those who stand shivering in the streets, forming a line to watch you as you step out of your carriages, know it to be; those fine dresses do not mean that so much has been put into their mouths, but that so much has been taken out of their mouths. The real politico-economical signification of every one of those beautiful toilets is just this—that you have had a certain number of people put for a certain number of days wholly under your authority by the sternest of slave masters—hunger and cold; and you have said to them, “I will feed you, indeed, and clothe you, and give you fuel for so many days; but during these days you shall work for me only; your little brothers need clothes, but you shall make none for them; your sick friend needs clothes, but you shall make none for her; you yourself will soon need another and a warmer dress, but you shall make none for yourself. You shall make nothing but lace and roses for me; for this fortnight to come you shall work on the patterns and petals, and then I will crush and consume them away in an hour.” * * * As long as there are cold and nakedness in the land around you, so long there can be no question at all but that splendor of dress is a crime. In due time, when we have nothing better to set people to work at, it may be right to let them make lace and cut jewels; but as long as there are any who have no blankets for their beds and no rags for their bodies, so long it is blanket-making and tailoring we must set people to work at—not lace.—JOHN RUSKIN.

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There are thousands of wide-awake people in this country who would be glad to read *The Vanguard* and help in the work we are seeking to do did they know about it. But they have never seen a copy or been asked to subscribe. These people are among your acquaintances and we can reach them through you. They like vigorous honest thought, and would welcome just such a magazine as ours to their homes. Call on some of these friends, show them *THE VANGUARD*, get up a club; and help spread the light. For Socialist propaganda there is nothing better than *THE VANGUARD*. Many comrades say there is nothing quite so good.

SOCIALISM VERSUS CLASS HATRED

By REV. OWEN R. LOVEJOY

PASTOR CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, MOUNT VERNON, N. Y.



An organization has recently been formed by prominent financiers and social and religious leaders, having for its purpose the study of economic problems and "to oppose Socialism and class hatred." This movement is quite in keeping with much that now appears in the "orthodox" press, and from pulpit and platform.

There would be little wisdom in losing one's temper over this apparently studied attempt to confuse the public mind and deter earnest people from an intelligent examination of the principles and program of Socialism. Being on the winning side Socialism can afford to wait and, with line upon line, seek to convince those who are open to conviction that the only possible hope of the destruction of class hatred is in the principles which differentiate Socialism from the dominant economic creed of modern history.

The cause of class hatred lies in the relation that one class sustains to another. The counterpart of hatred is contempt, and where there is one class in society that looks upon down another as its inferior, there will be another class in society which will respond to that look with hatred. For contempt is not passive, it is active and at the heart of much of the injustice history has been compelled to record. The men who look upon their fellow men as inferior, as possessing no rights worthy of respect, will seek opportunities to infringe those rights, to take advantage of the inferior strength or position of others, and when one class is in a position in which it is able to wrong another class, and does wrong, that other class will hate the first.

This fact is apparent in history long before the dawn of the modern Socialist movement. And in every struggle men have made for freedom the cry of "class hatred" has been raised as a deterrent of agitation.

That was a class struggle, not without hatred, when the peasants of Kent, in the fourteenth century, revolted against their conditions and marched on London. The exactions of taxation and service were very heavy. There were the lords and the royal house to be supported, and there was the church—"the Pope," says Petrarch, "sitting as a blight over peoples and nations and tongues." At the beginning of the century the tax to support the Roman church was twelve times as heavy as the civil tax. Half the soil was in the hands of the clergy. Nearly all the other half in the hands of the lords and king. The situation was not ideal—there were those who thought it unendurable—and Wat Tyler and John Ball, both of whom received their inspiration from the humanism of the scholar, John Wycliffe, spread discontent among the crushed and oppressed peasantry until the great revolt took shape, marched on London, and serfdom received its death blow. But the immediate result was not so bright. Tyler was called a disturber of the peace and a sword went through his body, Wycliffe was branded a heretic and a price set on his head, while John Ball, who asserted that there should be no masters and no slaves among the children of the same God, was sentenced for arousing "class hatred" and hanged as a traitor—

and the peasants were driven with a scourge back to their servitude, and having cried for the bread of justice were rewarded with a stone.

