

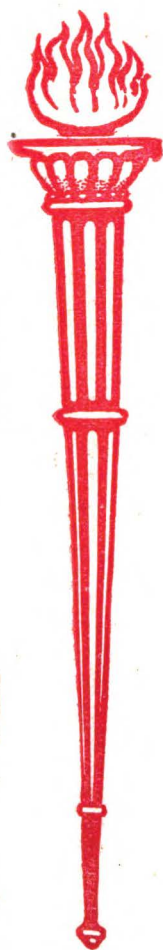
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no 6

THE VANGUARD

FEBRUARY, 1904



OF course we shall not tarry at this goal. These vast aggregations of capital will be seized and the properties will pass under the control of the people. Industrial feudalism, when it is finished, will speedily be transformed into industrial democracy.

—*Washington Gladden.*

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ment of modern times, as the philosophic historian of the
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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., FEBRUARY, 1904.

NO. 6

The only choice that is left to you and me and the other citizens of this nation is whether this change from government by monopoly and wealth produced socially by the toiling millions, to the Cooperative Commonwealth, shall take place peaceably, or shall involve continued waste and loss, with the certainty of violence and bloodshed. Permit me to remind you that the only men today who believe in or are working for the consummation of this end peaceably are the Socialists. If it must come by violence, let us know that the blame will lie at the doors of those who have insisted that it should not come at all; at the doors of those who have attempted to postpone the change, until by starvation and slavery the disinherited masses are driven to desperation. The hope of a peaceful transition at this day when so much political power has been put into the hands of the people, and when so much depends upon the conscious cooperation of the voters in the evolutionary process, lies in earnest, courageous leadership on the part of men who have no good excuse for not knowing the facts of economic history; in the enlightenment of the working class as to their interest. and in fearless proclamation of the gospel of industrial justice.—WM. THURSTON BROWN.

ANNOUNCEMENT

It gives us great pleasure to announce that, commencing with this issue, the Rev. Carl D. Thompson, becomes associate editor of THE VANGUARD. Comrade Thompson is too well known all over the country to need any introduction from us. Continuing his work on the platform, where he is doing valiant service for Socialism, he joins forces with us for the advancement of the cause. We congratulate ourselves and our readers on this accession to the staff and ask the new editor to address a word of greeting to old friends and new.

J. M. A. SPENCE.

VANGUARD READERS, GREETING:

Assuming the pleasant task of comradeship with the editor of this magazine, I take pleasure in addressing a word to its readers. To many of you I am already personally known. I do not need to tell you of the purposes, plans and hopes of my life. All I need to say is that thru the columns of this paper our comradeship shall be ce-

mented and made permanent. We shall speak to each other each month.

To some of the readers I am unknown. I simply greet you now. We will know each other better as we proceed,—an anticipation of great pleasure upon my part at least. To all we would say, this joining of forces is the result of the desire upon the part of Comrade Spence and myself to increase our usefulness to the cause of Socialism. It happens that we have both been borne into the Socialist movement upon the tides of a deep spiritual passion for humanity. We have never lost, and doubtless never will lose, the consciousness of the presence of great spiritual, moral and ethical problems involved in the present struggle. We nevertheless devote ourselves without reserve and without hesitancy, in full, frank, fellowship to the organized forces of the Socialist movement both upon the propaganda and political field, and shall seek to assist and serve the Socialist Party of America.

CARL D. THOMPSON.

We direct special attention to the call for contributions to the National Organizing Fund of the Socialist Party on page 23. We have entered upon a great campaign for industrial democracy this year and the movement must not suffer from lack of funds which can be supplied if each Socialist will give according to his or her ability. Let every reader of THE VANGUARD send some amount great or small, without delay to the National Secretary.

SOCIALISM AND RELIGION

In the recent number of the International Socialist Review appears a translation of an article by Emile Vandervelde on Marxian Idealism that contains a very sane utterance upon the question of the relation of Socialism to religious thought. Speaking of the declaration of the Erfurt Program that religion is a private matter, he says:

"It may be understood, and many have understood it as limiting Socialism to political and economic questions alone. . . . Those who speak in this manner do not appreciate the profound reaction exercised upon social physics by religious metaphysics. . . . Religions are both cosmologies and sociologies. . . . It must not be forgotten that we can only destroy when we replace. If the overthrow of the old faith is to be complete, Socialism must raise itself above the ground of immediate concerns. It is necessary that to that conception of the Church which embraces the entire man, Socialism oppose a no less integral conception of law, morals, society and the world."

This is certainly a very sane and timely word upon a subject that has been troubling some of the American Socialists. A few in the movement have contended that all religious and ethical discussion should be eliminated because of the inevitable prejudice it raises. But the religious orders

claim to speak with authority upon sociological questions. They teach an ethics of their own. If this be doubted let the reader turn to another column and read the words of the editor of the Christian Advocate the leading publication of the Methodist Church. In substance, the poor are to serve the rich, according to this gentleman's interpretation of religious ethics. When the official representatives of religion take that position, then the conflict of Socialism is inevitable, and to that extent Socialism enters the arena as a religious proposition.

Moreover, Socialism must have something more to offer the people than a mere economic and political program if it is to win its way in the minds of the people. Man is more than an economic animal. He has moral and personal needs, ethical and æsthetic desires here and now, before we get Socialism. And he knows that something can be done in these lines. If Socialism refuses to interest itself in any way in these matters it thereby proves its insufficiency, and multitudes of the people will look elsewhere for the satisfaction of these needs. And this is why Comrade Vandervelde insists that Socialism must be something more than economics. He points out the fact that "moral questions hitherto neglected, now appear upon the programs of all Socialist congresses; for example in Belgium, Switzerland, Austria, thanks to the works of Marxists, such as Otto Lange or Victor Adler, the Socialist Anti-alcoholic propaganda is beginning to pass beyond the stage of wordy resolutions."

