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Woman and Industrial Freedom.

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MARY A. GARBUTT

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MARY ALDERMAN GARBUTT

Agnes Halpen Downing.

One of the most prominent as well as one of the most interesting characters among the Socialists of California is Mrs. Mary E. Garbutt, of Los Angeles. A scholar, a thinker and an inspiring worker, Mr. Garbutt has all the qualities that render her dear to the comrades and valuable to the movement.

At the age of seventeen she graduated from the Presbyterian Academy for young women at Jacksonville, Illinois, and was valedictorian of her class. An omnivorous reader, she read everything from the lightest fiction of the day to the heaviest writers on philosophy. She must have been abundantly able to discriminate, for she early adopted a point of view that searched every question for the real good.

She was an extreme abolitionist, her youthful mind abhorring the thought of one person being owned by another.

Naturally, therefore, she was a woman suffragist, and stood for the fullest emancipation of her sex, and the widest educational and industrial advantages and opportunities for woman. While she believes and emphasizes the fact that the ballot alone cannot give woman industrial freedom, yet she also realizes that without the ballot woman cannot secure the highest measure of freedom. Hence she urges Socialist women to take an active part in the party management, and to keep the equal suffrage plank in as prominent a place as its great importance merits.

Mrs. Garbutt taught school for twenty-five years.

She holds that one of the greatest triumphs of the co-operative commonwealth will be the opportunity for a liberal education for all its children.

Always a Socialist in spirit, she had her interest in the possibilities of collective action first awakened by reading Bellamy's "Looking Backward." She became a Socialist and proceeded at once to study the great classics of Socialism. She worked with Mrs. Wenonah Abbott in organizing the Woman's Socialist Union, national, State and local, and has held office in all three. For two years she edited a column in "Common Sense," a local Socialist paper in the interest of the W. S. U., and she is foremost among its members now, working loyally for its success.

For twenty-five years she has been a member of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and has held some office all these years in that organization. The result is that she is constantly sowing the seeds of economic justice in minds that might otherwise not be reached.

Mrs. Garbutt is one of the organizers and a prominent member of the Los Angeles Fellowship, which has a large membership, mostly of ethical Socialists. She is a member of the Fellowship Council, and of its board of Trustees. She is the mother of one of California's prominent millionaires, and

gives her work gratis to the Socialist movement.

She believes that Socialism has its ethical, and even its spiritual, phases, and that these should be emphasized in the propaganda.

When the California State headquarters were at Los Angeles, Mrs. Garbutt was a member of the State executive committee for a year. As candidate on the Socialist ticket for member of the school board at the last election, she ran ahead of the ticket.

She has a gift of organization which makes her so valuable that to her friends she seems never to rest. So much work of this kind gives her little time to write, so tho possessing a lucid style, she has confined her writing to brief articles and pamphlets. A very excellent thing written recently is the leaflet, "Basis and Aims of Socialism," which is circulated for propaganda.

To meet Mrs. Garbutt and feel her power of quiet dignity of demeanor, combined with strong, fearless radicalism, is to realize a new type of womanhood. It is not the "new woman" of popular phrase, aiming to take the place of man, and imitating his idiosyncrasies, but it is the Socialist Woman—the woman that knows the deep meaning of the cause of Socialism—that it means the uplift of the womanhood of the world and the uplift of the manhood of the world, and who feels that no detail of duty is too small, and no sacrifice is too great, to give to this exalted end.

AN ORGANIZER'S STORY.

It was the evening after the close of the National Convention. We met him at the home of a mutual friend, and drew him out to tell of many interesting incidents in his work.

"Life to the Socialist agitator is varied and interesting," he said. "During my term as organizer in Oklahoma I have had experiences that I probably never would have had otherwise, even if I lived a hundred years. I have visited families who lived in dug-outs, I have ridden for miles over the roughest kind of mountain road on a rough-hewn rail laid across an old lumber wagon; I have slept in beds with the father and two children of the family, while the mother with two or three other children occupied another bed in the same room; I have leaned in a chair against a cabin wall, trying to sleep all night in that fashion, because the bed was too much alive with a certain small, red occupant; I have gone to speak in a place where every man who accompanied me carried a Winchester rifle filled with buck-shot in order to keep me from being too recklessly insulted. I have made Socialist speeches to people who could hardly understand words of more than two syllables and I have found them exceedingly interested, and ready to grasp my thought, when put in plain words for their understanding.