The struggle in France toward the close of the eighteenth century was a Class Struggle—and there was hatred to it. When the Princess was riding through the streets one day and heard the cry of the hungry populace, she innocently asked the cause of the cry. "They have no bread to eat," answered her companion. "Then why don't they eat cake?" she asked. That was the attitude of the ruling class. There was a superior ignorance of the entire situation among the needy. But when a voice here and there began to be raised against the robbery of the poor by the nobility, they were hushed as disturbers of the peace—they were stirring up class hatred. The accusation was not without foundation. They were organizing the unconscious discontent of the people. They were helping the man with an empty stomach to understand that his neighbor with an empty stomach had a common cause with him, that the same conditions oppressed both. It was the infusion of consciousness into the lives of the oppressed. By-and-by those who had been told to eat cake, because they had no bread, began to show the tiger in human nature, when hunger awakes ahead of prudence. The blood of the Reign of Terror is the answer to those who try to stifle discontent by stifling agitation, instead of intelligently attempting to remove the causes of the hatred.

The leaders in the agitation against negro slavery in America were branded as the instigators of hatred between the slave and the slave-holding class. But to-day we believe the intelligence of the Republic regards Beecher and Phillips and Garrison and Lincoln as the organizers of a consciousness on the part of the intelligence of the North, that the best spirit in the slave is the spirit that demands liberty; and that discontent and hatred, and injustice and escape and bloodhound captures and the hiss of the driver's lash would continue, until the system was wiped out. The only way to eradicate hatred between slave and master was to abolish the master-class and the slave-class by making the slave free.

Instances in modern history might be multiplied to prove that "class-hatred" has not originated in the Socialist agitation. It is always born of some sort of injustice which makes it possible for one class to look with contempt upon another. This discontent, mingled often with hatred, when once aroused and conscious of its causes, can never be silenced or cured except by removing the cause for it, except by abolishing the injustice which gave it birth.

The cry that Socialism is the cause of class-hatred is the same cry always raised by established Error when Truth asserts its rights to be heard. Socialism seeks to destroy all class-hatred, by not only destroying the particular injustices from which such hatred arises, but by destroying all classes and maintaining only one class—the class that works. Other animals kill the drones and save the workers. Humanity kills the workers and saves the drones. Socialism would kill no one, but would make it necessary for all the drones to join the ranks of the workers and provide for their own sustenance.

Socialism is the only philosophical denial of hatred and warfare in

human conduct, and the avowal of the principle that in co-operation and mutual aid, by the unification of interests under the control of the common democratic will, and by elimination of all special privilege—the robber-class and the leisure-class and the beggar-class will disappear, and Justice will raise Humanity up to the high plains of Freedom.

THE MILLIONAIRE SUNDAY SCHOOL

BY JAMES RAVENSWOOD

Topic: Giving Up.

Golden Text: Give and Make Others Give.

LEADER—You will notice that our topic this morning is Giving Up, which, we infer from the scripture lesson, means that we must give up something in life. First, let me suggest that we need not worry with the argument of the Nazarene, that it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than it is for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven; the comparison is not well drawn, for all depends upon the size of the needle and the camel. He also mentions that we should give all we have to the poor. but we know that it would be simply folly to consider that literally. If the Nazarene lived to-day and should happen to be president of an oil company, and should attempt to do business on those lines, he would soon go to the wall. (Unanimous assent from the class.)

These injunctions must be taken practically. We naturally desire a few shares of the future life, therefore we know that it is business to give up something that will extend our influence with the Creator of all natural products—the one who made the universe of trusts, each of which He holds in the hollow of His hand. The question is: What will be the easiest service for us? Giving!

Now we come to the underlying thought, The command to give is virtually a command to get, for we cannot give unless we first get something to give. How shall we get it to give? From the people! This will be a two-fold work: When we get it from other people that we may give up, we will be making them give up, too, and they, unconsciously, will be saving their souls.

I should like to have an expression from a number of the class as to how we can arrange to give up something according to these principles. As for myself, I have advanced the price of oil 2 cents on the gallon, and at the end of the year I not only will have made others give up, but will have gotten enough extra profit to enable me to give a few hundred thousands to a university.

COAL OPERATOR—I can easily cut miner's wages and clear enough to endow charities to help the poor buy fuel.

HEAD OF BEEF TRUST—I can fix the price of beef and other meats and raise a sum to establish friendly inns and soup houses for those who cannot get enough work to live.

STEEL TRUST MAGNATE—I can manage to clear the price of a few free libraries where people can read and forget their miseries.