It is for something of this breadth of purpose and spirit that some of us have been contending in the American Socialist movement. We have not gone so far as Comrade Vandervelde has gone, and asked that Social-

ism take up these moral, ethical and religious questions but we ask that those in the movement who feel the importance of them be allowed, and if possible, encouraged in their work along these lines. The world needs a new interpretation of religion, of ethical and moral problems. There are Socialists in the American movement who are able to contribute to this need. The Socialists of America should encourage this effort. T.

A FALSE PROPHET

The Rev, James M. Buckley, D. D., editor of the New York Christian Advocate and perhaps the most influential leader in the Methodist Church, recently made some startling predictions concerning the struggle between organized capital and organized labor. Speaking in the First Congregational church of Montclair, N. J., he said:

"It does not require a prophet or a son of a prophet to tell us that within three years—yes, two years—this country will pass through a terrible crisis if there is not an immediate change in the relations of labor and capital. It seems as if both have thrown Christian conduct and common sense to the winds.

"Things have been going from bad to worse, and labor unions have now assumed so arrogant an attitude that a crash is almost inevitable. You have only to read the history of Rome, changing names and dates, to see what this country is coming to.

"I repeat, a great crash is coming, and many rich women who have horses and carriages, and are apparently leaders of fashion, will be brought to want. History repeats itself, and we cannot sow the wind and hope to escape from reaping the whirlwind.

"The crisis is very near, and the suffering will be terrible."

We admire Dr. Buckley's frankness in stating the gravity of the situation but we cannot share in his pessimism for the reason that we see a just and happy solution of the problem ahead, namely, Socialism. The Socialist is no "calamity howler," no prophet of evil; he is essentially an optimist and the herald of a better day; his message is one of peace on earth and good-will among men. And we believe

that the American people have simply to understand the spirit and method of Socialism to recognize therein the safe, wise and practicable settlement of this vexed question.

But Socialism is not Dr. Buckley's remedy, by any means. Here is what he calls "the only solution of these great labor problems:" "The rich," he declares, "must regard the poor man as his brother, and *the latter must serve the rich* with faithfulness, diligence and sincerity."

We are not in the least surprised that the future should appear very dark to one who speaks from such a point of view. There is no prospect of a settlement of the social problem in the manner indicated, nor would such a settlement be desirable, for the reason that it would not be right. The only righteous solution must come through the extension of democracy rather than the concessions of plutocracy, along lines of justice rather than servitude.

It is painfully evident that Dr. Buckley is after all the defender of capitalistic interests and that his chief concern is for the preservation of vested rights. His attack on the trades union movement and his solicitude for "leaders of fashion," reveal his own "class-consciousness" and his sympathy with the rich and powerful. All of which is but another example of the failure of official Christianity to understand the message of Jesus and its relation to the economic developments of our day. If there is one thing for which the Nazarene Carpenter does NOT stand it is this very arrogance and assumption of superiority which this doctor of divinity (?) displays when he speaks of "rich and poor" and declares that "*the latter must serve the former.*"

The Methodist Episcopal church is short on prophets if Dr. Buckley is a fair representative.

Tolstoy to the Clergy



Not only is the Church teaching harmful by its irrationality and immorality, it is specially harmful because people professing this teaching, while living without any moral demands to restrain them, feel quite convinced that they are living a really Christian life.

People live in insensate luxury, obtaining their wealth by the labour of the humble poor, and defending themselves and their riches by policemen, law courts and executions—and the clergy in the name of Christ, approve, sanctify, and bless this way of life, merely advising the rich to allot a small part of what they have stolen to the service of those from whom they continue to steal. (When slavery existed, the clergy always and everywhere justified it, and did not consider it inconsistent with Christianity.)

People strive by force of arms, by murder, to attain their covetous aims, personal or public, and the clergy approve, and in Christ's name bless preparations for war and for war itself, and not only approve, but often encourage these things; holding war—that is, murder—not to be contrary to Christianity.

People who believe in such teaching are not merely led by it into an evil way of life, but are fully persuaded that their evil life is a good one which their is no need for them to alter.

Nor is that all: the chief evil of this teaching is that it is so skillfully interwoven with the external forms of Christianity, that, while professing it, people think your doctrine is the one true Christianity, and that there is no other! It is not only that you have diverted from men the spring of living water—were that all, people might still find it—but you have poisoned it with your teaching, so that people cannot find any Christianity but this one poisoned by your interpretations.

The Christianity preached by you, is an inoculation of false Christianity, resembling the inoculation for smallpox or diphtheria, and has the effect of making those who are inoculated immune to true Christianity.

People having for many generations built their lives on foundations irreconcilable with true Christianity, feel fully persuaded that they are living Christian lives, and thus they are unable to return to true Christianity.

THE ART OF BROTHERHOOD

By GEORGE HOWARD GIBSON



OLSTOY defines art to be "a means of union among men."

I feel led to reverse the order and to say, Union among men is the means and the beginning of art. Brotherhood is the practice of the ideal along all lines of human activity. The spirit of universal brotherhood must exercise and realize itself in universal art, art of every sort, developing the individuals given up to it into that perfection of their distinct and varying personalities and powers of service which shall fulfill the ideals of God in their creation.

The carrying forward of the whole unfinished creation, animal and vegetable, animate and inanimate, and the progress of the race, is made dependent on this spirit in man. We are or ought to be workers together with God, to make the world about us the perfection of beauty and the abode of health and harmony. Power without limit connects itself with those who will love and serve.

We have as yet only barely begun to make use of love, of brotherhood, the power of union to serve and to lift up, to create beauty and joy. The selfish struggle of business spreads poverty, slavery, drudgery, deformity, disease and degradation. The wealth it gathers is sordid and destitute of fellowship. The art it buys is loveless, exclusive, selfish. All such art is based upon slavery. Slavery of either the chattel or profit-robbing sort creates vastly more ugliness than beauty, more pain than pleasure, more loss than gain. And in all the forms of beauty it creates there is dissatisfaction, because love does not live in it and communicate itself through it. Beauty at cost of deformity is a price we must shrink from. Art that kills nature, or that destroys manhood, is a thing to shudder at and abhor.