"For, to tell the truth, they are bright, quick people, down there, in spite of their lack of schooling. And they have a certain love of freedom that I often find lacking in more cultured folks. That is why Oklahoma is coming so rapidly toward Socialism. The people who must crowd together in the little one-roomed cabin have to do so because the moment they build on to their houses, or improve the property, they are forced to pay a higher rent for the land. When we explain to them how Socialism will do away with this exploitation they listen to us gladly. Then the children are kept in the cotton fields up to December, which gives them often but two months of schooling in the year. Men, women and children all work in the cotton fields, first chopping cotton, then picking it.

"At one of my meetings I spoke against the outrage to little children, keeping them in the cotton fields, wearing their little bodies out, and stunting their minds. When I had finished a great, fine looking farmer came up to me and said, 'While you were talking about the children in the cotton fields I could hardly restrain myself from crying out aloud before all the people. It was all I could do to sit and keep still. The reason is, that I had a daughter once. A splendid, healthy, happy-hearted girl, who went right along with us men in the fields, and who could do not only a man's work in a day—a man averages 300 pounds of cotton a day—but she often picked six hundred pounds. Dragging her six-foot sack behind her she went with us year after year, up and down the cotton rows. Suddenly, at the age of twenty-one, she became very ill. She was so bad that we sent for several doctors, and they all agreed that she had appendicitis, but that she could not be operated on, as an operation would kill her. They said she was suffering as the result of pressure on her body. We knew that she had never worn a corset in her life, and at first didn't know what had caused the pressure. Then we found that it had come from the string of the cotton sack pulling across her chest and waist. She had been dragging from three to six hundred pounds of cotton up and down the long rows, and now we saw her fade away before our eyes, a victim to her labor.'

"Yes, Oklahoma needs Socialism. Many of the people went out there to find freedom from the narrowness and close competition of Eastern cities and towns, and now capitalism is finding them out, and is bearing down upon them as heavily as ever. They don't like it, and as fast as we agitators can show them the way, they are going to come into the movement. There is a good deal of compensation for working in Oklahoma."

APPEAL TO REASON

The largest circulation of any Socialist weekly in the world. 50 cents a year. In clubs of four or more, 25 cents. Girard, Kansas.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION ON THE WOMAN QUESTION

The Committee on the Relation of Women to the Socialist Movement brought in the following report, at the last session of the National Convention: "The national committee of the Socialist Party has already provided for a special organizer and lecturer to work for equal civil and political rights in connection with the Socialist propaganda among women, and their organization in the Socialist Party:

"This direct effort to secure the suffrage to women increases the party membership and opens up a field of work entirely new in the American Socialist party. That it has with it great possibilities and value for the party, our comrades in Germany, Finland and other countries have abundantly demonstrated.

"The work of organization among women is much broader and more far-reaching than the mere arrangement of tours for speakers. It should consist of investigation and education among women and children, particularly those in the rank in or out of labor unions and to the publication of books, pamphlets and leaflets especially adapted to this field of activity.

"To plan such activity requires experience that comes from direct contact with an absorbing interest in the distinct feature of woman's economic and social conditions, and the problem arising therefrom.

"For this reason the committee hereby requests this convention to take definite action on this hitherto neglected question. We ask that it make provision to assist the Socialist women of the party in explaining and stimulating the growing interest in Socialism among women and to aid the women comrades in their efforts to bring the message of Socialism to the children of the proletariat, we recommend the following:

"1st, that a special committee of five be elected to care for and manage the work of organization among women.

"2d, that sufficient funds be supplied by the party to that committee to maintain a woman organizer constantly in the field as already voted.

"3d, that this committee co-operate directly with the national headquarters and be under the supervision of the national party.

"4th, that this committee be elected by this national convention, its members to consist not necessarily of delegates to this convention.

"5th, that all other moneys needed to carry on the work of the woman's committee outside of the maintenance of the special organizers, be raised by the committee.

"6th, that during the campaign of 1908 the women appointed as organizers be employed in States now possessing the franchise.

"MILA TUPPER MAYNARD,
"WINNIE E. BRANSTETTER,
"JOSEPHINE R. COLE,
"GRACE BREWER,
"MRS. M. T. PREVEY,
"SOL. FIELDMAN,

"ANTOINETTE KONIKOW,
"GERTRUDE BRESLAU HUNT,
"Standing Committee, as constituted by the Convention."

Laura Payne, of Texas, presented a minority report, saying: "The committee was appointed to ascertain what relation the women bear to the Socialist movement. That was the idea I had of it, and I was surprised that they brought up any such questions as are contained in the majority report. On that committee I seem to be the only dissenting voice.