HEAD OF SUGAR TRUST—I can make people give up enough extra for sugar to defray the expenses of a hundred or so missionaries in Cuba and the Philippines.

LEADER—This is what I call a practical Christian spirit. By our works we shall be known! Let us *prey!*

WOMEN'S DEPARTMENT

WENONAH STEVENS ABBOTT, Editor

Under this caption, inquiries will be answered as rapidly as possible. Communications for the editor should be addressed to Station M, Chicago.

Matter intended for this space has been omitted, because I wished to discuss the Chicago fire from the viewpoint of a Socialist. I shall give more than usual attention to answering queries in the next issue and meanwhile ask those who are awaiting replies to be patient.

WHO DID SIN? WE, THE PEOPLE

Accounts of the origin of the holocaust in the Iroquois Theatre are conflicting and at this writing none is certain. It is known, however, that no theatre in Chicago—possibly not one in the country—is as safe as it could be made by the expenditure of an adequate amount of money. Under a system where every business man necessarily competes with others in his line, he must be most economical in all purchases and, as this is true all along the line, those who buy materials used in construction of such buildings buy at bedrock prices, for they are thrifty and have an eye to profits; those who supply, pay poor wages and get the cheapest help available, instead of best procurable, for they must also “get rich” by the rule: “My son, get rich, honestly if possible, but get rich anyhow.” As long as every man competes with every other, we must expect human life to remain the cheapest of all commodities.

This is no time for individuals to censure others. The public demand will insure the legal discovery of the chief culprits for a strong public demand is always obeyed. Nothing can change the fact that hundreds of lives have been sacrificed to greed and that all citizens—whether voters or merely moulders of public opinion—are in a measure responsible for this altar erected to Mammon and for the disregard of laws designed to protect life.

None can shirk this, for none is innocent when public wrong is done. In a degree, you and I, every man and woman in the United States, is accountable for the desolate hearts and ruined lives due to the disaster of Dec. 30th. All disregarded our civic duty in greater or less degree. We could have so improved public morality that none would have dared glaringly to ignore the law.

Some have more grossly sinned, but we the public were accessory thereto, for we permitted the infringement of law in this case and in thousands of others actuated by greed.

In this special case the building was lauded as fire-proof, not without cause judging by the slight property loss—a furnace may be fireproof and still consume the fuel. But it is certain that even that degree of watchfulness now bestowed upon our government buildings would have prevented the loss of lives. View it from what point we may, we all know that proper precautions to safeguard the public are never taken voluntarily by those connected with any enterprise managed for private gain. Like most horrible sacrifices of life, this can be traced to that “love of money” long ago

pronounced "the root of all evil." There had been false economy in construction and there was gross carelessness in management.

To have fireproofed scenery, etc. would have decreased the profits on the capital invested, so the risk of a possible fire was taken for the sake of financial gain which was not interested in the resulting deaths, heartaches, and ultimate loss of money to the many people thrown out of employment by such a catastrophe. The public weal was a mere side issue, for all the public is good for is to spend money which will swell dividends.

As money would have been lost by keeping the house closed during the best paying portion of the theatrical season, it was opened before it was really finished, so exits were not marked; and the only excuse yet forthcoming for this is that it would have marred the beauty of the building to have tacked cards over the exits and they had not gotten round to painting them.

Doors leading to the exits were locked, presumably because had others than the one used by ticket takers been unlocked, some one might have crept in without paying admission and such an one could not have been readily discovered as the aisles were filled. Of course entrances could have been watched even if unlocked, but that would have necessitated the employment of an extra force of guards and added to the running expenses.

The economy which saved a few thousands of dollars by purchasing a second rate asbestos curtain and neglecting sprinklers and other precautionary measures required by law, could not be expected to refrain from selling standing room merely because it is illegal, for this also swelled profits and is not our economic system intended to do that? This theatre was built and managed with a desire to reap all possible profits, and the man who successfully does that is the man rated with those held up to the young as models, so what else can we expect? The poor man is a failure and the obverse of the picture is that men are trained to seek wealth though the conscience be stilled the process.

We permitted this, for had the existing laws been forced this loss of life would never have been. In this age there is no excuse for such open defiance of law other than that the public mind condones it, nor is there any acceptable reason for such idiotic lack of common precautions. The carelessness of those who profited in this special case—whether through saving or "graft"—was criminal. What shall we say if civic indifference returns and we learn no lesson from this tragedy?