All living art expresses love, love that is unselfish and universal. All who work for love, or whose work is love, are artists, it matters not what they do. Love cheapens not its service. The best service, the most ideal, is its desire. So art is the life of love.

Conceive what beauty is to be brought out of brotherhood. It will put an end to the ugliness that selfishness has made and multiplied. It will restore "the Man with the Hoe," and all his kind to grace and dignity and God-like power. It will equalize burdens and give to those who work the joy that should accompany creation. It will make us loving, supplementary parts of one another, members of one body, so that each shall share in the work of all and rejoice in every achievement.

In the brotherhood life there will be no stopping of the mines and mills because the plundered wage-earners are powerless to buy back out of the markets as much as their toil creates, but instead the music of the loving looms and hammers shall be ceaseless, and the unwearying energies of God shall be kept employed to make wealth for all. In the brotherhood life all work shall be worship, fellowship, and ever-growing, developing art. By the multiplication of loving hearts and hands, every secret of the earth shall be searched out and all its powers shall be harnessed to serve and bless. Toil shall be reduced to the measure of healthful activity. Leisure for study shall be secured for all. Instruction in every science and

form of useful labor shall be free. Each family shall have a home of beauty and convenience, sanitarily perfect, and set in the midst of a garden. Books and pictures and tasteful furniture shall be found in each and all. Music shall add its charms. The whole of life shall be made serviceable, joy-creating, beautiful, and the earth shall be filled with heaven.

THE OPPORTUNITY OF SOCIALISM

By C. E. ORDWAY



IN a certain almost literal sense all is grist that comes to the Socialist mill. A year ago the coal strike set thousands to thinking about government ownership of the mines and railroads and led many of them to vote the party ticket.

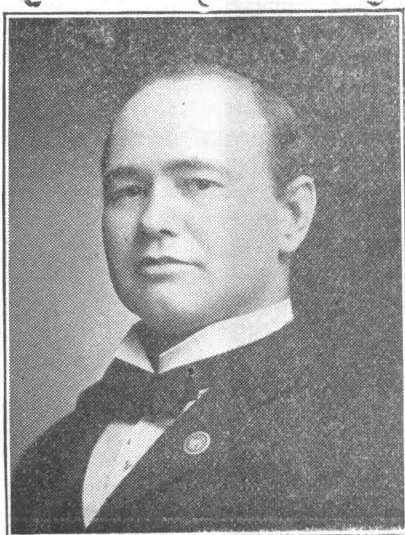
At the present time the astounding revelations of graft, blackmail, dishonor and all sorts of political corruption and moral rottenness which serve to bring the existing order and the dominant powers into disrepute with the people are all serving as meat for the Socialist table.

In the irrepressible struggle between real democracy and reaction, between this sordid spirit of imperialism and plutocracy and that of moral integrity and economic justice, between the conservatism that is satisfied with all existing privileges and the intelligent, keen spirit of social reconstruction, in this struggle between these forces, now well on, Socialism finds its great opportunity.

In the polluted atmosphere and the contaminated conditions of the present, Socialism, to those who understand it, rises as a perfume of purity and the promise of better things. The day is here when the proclamation "all the world for all the people" begins to win the approval of humanity and appear as the open way of progress, and the path of escape from the corruption, oppression and insufferable arrogance, injustice and opportunism of the competitive, capitalistic order. With Victor Hugo it is time for Socialism to declare "the hour has struck for hoisting the 'All for all'," and to grasp the present opportunity and take the field afresh under this banner which in the end is bound to lead to victory.

With the leaders of capitalism at war among themselves, the public press spreading the piratical career of Rockefeller and Standard Oil, the degradation and corruption of our great cities, the prostitution of public office to private aggrandizement in our national government, and discussing the question of whether the republic is to endure, and all the world shocked at the mad scramble of the administration for commercial supremacy, even to the extent of international robbery, there is an opportunity for Socialism unparalleled in its history.

Starved and frozen together they lie,
 Mother and babe in their icy sleep;
 But, stronger in death than life, they cry
 And stir men's souls with a passion deep.
 Aye, these poor victims of Hunger and Cold,
 Are yet strong in the fight 'gainst Greed and Gold!
 —John Spargo.



How Socialists View the Class Struggle

By CARL D. THOMPSON

The Socialists do not make the class struggle. They seek to bring it as quickly as possible to a final, just and peaceful issue. But not to recognize it, not to reckon with it, not to understand it as one of the mightiest forces of society, would be to betray the most unpardonable ignorance. And moreover, not to recognize the class struggle, is to be unable to comprehend certain phenomena in the labor movement of today. Until one sees that there is a class struggle

—the oppressor class fighting to maintain its principles and the laboring class to maintain its rights—one could not understand the universal distrust of all capitalistic parties on the part of the Socialists,—could not understand the quite general suspicion of the middle class and uncompromising attitude against all fusion tactics.

There are roughly speaking four types of laboring people:—first, there is the helpless, ignorant working class who know nothing of their own rights, nothing of the wrongs they suffer who are ‘stunned and toiled as the ox,’ whose capacity to think, to protest, to resist, is gone and who know nothing but to toil on in the dark of an endless slavery.

Above this, is the organized union labor class. These have still their power to conceive of just conditions and power to resist oppression. They perceive vaguely the existence of a class struggle. They fight on the economic field with the strike and the boycott as their weapons. The struggle is fierce and cruel enough at times, but they perceive that they are usually beaten. Their enemy, the capitalist class, have every advantage of them. They are rich and besides they control the courts, the legislatures, militia. Therefore they hesitate: they are uncertain; they have no policy.

The third class of laborers belong also to the second. They are members of labor unions. Some of them are ignorant, some conceited. Some are fully aware of the issues at stake. They secure leadership. This gives them influence. This influence is sought eagerly by the politicians,—it becomes a great source of satisfaction and sometimes of office, and sometimes of revenue. But in any such case it always arises from their connection with the capitalist class politicians. They are the men in the laboring class who taking advantage of the indecision and lack of definite program of their unions, deal with the enemy, they deliver the unions scourged and bound, into the power of their adversary.