"I may be wrong, but I am going to read my minority report, with your consent, and you can do with it what you please, but I want to say to you now that I hope you will consider this thing clearly before you adopt the majority report, for it contains more disasters to our movement than you have imagined."

The Payne minority report is as follows:

"The Socialist movement is the political expression of the working class regardless of sex, and its platform and program furnish ample opportunity for propaganda work both by and among men and women when we are ready to take advantage of it. The same blow necessary to strike the chains from the hands of the working man will also strike them from the hands of the working woman.

"Industrial development and the private ownership and control of the means of production and distribution of wealth have forced women and children into the mills and factories, mines, workshops and fields along with the men, dependent for job and wage on the master class. Into that mart of trade they go to sell their labor power, and when for no reason whatever they cannot find a market for it they must seek other means of support. Driven to the last resort, men often become criminals or vagabonds, while women, for food, clothing and shelter, sell themselves and go to recruit the ranks of the fallen.

"Whether it be economic slavery to this extent—or whether it be within the bounds of the possibility of an honorable life—the cause is the same, namely, the private ownership of the means by which they must live.

"It is contended by some that women because of their disfranchisement and because of their economic dependence on men, bear a different relationship to the Socialist movement from that of the men. That is not so. The economic dependence of our men, women and children—whether to a greater or less extent—can be traced to the same cause, which Socialism will alone remove.

"In regard to the ballot in some of our States the men are disfranchised, or practically so, by property qualifications and other requirements for voting, and it seems to this committee that you would just as well waste time in trying to regulate those things as in waging a special suffrage campaign for women.

"There is only one thing, and one

only, that will remove these evils and that is Socialism, and the nearest way to it is to concentrate all our efforts—men and women working together side by side in the different States and locals, with an eye single to the main issue. The Class Struggle!

"Therefore, my comrades of this convention, I respectfully submit the following resolution:

"Resolved, That there be a special effort on the part of the speakers and organizers in the Socialist party of America to interest the women and induce them to work in the locals of the respective States, side by side with the men as provided in our platform, and constitution; and be it further

"Resolved, That great care shall be taken not to discriminate between men and women or take any steps which would result in a waste of energy and perhaps in a separate woman's movement.

"Respectfully submitted, Laura B. Payne, a minority committee."

Konikow, of Massachusetts, said: "The report is divided into three parts. The first is a general statement that the economic condition of women will be solved only with the coming of Socialism. The second part commits the party to an entirely new policy, which really would demand a reconsideration of the declaration of principles already adopted in our platform. The minority report states that no special effort in the direction of woman suffrage should be taken at the present time; that woman suffrage cannot come until Socialism is a reality.

"Comrade Payne takes the stand that there is no use for Socialists to do anything in the direction of woman suffrage; that woman suffrage will only come with Socialism, and therefore that we should concentrate all our efforts only upon the realization of Socialism and pay no attention to the demands of hundreds and hundreds of women to do something now, if possible, to get the suffrage. I am afraid you may be caught by some of the general phrases in the minority report which are of no importance at all. If you accept the minority report, that means that you decide to do nothing at all for woman suffrage.

"The third part is that nothing should be done for woman; that woman is in the same condition as man and that we should go along in the same old way. I think we should give them a chance to do something. We decided to have a committee of five under the direction of the National Committee on the subject of the farmers, and as you put farmers on that committee, so we should have a committee on the subject of women with women on that committee."

May Wood Simons, of Illinois, said: "Eleven years ago when I was new in the Socialist movement and had little experience, I might have taken the position that is taken by the minority report. To-day I realize that the Socialist movement if it is to amount to anything, must deal with the conditions as they are to-day. We cannot ignore the question of how to carry on the

propaganda among women. If you will recall, our comrade across the ocean, Keir Hardie, when the proposition was put to him, made the statement that while Socialism came first for the working class, first for the men in the working class, that suffrage was an all important question for the women, and he threatened then to leave if the Socialist party did not indorse the suffrage of women.

The majority report simply asks that the question of suffrage be emphasized. It does not ask for any separate organization. Anyone who comes before this convention and says that the economic condition of men and women is identical has little experience in conditions as they actually are. I ask the convention to adopt the report of the majority.

"You cannot ignore this question any longer. I believe if you go out of this convention having ignored it, you will have put yourself on record as not having any appreciation for all the work that has been done across the water by our comrades in Europe. Our women comrades in Finland have already received the ballot, and they are more efficient workers in the Socialist party than they were before. The women and the men who have formulated the majority report have seen years of experience in the Socialist movement, and they know that we must have a definite plan of propaganda among women."