Those upon whom the blame will legally rest are unfortunate examples, since they are the culprits overtaken in wrongdoing; but evidence has already been produced which shows that the managers of every theatre running in Chicago were openly sinning, that city officials were cognizant of the facts, and that the public has calmly witnessed daily infringement of laws designed to protect human life but ignored by greed. Not one of us but knows of cases where money is set above life and blind justice heeds not until disaster appeals.

Does it pay?

Can all the profits of the nation balance the life-long pain of one bereaved mother? Will any bank account compare with one life cut short? Are we as a people willing to make dividends our deity and offer up our children's lives on that altar?

Greed of money made proprietors and managers lax. Greed of some kind made public officials indifferent. Greed of personal comfort and the esteem of our fellows makes us hesitate publicly to espouse an unpopular cause. Thus greed makes possible the great crimes of this day.

When the nation owns and regulates our playhouses, this particular form of sorrow will cease to be, for we will then operate them as we intend to our schools: for the good of all instead of for financial gain.

W. S. A.

WOMAN'S NATIONAL SOCIALIST UNION

So frequently do we hear: why is there need for a separate organization of women Socialists! And often this comes from men whose wives do not belong to any locals of the party and who do not wish their women folk to be actively associated with the political movement.

Perhaps a bit of information as to how the Union came into being, may aid. A newspaper woman may write for papers of all shades of political faith, but if she is fully imbued with the doctrine of equality, it will creep into strange places. As a result, such a writer will receive inquiries from all over the country. One such woman found that her mail was more than she could handle, so she appealed to other Socialist women to share the task of answering. An astonishing number of the comrades so addressed assured her that they felt incompetent to accept such a responsibility, because, while they were in sympathy with the movement and believed that it would win, they were not students and could not give reason for the faith that was in them.

Something had to be done. It was out of the question to refrain from introducing matter into general articles, merely because it provoked inquiry from the uninformed. It was equally impossible to ignore the queries. If we as Socialist women are not ready to assist other women, we are not prepared to train our own children. The need for reaching women created this medium.

Many women in the party feel that their efforts have been wasted and that they are accomplishing less than they could if their work was chiefly among women and children. The efforts made in organizing women will train the women workers and give them an experience which they do not get in the political movement—which does not mean that they should let go any work they are doing in the party organization.

The demand for special work among women is strong, but the Union has been handicapped by lack of funds, so we have done comparatively little of that which we aim to do.

In many ways our tactics differ from those of the party, for we have special needs. Constitutionally most women are best fitted to work along original lines; and this will be true for some years to come. Women must be reached. Their thoughts affect the babes during the prenatal life, making them broad and liberal, or narrow and petty; they influence the children all through school life, so that habits of thought are formed before youths are approached by politicians. We can not afford to disregard women, merely because they can not vote. The sentiment of our country will never materially change until the ideals of women have been raised. It is because of woman's conservatism that things run in ruts. Break this down and a start has been made. It does not make much difference how

you destroy this barrier, if you work honestly. The chief thing is to accomplish the herculean task. In later issues I will tell of some rather unique methods which have been successfully employed in local Unions.

W. S. A.

CHATS WITH YOUNG FOLK OUR EARTH'S AGE

It does not seem many years since the sentence most often on my lips was: "I wonder why!" Of course we grown folk often think the same words, but we do not so frankly say them, and some of the things which once puzzled us do not now seem strange.

Of the things which bothered me longer than any others, the chief were: How old is the earth; where did it come from; of what is it made; and for what was it made. Some of these and other strange things we will talk over together.

When I was very little, the strange story in the Bible was told me and I was taught that God made heaven and earth, then light, then dry land, and at the end of four days he had everything—lights in the sky, plants growing and all food prepared for fish. This seemed to me very odd, for when I looked around I saw that it took years for trees to grow and I could not see why the Great Spirit of Life did things so slowly now if He had ever done them with a rush. No matter whom I questioned about this, I got not one bit of satisfaction, until I found this verse, way over in the back of the strange old book: "One day is with the Lord as a thousand years and a thousand years as one day."