The fourth class of laborers are the Socialists. They see and distinctly

recognize the class struggle. They are also, whenever possible, members of unions. They assist everywhere in the struggle their comrades make upon the economic field in the strike and boycott. But they see the absolute necessity of a program that is complete and scientific. They attack the enemy at the strategic point. It is the ownership of the resources of nature and the tools, machinery and utilities of production that gives them their crushing power. The Socialists, therefore, aim to strip them of that power through collective ownership. But more important still the Socialists see that the strike and boycott are very costly and crude weapons to use. The capitalist class has so fortified itself behind the courts, legislatures, militia that every strike henceforth can be but a partial victory at best and frequently becomes a crushing defeat. The only weapons left to the laboring class for its future struggles is the weapon of political power. But this is supreme. In the strike the capitalist has ten thousand times the advantage; at the ballot box labor has a similar advantage for the vote of the poorest toiler counts just as much as the vote of a Rockefeller or a Morgan. Upon the political field the victory of labor is absolutely certain if they can be made to vote together for themselves instead of voting against each other for the capitalist parties.

Labor must have a program. It is Socialism. Labor must unite on its own side in the class struggle. That is the Socialist Party. Whoever seeks to prevent this alignment tries to prolong labor's helpless struggle, leads it to certain defeat and delays the progress of humanity.

STAND UP AND BE COUNTED

By ERNEST UNTERMAN

"Yes, I am a Socialist, but it wouldn't do for me to come out openly."
 —"I am in favor of Socialism, but it would hurt my business, if I said so."
 —"No I can't join your local; it would cost me my job; but I vote the Socialist ticket all right."

These are the words which we now hear very frequently. They show that the world is not only full of unconscious Socialists, but also of conscious Socialists, who never take any active part at all in moulding the public mind. They go to the polls and register their protest against the capitalist system. But they do nothing whatever to assist the party that alone enables them to vote their protest.

It is a sad fact that many are dependent for their existence on the patronage of the slow-witted and prejudiced. And it is also true that many are so situated that they cannot dare to come out openly for Socialism, not so much for their own sake, as for the sake of those who are dependent upon them. But it is also true, that hundreds of thousands who make the above excuses can well afford to be avowed Socialists, and shrink from openly affiliating with the Party from mere faintheartedness.

There are many who are young and strong, who can well risk losing money for the sake of standing up for a great principle. There are many who would find, if they had the courage, that they were afraid of a bogey. Granted that to be a Socialist means to be ostracized, granted that it means loss of business, granted that it means hardships and sacrifice. But unless aged or disabled or diseased persons depend on a man, unless a man

himself to physically broken down and unable to share in the struggles of the manifold, there is no excuse for shrinking from the ordeal.

Oh ye of little faith in the power of self-assertion! Who is your neighbor that he should have such influence over your soul? You are in favor of Socialism. Well then, you see the truth. You know that the world can only become better by the spread of this truth. And yet you lift not one finger to help in the victory of light over darkness. You say you vote the ticket? Yes, but how would you get a chance to vote your ticket, if all behaved like you? There would be no Socialist party then.

It hurts your business to come out for Socialism? All right. But does it not hurt your manhood to bow to prejudice in spite of your better conviction? You lose money, if you join the local of the party? Very well. But does it not cost you your individuality to prevent your best convictions from finding expression in vigorous action? It hurts your standing in the community to work for Socialism? Let it be so. But does it not hurt your soul to live a lie?

Inwardly you hate capitalism, yet you let others do the work of awakening enough minds to abolish it. You feel that you are a Socialist, and that is a noble mind to be one, and yet you are ashamed to show your colors to a world that is bending under the burden of ignorance. You conceal your better knowledge. Verily, whosoever is not working for the victory of truth is against it!

Be a man and stand up for your principles! No faint heart ever commanded respect. You will never be free, unless you first are brave. If you bow meekly to the tyranny of those who are enslaved by the thoughts of the past, you are a slave of the past yourself. How then do you expect to liberate yourself and others? While others are bearing the brunt of the fight, waiting for re-inforcements, you are sneaking around with a Socialist paper in your pocket. Pull it out and read it boldly before all the world! Shake off that yoke of dead men! Stand up and let them see your colors! And compel them by your self-assertion to respect your manhood and your principles.

REVOLUTION

Truth is shining, earth's awaking;
 Freedom rising, chains are breaking;
 Tyrants on their thrones are quaking,
 For their reign is nearly done.
 Knowledge coming, error leaving;
 Pen and press their past retrieving,
 Swiftly fly their shuttles, weaving
 All the nations into one.
 Priests and creeds are retroceding,
 Men the guide within are heeding;
 Every one his garden weeding;
 Headlong, bigotry is hurle
 Love unspringing, hate is dying.
 Men rejoicing, knaves are sighing;
 Deadly curses fast are flying
 From a renovated world.—WILLIAM DENTON.

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.

COMRADES, ATTENTION!

Local Unions and members-at-large are urged to give attention to the election of National officers. Last year many ignored the matter and the vote was light. Few remembered that our constitution provides that "votes shall be mailed to the National Cor. Secy *"the envelopes being marked 'Election Returns' and containing no other matter."* Please note this.

Miss Josephine Cole declined nomination for National office, as her hands are full with work as Pres. of the Calif. Union. Mrs. Garbutt also prefers to work in her present place as Supt. of Dept. of Parliamentary Law and Pres. of the local Union at Los Angeles. Below is a list of nominees for office. Please vote your full strength.

Pres.—Wenonah Stevens Abbott, Chicago, Ill.

Vice Pres.—(nominated by presidential nominee)—Belle Kearney, Flora, Miss.

Cor. Sec'y.—Marion H. Dunham, Burlington, Iowa; Josephine Conger, Girard, Kansas.

Rec. Sec'y—Annie W. Clark, Columbus, Ohio; Lydia N. Cummings, Fairhope, Ala.; Mary Pierce Roe, Omaha, Neb.