Fieldman, of New York, the one man on the woman's committee, said: "I want to emphasize the statement of Comrade Simons. We thoroughly agree with the preamble of the minority report, but we do not think it necessary for us to define the relation of men to women and of women to men; we believe that we understand that relation. We do not believe that the Socialist movement needs to waste its energy in order to define that relation.

"We understand that the only difference between men and women in America is that the men have votes and the women have not. Therefore, it is necessary that we should make a special effort, particularly as a working class movement, as a Socialist movement, to secure for women now under the capi-

talist system the same rights that men now enjoy. Therefore, while we recognize the principles expressed in the minority report, we do not agree with the stand that the reporter of the minority report has taken."

The minority report was then rejected by a vote of 35 for and 70 against.

Mila Tupper Maynard, in closing the discussion, said: "We have already settled, by the action of the platform committee and the adoption of its report that the Socialists of America are committed to the enfranchisement of women in the same positive, unequivocal manner that the international movement is committed to the suffrage of all people. That much is settled. We do not intend to reopen the question. All that we have provided for is a means by which you can increase the propaganda of our principles among women. These principles are both the political principles and the general principles of Socialism. The position of this party at this convention is that we are outlining a definite program.

"It is a program that we all know ought to be fulfilled, and the reason we can hope to fulfill it as no other party can, is because our demand for all these things and our demand for the suffrage is backed up by a working class party that knows what it wants and has the power to enforce it. All these matters that you call in a way opportunism are virtually practical ways of reaching our end.

"The philosophy of our party means victory in the end. We are not asking that the old theoretical arguments for suffrage go on interminably, but that the great half of the working class be put on an equality in political power with their brothers."

The majority report was then adopted.

A resolution by Slobodin of New York was adopted, providing that the woman's committee shall report annually to and its members may be removed or vacancies filled by the national committee.

The woman's committee was then elected, consisting of May Wood Simons, Konikow, Prevey, Winnie Branstetter and Meta Stern of New York.

SOCIALIST WOMAN'S MOVEMENT IN GERMANY

Josephine Conger-Kaneko, in Chicago Daily Socialist.

In spite of the fact that women are not allowed to participate in political meetings in many of the German states, there are 10,500 women members of the Social-Democratic party in Germany.

According to reliable reports much of this large membership is due to organized and untiring work among the women, backed by the entire Socialist organization, for the education and enlightenment of working women on the subject of Socialism.

Sixteen years ago a woman's paper was launched in Germany, which had for a long time but a limited circulation. In 1896 Clara Zetkin, editor of this paper—Die Gleichheit—read a paper before the congress of Gotha, showing the necessity of systematic agitation among proletarian women. The result was the following recommenda-

tion from the congress to the comrades: "In all places so far as possible confidential agents for women should be elected in public meeting. The duty of such agents must be to enlighten the women in political and trade union matters, to rouse and strengthen their class consciousness, and to agitate with these aims in view."

This system of agents has been a success. The number now in the service of the Socialist women's movement in the various parts of Germany is 407. In many instances, the agents are at the same time members of the executive committee of the Social-Democratic Union. In Prussia and other states where women are not allowed to organize politically voluntary contributions are taken, thus giving them an opportunity to testify to

their allegiance to the general Socialist movement. The unpolitical educational Union has increased rapidly, and now has a membership of 10,302. The number of women in the national trade unions is over 100,000.

Then Gleichheit has made a study of the woman's movement in the various directions, starting out from, and remaining consistent to, the principles of historical materialism. In the years when its circulation was small, and did not show itself in outside success, it educated in the theory of Socialism a staff of splendid women agitators in word and writing, who had arisen from the ranks of the female proletariat, and who now form the strength of the German women's movement, and are the guarantee of its further success. The Gleichheit to-day has 70,000 subscribers, the majority of which are Social-Democrats.

The German Socialist Women's Union makes it a special point to make women acquainted with the Socialist program. For the purpose of theoretical education, reading and discussion societies were started in about 120 places. In groups of 20 to 35 persons the Social-Democratic program is read aloud and discussed, the leader of the discussion always being one fully capable of interpreting in the simplest language the meaning of the program. A great number of women have attained to a scientific understanding of Socialism through this simple yet effective method of study, who probably never would have gotten it otherwise. The women, once made Socialists, fight alongside the men comrades for freedom of meeting and association, for reform of education and school, for proper labor protection, for provisions for mothers and children, and the various other questions that are brought up for the party to take action on.