That seemed better than four days like ours, for four thousand years is a very long time, especially to children. But one day I was talking to a Jewish gentleman and he explained that in reading very ancient history, we must not think of a year as we do now, because in those days people lived where it was summer all the time and harvest was constant, so they did not reckon by seasons like ours. I wanted to know all about that right off, you may be sure, so I asked ever so many questions, and he told me that sometimes those people called the reign of a king a year, and sometimes that word (or the one which meant nearly the same in their language) meant the time that some other officer ruled.

Then I asked him if he believed the days in Genesis—which Peter said were the same as a thousand years—meant the reigns of kings and if he thought it took as long to prepare this earth for animal life as the lifetimes of four thousand kings.

You know the Bible was not written in English, but for the Jews, so I had an idea that he would be apt to know more about what the narrative meant than Americans do. What do you suppose he said?

That "years" did not belong in there at all, but that the word which was originally used was one that meant cycle. Of course I knew that cycle meant wheel and that a cycle of time was any period which brought us back to the same place.

When you take in a breath, hold it an instant, let it out and get just ready to take in another breath, you have finished a breath cycle, or one kind of a cycle of time. Day and night make another length time—cycle: from one new moon to another, a still longer one; and if you try you can think of a great many of them, all differing in length. W. S. A.

(To be concluded.)

BRIEF TALKS ON SUGGESTION

By A. C. HALPHIDE, M. D.,

Author of MIND AND BODY and THE PSYCHIC AND PSYCHISM, 4731 Indiana Ave. Chicago.

4. WHAT ARE THE DIFFERENT STAGES OF HYPNOSIS?



YPNOTIZED persons fall into states simulating sleep called hypnoses, these states are more or less profound depending upon the susceptibility of the subject. The various depths of the hypnotic states are known as the stages or degrees of hypnosis. Much has been written about

these stages and many hair-splitting distinctions have been drawn between them but no uniformity has been reached. Liebeault's classification mention six different stages of hypnosis. Bernheim's nine and a few others still more; by way of illustration I will quote Bernheim's classification of the degrees of hypnosis.

BERNHEIM'S CLASSIFICATION

A. *Memory retained on waking.*

1. Suggestion to certain acts only—drowsiness.
2. Inability to open the eyes.
3. Suggestive catalepsy—liable to be broken.
4. Irresistible catalepsy.
5. Suggestive contractions.
6. Automatic obedience.

B. *Memory lost on waking, or somnambulism.*

7. Without susceptibility to hallucinations.
8. Susceptibility to hallucinations during sleep.
9. Susceptibility to hypnotic and posthypnotic hallucinations.

The above classifications, as do most of the classifications, recognizes two general divisions. A. Memory retained on waking. B. Memory lost on waking, or somnambulism. These two general divisions, including as they do all of the phenomena of hypnosis, are sufficient for the needs of suggestive therapeutics and so it is my custom to make only a two-fold division in my definition.

The stages or degrees of hypnosis are two, namely, slight and profound which are distinguished by memory or forgetfulness of the experiences upon waking. The two-fold classification serves every practical purpose of the more complex ones and permits further subdivision when when desirable. The lighter and deeper hypnoses are more easily and and satisfactorily illustrated than explained, so I will describe a couple of hypnotized persons.

A lady one day was hypnotized and lay back in the chair with relaxed body and closed eyes. Apparently she was peacefully sleeping so reposeful was her attitude. There was one difference, however, namely, she heeded and obeyed verbal commands. She was assured that she could not open her eyes and ordered to try to do so. Slowly and apparently with great difficulty she opened them but they closed again immediately. A hand was lightly laid upon her forehead giving a slight downward pressure and again she was told that she could not open them and this time she tried and failed and the failure caused the lady to smile. An arm was then raised and she was assured that it was rigid, cataleptic, and that she could neither bend nor move it; she made a strenuous effort to move it but failed. The arm was made to describe a circle and the lady was told that she could not stop it; after an ineffectual effort her smile broke into an amused laugh, and she said, "In't that funny? I can not stop it, sure enough, but my mind is not hypnotized, I know what is going on perfectly." The arm was released and finally, a lead pencil was placed in her hand and she was assured, that it was a rose. She raised it to her face saying, "How lovely and fragrant"—and then beginning to laugh she added, "How silly of me! It is a lead pencil."

The above experiment illustrates the principal phenomena of slight hypnosis. The hypnotee is an individual person and the hypnosis will always be varied by his personal characteristics and these are responsible for many of the unimportant subdivisions of the stages of hypnosis. After the lady was dehypnotized she remembered perfectly all that occurred during the seance and this retention of memory definitely marks the condition as a light state of hypnosis. Eighty percent of our patients will not pass beyond this stage.