Treas.—Ellen M. Mason, Providence, R. I.; N. Sakaloff, Sioux City, Ia.

LET'S TALK IT OVER

J. G. asks for an illustration which can make her understand class consciousness. There was once a woman who was obliged to carry her babe to a day nursery, while she worked elsewhere. One evening a patroness of the institution waylaid her and said: "It seems too bad that your beauty should fade so soon, and I wish to give you a little advice." The advice, among other things, included plenty of nourishing food, a cold tubbing every morning, a hot bath in the evening, one hundred strokes of the hair morning and night, a long walk each day, recreation, etc. When the young mother said she had not time, she was informed that she ought to get up an hour earlier in the morning and stand up later at night, rather than omit "physical culture." Now it happened that this working-woman was having all she could do to make both ends meet, so could not possibly procure more nourishing food, was sleeping less than five hours a night, had spinal disease and found it painful to give her hair even the attention which would make it tidy, and walked upwards of ten miles each day to save carfare. The patroness was an honest woman, who desired to help her poorer sister; but she had never been in a similar position so could not put herself in the other's place. Right there is the basic fact of class-consciousness. It is due to the fact that none of us can decide for those with whom we cannot feel. Workers have certain needs and conditions in

common; so they can understand the requirements of those who are similarly placed. They are conscious of the condition of their kind. People of wealth have a similar consciousness as to their kind. Neither of these classes can feel *with* the other class (however they may feel *for* it) unless they have dwelt in it at some period of their lives. so class-consciousness is a fact in human nature, not an artificial condition at all.

I. A. wishes a list of 25 books for a small circulating library. Of those given below I would loan the first seven to those not yet awake to the need of an economic change; the next ten to beginners in the study of Socialism; the remainder to the more advanced. I wish these books could be owned by every club of Socialist women, whether they are affiliated with the W. N. S. U. or not. Women will also be pleased with a booklet of Socialist Songs and Dialogues for young children, written by Mrs. Hunt and Miss Cole and for sale by the Woman's Socialist Union of San Jose, Calif. It is excellent but I have mislaid my copy and cannot call special attention to it at this time. I believe the price is 5 cents.

"Looking Backward" and "Equality" by Bellamy; "Merrie England" by Blatchford; "Henry Ashton" by Dague; "Workers Of The West" by Wick-off, "The Strike Of A Sex" by Miller; and "Packington" by Simons.

"Pride Of Intellect" by Wentworth; "Intemperance and Poverty" by Twining; "Britian For The British" by Blatchford; "Principles And Program Of Socialism" by Thompson; "Women" by Bebel; "Civilization Civilized" by Maybell; "Socialism" by McClure; "Socialism And The Home" by Kerr; "Subjection Of Woman" by Mill; "Scientific Socialism" by Bersford.

"Capital" by Marx; "Socialism From Utopia To Science" by Engels; "Communist Manifesto" by Marx and Engels; "Socialism And The American Farmer" by Simons; "Facts And Logic" by Bersford; "Six Centuries Of Work And Wages" by Rogers.

S. E. asks whether a woman's duty is to humanity or her family.

This makes me think of a South Side lady of whom I heard a few days since. She desired to entertain her literary club. At lunch, among other things, she served cranberry jelly. That evening her husband ate in the kitchen, because the dining room had not been made tidy after guests departed. Suddenly he asked what kind of sauce he was eating and was informed that his economical wife had added sweetened water to the skins strained from the berries and made his sauce from this refuse. If a woman can not supply outsiders with jelly without giving her family scraps, I certainly think she should not entertain; but most of us can do for friends and relatives, if we are natural and unaffected with all. It is trying to do more than one is able which makes public duty conflict with private duty.

J. C. asks whether it has not been denied that Frances Willard once wrote: "Poverty causes more drink than drink causes poverty."

If this is denied, it is by those who are mistaken. I am acquainted with the recipient of the letter, which was read many times while he was a Populist lecturer.

M. G. B. wishes to know whether I would consider banking as safe with the nation really behind banks as it now is. I'm inclined to believe this query a hoax, but answer it nevertheless. In those rare intervals when

I have money to deposit, I always take out a money order payable to myself, because I've had unfortunate experiences with bank failures and do not fear that the U. S. government will keep its obligations. In an early issue, I'll try to include an article on financial matters which seem so puzzling to the average woman.

A COMRADE writes that she "carefully read the Woman's Issue but saw no announcement of a Woman's Dept. This leads me to suggest that the advertising pages frequently contain good reading matter. Let's not skip them. They are printed for us.

A. B. See articles on W. N. S. U. in former issues.

E. E. B. wishes to know whether a universal suffrage law would not be an improvement upon each state regulating this. I think it depends upon what would be adopted. If one of the more liberal laws, I'd say yes. But, unfortunately this would not be the one to receive a majority vote. We might get such a one as in Alabama, for instance. There no man can vote unless he has paid a two-dollar poll tax, resided in the state two years and in the county one. The working of this is to disfranchise a large number of the working class, especially as contractors have a method of "swapping" gangs of men before election, thereby taking them across county lines.

FRIENDS: Many of you have sent me most kindly advice as to necessity for more rest. From my heart I thank you. One comrade likens the work of any one woman to a drop in the ocean, which would not be missed if taken away. In a sense this is true, but it is also true that, while our finite senses would not miss the drop of water from the ocean, if it could be destroyed it would affect the gravity of the earth. We all have our place in the Great Plan and all of us need to fill it, without egotism or its opposite. After all, it is the amount of work that we accomplish and not the length of time we stay in the body which makes a long life, so let's not rest while the work needs us, unless by so doing we can benefit those depending upon us.

CHATS WITH YOUNG FOLK. II. OUR EARTH'S AGE.

(Continued.)