The Social-Democrats of Germany believe that despite all inner unity with the general Socialist movement, the woman's organization needs its own special organs, and a certain independence of freedom of movement. The reason is not only to be looked for in the reactionary legislation in certain parts of the empire, which deny women the right to join political bodies, but also in the special character of the work which falls to the women comrades. In order to bring Socialism to the great mass of proletarian women they are obliged to take stock of their political backwardness, their mental peculiarities, their burden of homemaker as well as wage earner; in short, all the special factors of their existence, their work, their thought and feeling. So, in spite of their membership in the general movement, the Socialist women, in so far as their organization and work is concerned, yet enjoy a certain independence, and possess their own educational organs.

In all this work they are backed by the regular party, which is in full sympathy with their aims and efforts.

Are you in deadly earnest about educating women in Socialism? What have you done to prove it?

THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Ida Crouch Hazlett.

The American Socialist movement is waking up on the woman question. While the statements of the party have always voiced the international position of sex freedom and expression in every human activity, American Socialists have been remarkably lukewarm in taking any interest in either getting women into the party, organizing them industrially, or bestirring themselves to obtain political expression for women. Within the last year, however, there seems to be a stirring consciousness that women, who constitute one-half of the working class, must not only be informed upon the effort of the working class to throw off its chains, but they must be furnished with the weapon to use in that great political contest. In other words, the Socialist party is taking an interest in woman suffrage from a practical, working standpoint.

The chief point in the discussions that are appearing in the Socialist press recently, seems to be as to whether Socialist women should join outside organizations that are working to obtain the ballot for women. "The Socialist Woman" has discussed the matter very ably in its editorial "To Join, or Not to Join?" This editorial refers to the letter issued by Maud Malone, secretary of a woman's suffrage club of New York City, in which she withdraws from the organization because of its unprogressive character, its aversion to working women becoming active in its work, and the evident fear of the extension of the suffrage in the face of rapidly developing Socialistic tendencies.

The writer of this article can most heartily corroborate Miss Malone's statement in regard to the character of organizations formed on other than a Socialist basis. Having been a national organizer for the National Woman Suffrage Association for a number of years, and having participated in all the suffrage State constitutional campaigns from the admission of Colorado with the woman vote, to the last campaign in Oregon a year ago, she feels that she has a reasonable acquaintance with the existing suffrage movement. It is all that Miss Malone states it—composed largely of women seeking selfish publicity, and showing a nervous dread of any measure that smacks of sympathy with the funda-

mental interests of labor. Moreover, working women are not encouraged to enter the organization, and there is a snobbish truckling to the women of influence and social position. If by any chance some working woman, carried forward by her zeal to exercise the normal liberties of a human being, gets into the organization she is expected to remain modestly in the background.

It is the conviction of the writer that the reason the woman suffrage movement in America exhibits such a lamentable lack of vitality is because of the fear of delivering additional political weapons into the hands of the working class.

Such being the situation in regard to active work, it becomes a query in the minds of the Socialists as to how they are to do the most effective work to forward the cause of the woman vote.

In the first place there is no doubt but that extraordinary and persistent efforts should be made by the Socialist party to extend their propaganda among women. The first thing is to get women into the locals, and to spread the Socialist teaching among them by any method that gets results, such as a special national woman's organizer, special State organizers to work among women, special women's committees appointed by locals, and special local clubs of women for propaganda and educational purposes, and to aid the practical work of Socialist locals in communities.

With woman suffrage made one of the special features of all this propaganda a great impetus is thus given to it and disseminated.

It is by belief that these Socialist women would join existing suffrage bodies, and in such numbers as to control them, if possible. If there are no suffrage organizations, or the Socialist women find it difficult to work with those already organized, then they should by all means organize their own, and do vigorous work.

Women must come as an active factor into the demand for the suffrage. Socialists must become aggressive in their support. The fight for the ballot is the first condition to obtain means to facilitate the abolition of economic slavery, and no effort is more worthy the co-operation of every intelligent Socialist.

TO THE WORKING WOMEN

Agnes Halpen Downing.

You work hard.

You work long hours.

You do the best you can.

You do not get the comforts of life in return for your work; you scarcely get the necessaries.

You have no home life. If you have a home you are away from it so much that it is a place of confusion. You cannot preserve it in order as you would like to have it.