A young man was hypnotized and he lay back in the chair like one in a deep sleep, his head fallen to one side and his arms hanging limply. The condition differed from natural sleep in at least one particular, namely, he attended to all the operator said and did and heeded none else. The young man was informed that we were at the theatre and directed to open his eyes and watch the performance and instantly he opened them and apparently enjoyed the music and the show which were wholly hallucinations. After keeping time to the music and watching the show for a little space his eyes closed and he fell into a state of lethargy again. A word aroused him and he was told to pass the cigars and then take and light one himself. At once he arose, took an imaginary box of cigars from the table and presented it before all present and then replacing the box helped himself to one and lighted it with an imaginary match. The imaginary cigar was apparently greatly enjoyed, he puffed at it, blew rings and praised its quality. So conversed intelligently, when his attention was directed with anyone present. At a suggestion he became as rigid as a stick of wood and was suspended between two chairs with head upon one and feet upon the other. Anaesthesia and hyperaesthesia were readily induced into in this man.

The experiments with the young man just described involve the chief phenomena observed in profound hypnosis. The profound hypnosis like the light varies with the character of the hypnotee and this gives rise to a sub-division of the classification. The young man after he was dehypnotized had no memory of what occurred during the seance and this forgetfulness,

amnesia, is the distinguishing characteristic of profound hypnosis. Persons who go into profound hypnoses are commonly called somnambules, less than twenty percent of hypnotized persons pass into the profound stage.

WHAT IS POSTHYPNOTIC SUGGESTION

A posthypnotic suggestion is one given during hypnosis to be carried out at a specified time or signal after the hypnotee has been dehypnotized. These suggestions belong to the phenomena of profound hypnosis or somnambulism. In them is found the most potent objection to the use of hypnotism urged by the anti-hypnotists. It is affirmed that the hypnotee has no means of protecting himself against posthypnotic suggestions for they act like infernal machines which may be set to explode in unsuspecting ships when they are in mid-ocean. There is doubtless some ground for this objection but the danger has been greatly over stated as will appear presently. The phenomena of posthypnotic suggestion can be more easily illustrated than described so we will return to the young man mentioned above for a moment.

The young man who was one of my students being hypnotized was informed that he was about to witness a spiritualistic demonstration, a materialization of his dead friend. He was told to open his eyes, watch her appear from a point on the floor, converse with her and to remember every detail of the experience after he was dehypnotized. The suggestion was also given him that she would appear to him again the next day in the class-room when he was given a certain signal, namely, I would take off and wipe my glasses with my handkerchief. These suggestions were literally fulfilled. After he was dehypnotized he remembered every particular of the experience and was willing to swear "on a stack of Bibles" that he had actually seen a materialized form of his friend. The reappearance of the phantasm the next day was equally realistic to him and his appearance and actions conveyed the idea that he had seen a ghost.

The retention of memory of the events of the deep hypnosis and the

reappearance of the phantasm the following day when the man was fully awake were the results of post hypnotic suggestions. He was at other times made to do various ridiculous and unusual things, as wear his hat in class on a set occasion and arise from bed, dress himself and go to an out-of-the-way place at midnight more than two weeks subsequent to the giving of the posthypnotic suggestion. The possibility of making an unsuspecting person perform acts in the more or less remote future is startling in the extreme. If the power of posthypnotic suggestion was absolute nothing would remain to be said but it is not, far from it. Two factors enter into the problem which render the real danger almost nil; first the hypnotee may refuse to accept the suggestion, he often does, and second, he is not bound to carry them out, he frequently does not. No hypnotist can force his subject beyond the operation of the law of self-preservation. What posthypnotic suggestion is has been made plain, the dangers of hypnotism will be explained later.

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The perpetual admonition of nature to us is, the world is new, untried. Do not believe the past. I give you the universe a virgin to-day.—EMERSON.

Truth itself will not profit as long as she is but held in the hand and taken upon trust from other minds, not wooed and won and wedded by our own.—GEORGE ELIOT.

Those who make private property of the gift of God pretend in vain to be innocent. For in thus retaining the subsistence of the poor they are the murderers of those who die every day for want of it.—POPE GREGORY THE GREAT.