After I puzzled over this for a while, I asked which of them he thought the Bible meant, and then he told me a strange fact. I had known that this earth turns round and round like a top, and that it made a journey around the sun at the same time; but I had never heard that instead of standing up straight in its travels, it wobbles just like a top does. Did you know that? It is really so, for all the wise men know about it. Of course when you spin a top, it does not take long for its leaning axis to make a circle, but it takes our earth twenty-one thousand years. The Jewish gentleman said his folk taught him that it took at least four thousand of these long time cycles to prepare the earth to be the home of moving beings—that would make eighty-four million of the years.

After that I puzzled more than ever, for I did not understand why the wise book-makers used the word "years" if it was wrong; but none helped

me much until I was twelve years old. Then I began to find out for myself, for I started to study Latin and got as mixed up as most people do in learning a new language. Just think of finding that "vir" means either man, hero, or husband, and is just as correct for one of them as for the other two, that "volucer" means flying, winged, swift, or bird, and that most of the words mean any one of several in our tongue! It was bad enough the first year, when we studied a Latin first reader; but the next year we were translating a history which was written two thousand years ago. You should have heard the way we turned it into English! Sometimes one scholar would say a paragraph meant one thing and a second made it say something that contradicted the first, while both could prove they were right by a Latin dictionary. Of course we had no way of really knowing which wording the author intended, so we had to believe what our teacher said.

When I thus learned that the Jewish gentleman might be right and that even the Bible did not really say that this world was made in such a hurry as some people think, I was less surprised to find that wse people feel very sure that this great work took millions of years. Later I'll tell you some of the things which make them so positive. W. S. A.

If any one word symbolizes Socialism, that word is Co-operation. I believe in co-operation even with people I do not like if it will bring us any nearer the Ideal. We live in great times—the air is all athrob with thought and feeling. Great changes are now being brought about, and never was there a time when men of steady judgment were more in demand. We want hopeful earnest men, and above all, men of patience, kindness and good-cheer. We want the opportunity—the man who does, what he can, the best he can, and who to-morrow will do the same. We want MEN.—ELBERT HUBBARD.

THE WEAK TO THE WALL!

The weak to the Wall, The weak to the Wall!
Have devils unfeeling invented that call?
Have lives of hell's demons developed that plan?
Nay, nay! that's the watchword, in business, of MAN.

The weak to the Wall, The weak to the Wall!
How far from the Godlike a mortal can fall!
What trace of resemblance in such can you find,
Who push "to the Wall" all the weak of their kind!

"To bell with the hindmost," plain stated, shall stand
Interpreting acts of a "Civilized" land.
No place for the weak—though his God made him so!
No place but the Wall—as we term Hell below.

Almighty Provider, push all of us, then,
To th' cruellest "Wall;" for the strength of these men
Pushing brothers some weaker to hell in their day,

In thy sight must be strength as of Potter's wet clay.

—EDWIN ARNOLD BRENHOLTZ.

BRIEF TALKS ON SUGGESTION

5. HOW SHALL WE STUDY PSYCHISM AND OCCULTISM?

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

Author of "Mind and Body," "The Psychic and Psychism," Etc.,
4731 Indiana Avenue, Chicago.

In ancient times it was customary for any one who wished to learn a profession, or to study a science, to become the pupil, or disciple, of some one competent to teach the particular subject. He would follow his teacher about in the latter's rounds of business and pleasure, listening to his every word, and observing his every expression and gesture, until the pupil was able to take up his chosen profession.

Times have changed, however, since the day that little groups composed of teacher and disciples, wandered about from place to place in pursuing their studies. Today permanent institutions are found in every city where one may learn almost any subject that he chooses. He who has the time and means will do well to attend such an institution and learn under a competent instructor. He who has not this time or means, however, need not necessarily despair, for there are many mail courses and text books to be had by the aid of which he may accomplish much at home.

Mail courses, however, are not recommended because they are more expensive than the ordinary text book, and they are no more satisfactory. They are only printed matter and cannot make the subject plainer nor more explicit than a well written text book. Text books are written by competent teachers, any one with ordinary intelligence plus a little concentration and perseverance, may gain all the knowledge from such books that he would from any mail course.

By text books I do not mean voluminous treatises, exhaustive and exhausting, but rather concise outline works, giving the elements of the subject in a simple, systematic manner. A large number of books are not necessary. One good work on each subject will form a working basis, and prepare you to consult lib-

raries and read magazine articles. First, thoroughly know your own book, and do not be afraid to make notes in it as you read and compare it with other works. Master one work at a time, for one work thoroughly mastered is worth more to you than a whole library listlessly read.

In undertaking any subject, first, study the general subject, and, later, pass to the particular one. For instance, if you wish to study some particular division in psychical research, or psychism, first read a work dealing with the general subject, and, after familiarizing yourself with that you will be prepared to select and master any branch of the subject that you may choose.

Although it is not always possible to find a text book giving a general outline discussion, it is nevertheless necessary to study the subject in that way. Fortunately such works are not lacking on psychism. If they were, the lack might be supplied by referring to the dictionary, encyclopedia and magazine articles.

In a satisfactory study of psychism, definitions of the more common terms included in the subject should be studied, for they are the letters with which you will have to spell out the science, for, unless you are familiar with the terms, no amount of reading can make the matter clear. Then, after "psychic," "psychism" and other terms have been defined, and their synonyms and antonyms have been observed and compared: the persons possessing psychic powers should be studied. How did they obtain the powers? Are they natural, or acquired? May others attain the same powers? If so, how?

These and many other similar questions will arise, and a satisfactory answer to them must be sought until found. When these have been solved, you will have learned that there are a considerable number of persons who exhibit a sufficient amount of

psychic power to characterize them as psychics. It will be necessary, therefore, to discover and classify the different kinds of psychics, and to determine the phenomena peculiar to each.

Psychism, you will learn, divides itself easily into a number of sub-heads, or branches, such as spiritism, telepathy, suggestion, clairvoyance, and the like. It goes without saying that you should have a pretty thorough course in elementary psychology before you undertake to unravel the mysteries of psychism.