If you must board you cannot afford to pay a good price so you cannot

get a good place. You must be content with a shabby ill-furnished room and poorly prepared meals.

If you have children you cannot do much for them. You can have small hope that they will fare better in the world than you are faring. Should sickness or accident overtake you they may fare worse.

As you think of this you look about you in the busy city and every thing is astir. Inside the factory, shop, or store, wheels whirr, belts buzz, shuttles fly. When you go outside cars

rush, levers move, wires tremble, lights gleam. It is a world of wonders.

What does all this mean?

The flying shuttle, the buzzing belt, the whirring wheel, the gleaming light have all come to help mankind.

They have come to make it easier for people to get the comforts of life.

THEY CAME FROM THE BRAIN OF THE MEN AND WOMEN WHO WORK. They were discovered, most of those things were, by workers as they worked.

Yet so far the workers are not relieved by them. The lot of many workers in this country to-day, especially women workers, is harder than it was a hundred and fifty years ago when we had no help from steam or electricity and when we had fewer inventions.

Why is this?

It is not because the workers do not produce enough, for with the aid of those helps they make many times more than was formerly made. IT IS BECAUSE THE WORKERS DO NOT GET THE RESULTS OF THEIR OWN LABOR. It is because the corporation that owns the place where you work gives you barely enough for a poor cheap living and keeps the rest as profits for the stockholders. The profits build up the billionaire fortunes.

This could be stopped if all the workers would unite together and own their own machinery and keep the results of their own labor for themselves and their children. This would be no inconvenience to any one except to those who want to live without working. The hours of work would be shortened, compared with what they are now, or were in a hand machine age, in exact proportion to the degree of help that there is in modern machinery and modern organization.

It would mean rest and dignity and a higher life for all who work.

There is a political party organized to help do this very thing. It has been organized by the workers themselves; it is to be found in all the countries of the world, and it is called THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

The vote of this party is steadily increasing. It is bound to win for it stands for progress, in all that we have that is good, for humanity. It stands for the rights of the workers of the world as against profits for the owners of the world.

The Socialist party always gives to women the same rights and privileges that it gives to man. Women vote on party matters, work on committees, speak on its platforms, hustle for its success.

It is composed of working men and women united in a comradeship to better the world by making conditions better. They urge you to join them.

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Edited by DR. ALEXANDER J. McIVOR-TYNDALL

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THE MATTER OF WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS.

We hope that you Socialist women who read the reports of the women's meetings which occurred between rush hours at the National Convention, will put your copy of the Socialist Woman away and carefully preserve it until the next convention four years hence. We ask you to do this because we believe that the next four years will witness such a growth in woman's interest in Socialism that a comparison of the work done at this time, with the work we intend to show four years hence, will be decidedly interesting.

As a comrade said at the close of our delegates' meeting where some eighty of our brightest women discussed with considerable ardor the means and methods by which women may be brought into the movement, "If we haven't done anything else in these meetings, folks are bound to admit that the women have arrived."

They certainly will have to admit that we "have arrived." And we shall keep on arriving until we show an equal balance in the movement. Then the nation will begin going Socialist-wise.

There was considerable discussion on the question of special organizations of women for the purpose of reaching their unconverted sisters. Opinion generally seemed in favor of such organizations. Very seriously in favor of them, I should say. But there were just enough dissenting voices to make the discussions interesting. Also to make it worth while to speak again on the necessity of special organizations for the purpose of reaching and teaching women Socialism.

The main objection offered was that Socialist women ought to be in the party; in the locals working by the side of the men, and helping along with the business of the party. The feeling was that if they joined separate organizations they could not do the regular party work also. The fear also was expressed that they might retain too much sex consciousness if

permitted to have associations in which women alone worked.

As for the first objection, no Socialist woman wants to quit the Socialist movement in order to join a woman's organization, any more than a Socialist man desires to stop paying dues into the party when he joins a labor organization. The man looks upon the union as a field in which to propagate Socialism. The woman regards her organization as a propaganda school pure and simple, by which unconverted women may be reached. She is as good a member of her local as is any other member, but she is doing more than any member who confines his work to the business transactions of the branch. She simply is doing double duty.