If any man is able to convince me and show me that I do not think or act aright, I will gladly change; for I seek the truth, by which no man was ever injured. But he is injured who abides in his error and his ignorance.—ARISTOTLE.

Truth is always rejected when it comes to a man for the first time, its evolution being as follows: First, we say the thing is rank heresy and contrary to the Bible. Second, we say the matter really amounts to nothing one way or the other. Third, we declare we have always believed it.—RENAN.

Surely if living creatures saw the results of all their evil deeds, they would turn away from them in disgust. But self-hood blinds them, and they cling to their obnoxious desires.—BUDDHA.

Whereas, it has long been known and declared that the poor have no right to the property of the rich: I want it known and declared that the rich have no right to the property of the poor.—JOHN RUSKIN.

The gloomy voice of the people could be heard hoarsely growling. It is a startling and sacred voice, composed of the yell of the brute and the word of God, which terrifies the weak and warns the wise, and which at once comes from below like the voice of the lion, and from above like the voice of thunder.—VICTOR HUGO.

. BALLAD OF THE SHOP GIRL.

The wolf of poverty follows me on
 Through the dingy streets of town;
 So close beside that his shabby hide
 Might almost brush my gown;
 And after him thrust, the wolves of
 lust
 Come eager to drag me down.

And body and soul have a scanty dole
 From the pittance that I earn;
 And cold as the breath of the wind of
 death
 Are the lessons that I learn;
 With a pitfall dug for my weary feet
 And a trap at every turn.

And ever a tempter is near at hand
 To lure with a Judas kiss,
 And lead me away if be led I may
 To the depths of that black abyss,
 Where in serpent guise old memories
 rise
 And over the fallen hiss.

I never may know surcease from woe,
 But I know of fortune's frown;
 I am one of a score of thousands more
 Who toil in the cruel town;
 And the wolves of lust and poverty
 Are waiting to drag us down.

And the Christ that the Bible teaches
 of
 For only men did die;
 Or He else would heed in this dread-
 ful need
 My bitter, despairing cry;
 And the Creeds alway for the hea-
 then pray
 And the Christians pass me by.

And many and fast the days whirl
 past
 While early I work and late;
 And around my path for the after-
 math
 The basilisk watchers wait;
 And civilization bids me choose
 The grave, or a harlot's fate.

And I dread the light of to-morrow's
 dawn
 And the weight of the future years;
 My life is blurred by a hope deferred
 And my heart is numb with fears;
 And my eyes that rise to the sullen
 skies
 Are wet with a woman's tears.
 Alone I walk where the specters stalk
 In the roar of the mighty town;
 Oh! God, for a knight to aid my flight
 Of high and pure renown!
 Is there never a man to lift me up
 Where myriads drag me down?
 —E. MCGAFFEY.

Magistrate (to witness)—"You say you have known the prisoner all your life "Witness—" Yes, your worship." Magistrate—"Now in your opinion, do you think he could be guilty of stealing this money." Witness—"How much was it?"

TAKE NOTICE

A large number of subscriptions to THE VANGUARD expire this month. We deem it a courtesy to discontinue sending the magazine when the time is out, so please renew promptly if you wish to receive THE VANGUARD for another year. Remember that for one dollar we will send the magazine to four different addresses.

The demand for recent issues of THE VANGUARD has been so great that our edition has been practically exhausted before the middle of each month. We will try to keep up with the orders but new subscriptions received after the 15th of the month may have to begin with the issue of the g.onmth followin

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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 New York and 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 Convention of the Socialist Party of America has been called to meet on May 1 in Chicago.

The official call is as follows:

To the Socialist Party of the United States—Comrades: The national committee has by referendum designated Chicago as the place, and May 1, 1904, as the date of holding the national convention of the Socialist Party of America, for the purpose of nominating candidates for the offices of president and vice-president of the United States, and for the transaction of such other business as may legitimately come before it.

The basis of representation in the convention shall be according to the provisions of the constitution of the Socialist Party, as contained in article X of said constitution, which is as follows:

"The basis of representation in any national convention shall be by states, each state being entitled to one delegate at large and one additional delegate for every 100 members in good standing."

The membership shall be based upon the average number of dues paying members, as shown by the books of the national secretary for the period of December, 1903, and January and February, 1904.

Alternate delegates upon the same basis of representation shall be elected, and such alternates shall be provided with credentials to be presented to the convention in case of inability of delegates to attend.