After you have discovered the several branches of psychical research and have noted relationship, you will be able to intelligently attempt the mastery of any one of them. It is that it is easier to discover and understand a thing whose location and relationship is known, than one whose position is undetermined.

Having reviewed the general subject in this outline fashion and become familiar with its sub-divisions, you will be ready to elect one for more thorough investigation. Suppose, for example, Suggestion is selected, and a mastery of that subject is desired. What is the best method of procedure?

Text books upon Suggestion are numerous, but care should be exercised in the selection of one. Those giving a simple, straightforward statement of the elements of the subject are best, as I have before stated. The order here should be like that of nature; first the simple, and later the complex. The elementary work will prepare the way for one more comprehensive.

Such a text on the subject of Suggestion will give, first, a brief plain history of the subject, showing how it grew out of magnetism, mesmerism and hypnotism, and when the history of the subject is well understood, the methods of hypnotizing and de-hypnotizing should be carefully studied. These are simple and easy when thoroughly understood, but most mysterious and difficult until they are comprehended. Then, naturally, follows a study of the states and phenomena of hypnosis. They are many and wonderful. Certainly no branch of psychism surpasses them in importance.

It will be necessary to carefully study the laws of mind underlying

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and rendering hypnosis, for upon them depends the usefulness of suggestion, as applied in therapeutics and education. When these laws are understood, the manner of applying suggestion in the treatment of diseases will need much thoughtful consideration. Not every one who can hypnotize is competent to give proper suggestive treatment. More harm than good may be done by a bungling operator, and not a little time and thought should be expended upon this part of the subject.

Finally, care and study should be given to an investigation and understanding of the limitations and dangers appertaining to the subject of suggestion. That it is not a panacea or cure-all, will soon be discovered to the disappointment of some, and that it has its dangers, ought not to be surprising to any. The right text book will be fair, frank and fearless in its statements, and an adequate knowledge of the subject can therefrom be acquired.

Directions for hypnotizing may be so plainly stated that any one with ordinary intelligence may understand and be able to apply them. It takes a little courage to make the first attempt to hypnotize, but with that

little courage plus a little confidence almost any one will succeed.

What is true of suggestive hypnотism is true of most all of the other subjects included under the general term, "psychism." They may be mastered by an intelligent, persevering effort, and that, at home, by the aid of ordinary text books.

What I have said of psychism and suggestion supplies likewise to occultism and any of its sub-divisions.

The specific text book is of little importance in comparison to your own method of study. If you are ambitious and persevering, systematic and thorough, you will succeed. Master one step at a time and you need not retrace your steps to begin over again. Only lack of systematic and thorough work brings discouragement and failure. Remember, there is no short-cut route to knowledge.

Fortunately, the tendency of the age is diverging from the old-time narrowness and bigotry toward universal broadness and liberality. We should strive to get into sympathy with the tendency. Neither books nor magazines will avail us much unless we approach them with our minds free from prejudice, and open to conviction.

A PREACHER'S BOOK REVIEWED



HE Quest of Happiness," by the Rev. Newell Dwight Hillis, pastor of Plymouth church, Brooklyn. Published by the Macmillan Company, New York. After reading the five hundred pages of this book, the modern-minded individual has but one very vivid impression, namely that it is a dangerous thing to be the pastor of a rich and influential church.

It is dangerous because a man of upright nature finds it necessary to look several ways at once, and to reconcile God and Mammon in a way which Scripture tells us explicitly cannot be done. When the Rev. Hillis remains in that province which is considered by those members of the congregation who contribute most largely towards the maintenance of

the church, the pastor's only proper sphere, he is a writer of dignity and grace. When he deals solely with personal ethics, with the cultivating qualities of repose, of forgiving our enemies and living the life beautiful as far as we, the well-to-do, are concerned, and others of our set, much of what he says is worthy of serious consideration and commendation and certainly it is very worthy of acceptance as good advice by just the very people to whom it is addressed. But it is when Rev. Mr. Hillis touches the province of practical economics, which is absolutely necessary (something he fully understands) in dealing with the sin and sorrow of the world to-day, he is torn asunder mentally by the conflict of an absolute ignorance of the subject; or a wish to assume this ignorance because of the false premises he needs to be able to preach his doctrine for the kind of people who listen to him

on Sundays. The keynote of his economic belief could be summoned up in the now famous speech of Mr. Baer, of the Reading Company—"The Christian men to whom God in His Divine providence, has given the ownership of the coal lands." Mr. Hillis says, when speaking of the terribly heavy load entailed by wealth and honors: "No Croesus would ever a second time take up his burden unless the good God especially laid it upon him."

There is absolutely no word of condemnation strong enough for the proper characterising of this sentence in the mouth of a minister of the gospel who preaches the doctrine of Christ—were it not so inane silly that it turns its own harmfulness into ridicule. This is the burden of the book so far as any burden can be found in the mass of contradictory cant which fills the pages. First we hear that there can never be an equality of gifts—which no one disputes; then we find the writer confusing the meaning of the words an equality of gifts with "an equality of profits." We hear that those who have attained the summits of success in any line, are there because God in His Divine Providence (see Baer) has so appointed it and given them the gift; then we hear that many of the gifted ones of earth to whom God had given a precious message to mankind, had to struggle and toil in obscure poverty and die before the tardy recognition came. We hear of reformers who are blamed by Mr. Hillis for telling "that if men and women live too close to each other it becomes impossible for them to be Christians or to lead decent and sweet lives." Mr. Hillis has scarcely words enough for the horrible crime of these misguided "reformers," and yet several chapters further on he himself has a good deal to say on the evils of overcrowding which proves he knows the facts in the case as well as anyone. We hear that the moneymaking talent is the "most signal of God's gifts" and we would like to know how to reconcile that statement with the teaching of Christ, and with much of what Mr. Hillis himself very wisely says about the crime of too greedily a money-getting. The captains of industry are lauded one moment, the next the iniquity of the garment trust is inveighed upon.