Women who desire special organizations are not dealing with conditions as they should be, but as they are. In the city of Chicago but fifty-three women are members of the Socialist party. No separate woman's organization is responsible for this lamentable fact. For Chicago has not been fostering Socialist women's organizations. The Branches of Local Cook County alone are responsible. The branch considers that its duty lies in transacting the business of the party—in listening to minutes of the last meeting, and wading through long communications. It does not hold educational or propaganda meetings for women. The average non-Socialist woman would have a pretty hard time of it learning the science of Socialism by attending the average branch meetings. We do not know the membership in other large cities of women in the locals. We do know, however, that Local New York failed to send a single woman delegate, out its nineteen that came to the convention. This perhaps was merely an oversight, but it is not good propaganda for women. It shows lack of interest in that other half of humanity which is in sad need of Socialism.

The Socialist woman who is a member of her ward branch has come to realize that she must revolutionize her branch,—turn it from a business meeting into an educational one—or she must do double duty—work with her branch and also organize a separate society for educational purposes. Owing to the great amount of business the party has to enact, it is easier and more profitable to organize the separate study club.

As to Socialist women remaining sex-conscious, we fail to see any great calamity in that. Scientists have discovered that Nature introduced the matter of sex into living organisms for the purpose of creating variation, and thereby bringing about a higher order of animal. The sexless protist and amoeba have remained through all the centuries what they were at the beginning. Humanity is where it is today, because of the introduction of sex. When we say that "there is no recognition of sex-differences in the Socialist movement," we say a silly thing. When we make men and women exactly alike, that moment the decline of the

race begins. It is perfectly proper to say that we recognize no *inequality of sex*, in the Socialist movement. For, between the perfect man, and the perfect woman, there is no inequality. There is only difference—variation—which must continue to the end of time, if we would not go backward.

Socialist women, therefore, have certain interests to conserve *as women*, and as women they would grow strong and splendid and capable. That is why they are anxious for Socialism—and the more they recognize their interests the more anxious they are—and that is why they want all women to come with them, and understand this one great movement that will not only free the working class, but all oppressed classes, ALL womankind, as well.

SISTER COMRADES.

W. E. P. FRENCH.

Come to us, O Sister Comrades, come
and share
In the great world-movement; do and
dare
As our fellow soldiers of the Common
Good,
As our equal partners in the Comrade-
hood.

Man can never win alone to Freedom's
goal;
You must help him, you, the loving
woman-soul;
You must aid him with your hand and
heart and brain,
For without you all his labor is in vain.

O, ye Mothers, Sisters, Daughters,
Sweethearts, Wives,
Come and share our rights and duties,
share our lives;
Share the waiting and the watching
and the toil,
Share the victory and share the victor's
spoil.

Help us lift the children to the nobler
day,
From the loom and spindle back to
school and play;
From the mine and breaker, from the
cruel slum,
Raise the little comrades, make the
children come.

Let us lift together—children, women,
men—
Till we lift the race heart-high, then
lift again,
From the gold-dust where our feet too
long have trod,
To the soul-height and the splendor of
a god.

Come to us, O Women Comrades, and
be free;
Take full meed of Freedom and equal-
ity;
And enoble the great Cause, as women
should,
With the glory and the love of Mother-
hood.

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WOMAN AND INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM.

Lida Parce Robinson.

Since civilization began, woman's life has, by an artificial arrangement, been kept upon a sexual basis. That is, she has been compelled by law to enter into a sexual arrangement in order to secure a chance to earn her living by domestic service and domestic manufacture. Now, in spite of the current pleasantries about woman's angelic attributes, we all ought to know that her first need is for something to eat, and her need for clothing is a close second. It has always been difficult enough to get these things, goodness knows; without placing any extra hardships in anybody's way. But the historic man has always said to woman: "You must marry me and thus become my property before you shall have access to the sources of wealth and a chance to produce the things that are necessary to sustain your life." He fixed up some meaningless laws by which he held the earth and the fullness thereof in his personal possession, and then he served notice on her to "keep off the grass."

And she, poor thing, not being strong enough to meet him in physical combat, and having to mind the babies and to feed them and clothe them, did the only thing she could do under the circumstances; she just kept off until, by surrendering control of her body to him, she secured permission to use the things that are necessary for the support of life. This has been regarded as a peculiarly pious and "honorable" arrangement, not to mention the cleverness of it. So woman has had to use her sexual faculties to secure the satisfaction of her economic needs, ever since the law-making power has been wholly in the hands of man.

A general definition of prostitution is: using one's faculties for unworthy purposes. But really—O well, you know, it is quite different—what's the use! There are two kinds of prostitution: exclusive and promiscuous. And truly the lot of woman has been hard, when her only choice has been between these two means of livelihood.