Only delegates or alternates shall be entitled to vote in the convention, and they must be residents of the states or territories they are elected to represent.

On March 1, 1904, the national secretary shall call for nominations of delegates and alternate delegates from unorganized states and territories, and in such unorganized states and territories the basis of representation shall be the same as provided in article X, as noted above.

The national secretary shall provide blank credentials, with duplicates for delegates and alternates elected from such states or territories, the original credentials to be retained by the delegates and alternates and presented to the convention.

The national secretary shall announce the

results of election of delegates and alternates in unorganized states and territories, and issue credentials to the same.

The originals and duplicates of credentials of delegates and alternates in organized states and territories shall be signed by the respective officials of the state or territorial organizations.

The hall and hour of assembling of the convention will be announced as soon as arrangements have been completed.

VICTOR L. BERGER, Wisconsin.

B. BERLYN, Illinois.

S. M. REYNOLDS, Indiana.

JOHN M. WORK, Nebraska.

The National Secretary writes as follows:

"Let every party member keep in good standing by paying dues promptly and regularly and determine to gain at least one new member every month. By doing this the most effective and surest method will be used to solidify and knit together the revolutionary forces rapidly developing in America into a compact organization prepared to enter the national campaign of 1904 to wage a conflict against capitalism which will result in making the Socialist party the second political party in importance in this country and the leader of the International Socialist movement for working-class emancipation throughout the world."

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Peasant—"Mr. Boss, who are the Socialists?"

Lord—"They're the rabble who want to live without working."

Peasant—"Then, Mr. Boss, you're a Socialist!"—*Sempre Avanti di Rome.*

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Siftings

The cry of the industrial world is: Men wanted, the more meek and submissive the better.—MOOSOMIN SPECTATOR.

Under Socialism the full dinner pail will be replaced with a full dinner table where the men who work can eat as civilized people should. —CLEVELAND CITIZEN.

I met a Republican politician the other day who assured me he had been reading up on Socialism, and was convinced we were right. "As soon as you get a little stronger, I'll be with you," said this wily politician. And herein the danger to our cause. It is the men who are waiting until we get a little stronger who always aspire to leadership. Beware of leaders. "The men in the trenches" are all the leaders the Socialist movement needs.—COMING NATION.

The attempt of churchmen to make man contented with his lot here on the promise of Glory is the keenest arraignment of our industrial hell that could be well imagined. It may be in keeping with the spirit of love and mercy to teach that the oppressors of men shall burn in the next world because of their pleasures in this, but the Socialist, bearing no man hatred, declines to be consoled for present injustices by the thoughts of another's future misery.—AM. LABOR UNION JOURNAL.

The Socialists do not shoot with guns; they shoot with their pens and their tongues. They shoot at the rotten principles and practices of the two old parties and in this respect they shoot to kill, and they do kill and are killing these principles rapidly. The sooner they are relegated to the limbo of oblivion the better; they are a curse and a detriment to any country which calls itself enlightened. The Socialists debate; they do not shoot with guns. They are the salt of the nation; they are peace-loving and abide by constitutional methods. They are forerunners, educators and teachers. They would avert by constitutional and peaceful methods what threatens to result in a violent revolution. They cry aloud their message in halls and on the streets; they appeal to the intelligence of men, and instead of hav-

ing any affiliation with anarchists or their principles, as charged by some ignorant know-nothings, they are in reality the antithesis of all forms of capitalism as well as of political anarchy, and as such Socialism is the only saving and regenerating principle at work in society at the present time.—NEW TIME.

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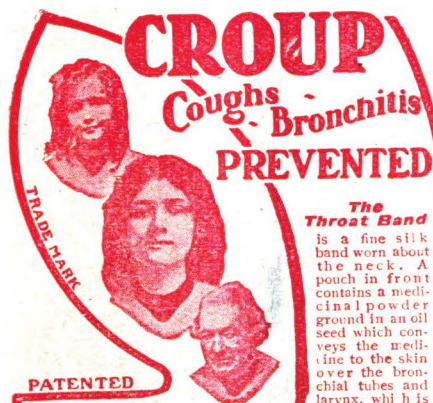
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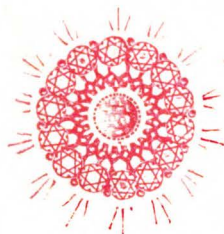
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