On one page the writer seems to see the danger to our institutions from the growing power of the great corporations, but this glimpse of life is soon shrouded in the darkness of quite the opposite way of thinking. Another time, we are told with perfect gravity that "many of the social abuses and problems of the day spring out of poverty." Were Mark Twain to write that "many of the problems of the matter of heating houses spring from cold weather," we should shake with laughter and say that he has not lost any of his humor.

One might go on forever with such examples, but as aforesaid, the book would not be worthy of serious consideration were it not that the author's official standing can gain for him a hearing which might make his pernicious doctrines really harmful. Many are lulled into inaction at least, if not into harmful action, by such smooth vague preachings.

GRACE ISABEL COLBRON.

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By Daniel Lynch, President of Union No. 11, Boston, Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators of America. With this is printed Trade Unions and Socialism, by Max S. Hayes, editor of the Cleveland Citizen. This booklet explains the present friendly relations between the organized Socialists and the Trade Unions.

The Kingdom of God and Socialism.

By Rev. Robert M. Webster. Shows by a careful study of New Testament passages that in each case the term "Kingdom of God" points to a new social order such as the Socialist Party is endeavoring to establish. Effective for propaganda among religious people.

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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.

Call for Contributions to the National Organizing Fund To Organize for Socialism

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, SOCIALIST PARTY,

OMAHA, NEB., FEB. 1st 1904.

COMRADES:—The plans now being developed and carried out by the National Headquarters for the purpose of strengthening the Socialist Party organization for the national campaign of this year require the assistance and support of Socialists everywhere.

The work done in this direction during the past year has already shown itself in an increased membership and a solidarity of purpose and action which promises still greater things for the future. To continue to extend the influence and activity of the Socialist Party into every part of the United States should be the ambition and desire of all Socialists.

The opportunities for Socialist agitation surround us on every hand. Every daily newspaper points the lesson of the class struggle for us to send home to the minds and hearts of the working class. From East and West, North and South, arises the crash of industrial conflict. Steadily and inexorably the line between the exploiting and exploited classes is becoming clearer and clearer drawn, so that none can ignore its deep significance. It is for us, the Socialists, to take advantage of these opportunities and use them for the furtherance of our cause.

The situation in Colorado, growing more and more acute, demands our first attention. John W. Slayton, of New Castle, Penn., one of the ablest and best equipped Socialist workers in America, is being placed in Colorado to cover that field under the direction of the Colorado State Committee.

In a short time organizers will be placed in the field for the special purpose of reaching the people speaking foreign languages. It is important that the large population of Germans, Bohemians, Italians, Frenchmen, Jews and other nationalities, daily growing larger, should be reached by Socialist organizers and literature, so that they will not continue to be used by the capitalist politicians. Capable comrades have already been selected to this important work.

In addition to this will be the agitating and organizing yet to be done among the English speaking people in many states where organizations are not strong or matured. During 1903 the National Organizers visited hundreds of places where a Socialist speaker had never been heard before. This work must go on until the soil is well tilled and local movements developed.

Comrades, we ask you to assist in the consummation of our plans by subscribing what you can, to the National Organizing Fund. The work so well begun should not be allowed to lag for want of sufficient support. If you receive one of our coin cards fill it out and return as soon as possible. If you have not received a card, one will be sent you upon request. If you do not care to use the card, a contribution by postal order or check will be as much appreciated. Only do something, if at all able, to strengthen the party organization for the coming national struggle, which will test our strength to the utmost.

Send all remittances and communications to the National Secretary, Socialist Party, Omaha, Neb.

Fraternally yours,

JOHN M. WORK, Iowa,
B. BERLYN, Illinois
VICTOR L. BERGER, Wisconsin,
S. M. REYNOLDS, Indiana,
CHARLES DOBBS, Kentucky,
National Quorum,
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The reasons why such a paper should be published can be briefly stated. They ought to be such as to convince any one who has the Socialist cause at heart.

To a very large extent the daily press is closed to Socialism, which it misrepresents in every possible manner. At present the established organs of opinion cannot be depended upon as the means of communication between our members, and they cannot be expected to do justice to our cause. We therefore need a paper to repel attacks, deny misrepresentations, and to overcome the "conspiracy of silence" so far as our principles are concerned.

There can be no doubt that many persons are becoming interested in Socialism, and we need a journal that will give them the information they desire.

We need up-to-date illustrations, and arguments from the latest economic and sociological literature. Such a paper will win over to our cause many persons, who only need to have the truth as to higher social needs of the age brought home to them, in order to make them convinced and active Socialists.

Not less important is the need that our own membership should be thoroughly trained in Socialist principles. Objections should be met, fresh arguments presented, ample illustrations afforded from science, history, and politics. In order to accomplish this work of education we

need a paper that will be second to none published in New England, and that will command confidence because of its ability and literary power. Such a paper will circulate widely outside of New England, and have the effect of elevating the standard and methods of the whole Socialist press. The current notion that Socialism is merely the result of ignorance, unrest, and rebellion will be overthrown; and it will become apparent that it is a great world-movement, resting on the soundest scientific principles and the largest social ideals. It will be shown that it is affirmative, progressive, and American.

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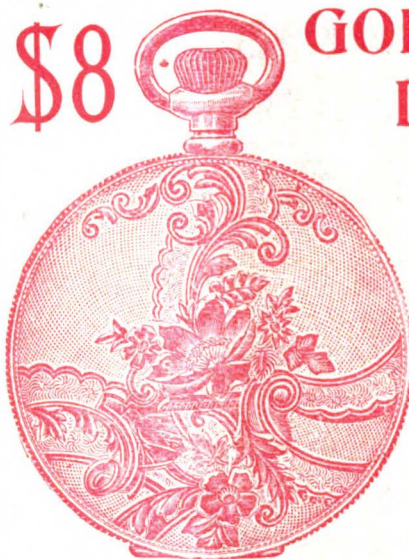
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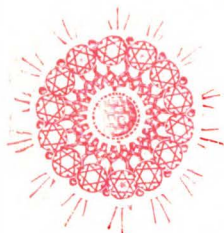
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