Now, if you don't quite grasp all that Socialism means to woman, just reflect that when society comes to own the means of production, woman can choose whether she will work as a free human being or as a slave. To be sure, woman is so far freed, even now, by the socialization of industry and distribution that she can choose whether she will marry for a living, or follow promiscuous prostitution, or work under conditions that make her produce several times as much value as she receives for her work. This is a great improvement in the opportunity for choice, and the millions of women who are now earning their living in the industrial world show how eager women are for personal freedom in their work. But even the comparative freedom they now have leaves much to be wished. When production comes to be carried on socially for the benefit of society, instead of a few individuals, so that every one shall receive the full value of his labor, woman will become for the first time really free. Then she can choose without restraint,

how she will get her living, and act upon that choice.

It has often been said that the Greek courtesan was the only free woman of Greece; but this use of the word freedom is nothing better than a travesty. She was free to get her living by promiscuous prostitution of her sexual faculties. But, the insolence of it! She was not free to earn her living by productive industry. The only industry open to woman was that of the slave. The individual man was the exclusive owner of the sources of wealth and the tools of production; and if the individual woman worked, she must work for him, on his terms. And his terms were the ownership of the worker.

The later Roman Empire gave practical freedom to her women, and it has pleased the sanctified of succeeding generations to be quite horribly shocked at the alleged "looseness" of those women, and to refer it to the fact that their bondage was relaxed. But, after the manner of the sanctified, they have been too busy being shocked to give thought to the fundamental facts of the case. The truth is, that if the Roman woman, who had some measure of control over her property, tried to earn her living by honest work, she found herself in competition with countless thousands of slaves, those slaves being created by Roman war, and law, in the hands of Roman men. While the Roman matron was liberated from the legal ownership of her husband, she was no more free to choose how she would get her living than were the slaves with whom she came into competition when she tried to work.

Granting the strong egotism of man, it was inevitable that the terms of industry for woman should be what they were, so long as production remained on a domestic basis. And so all through the thousands of years, woman has sought the things that maintained the race within the isolation of her domestic sphere and believed that it was the will of God that she should be so burdened and so circumscribed.

But at last the machine was invented, the work of the woman was taken to the factory, the will of God was seen to be strangely altered. When a woman ceases to receive the reward of her labor through the channel of her sex attachment, she ceases to be the sex property of her husband. The law may declare that she is his property, as indeed it does. But such a woman is, at least potentially, freed from the operation of that law. Thus the family has been attacked in what was erroneously supposed to be its vital point. Neither the Socialist Party nor the capitalist system has done this, but the invention of machinery. The capitalist has used the machinery in his own personal interest and has thus become the instrument of evolution in freeing woman and modifying the structure of the family.

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AS SOME OF US SEE IT.

GRACE WOODWARD SMITH.

We've seen on children's faces
What hope scarce lives and sees—
Where pain has left its traces,
What joy beholds and flees.
We've drained the cup of sorrow
We're strong to struggle yet;
To-morrow, come, to-morrow;
We slaves will not forget.

Industry is the vice of the wage slave.

Hypocrisy is the chocolate icing on the bitter bread of economic dependency.

A slave's memory needs to be long for the lash of the master reaches far and cuts deep.

The woman who would be free probably knows to whom she must look for freedom; nobody else breathes for her.

Marriage is bound to be a failure as long as a corrupt social condition makes it impossible on one hand and a travesty on the other.

It may be that woman has a sex problem to solve; if so, she knows that she need look to no other for the solution; self-interest, etcetera.

In propaganda work there is nothing gained by simply irritating the other fellow when his capacity for counter irritation is greater than your own.

When women once discover that they have thinking machines perhaps they may develop sufficient curiosity to want to see the wheels go round.

Once in a while you meet a woman who can get out in the world, work hard and forget that she is a woman; things are apt to be doing in her vicinity.

There are three things that woman must have to make her free and to make the race free; the first is economic independence, the second is economic independence and the third is economic independence in the superlative degree.

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SOCIALIST WOMEN AND CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS

Josephine Conger-Kaneko

When the ownership of private property became the fashion in human society, woman was enslaved. First, to serve the interests of the owning classes as a laborer. At this period in history women did most of the manual toll, as well as inventing and preserving the fine arts—pottery, weaving, and so on—and took care of the children besides. Gradually, with the growth of population and the decreasing food supply, men were captured in war, enslaved, and forced to take the place of the women at the hardest tasks. Later certain classes of women became mere articles of luxury, others were used to serve as lawful perpetuators of the family line, while the great majority remained at the bottom of the ladder, assisting the slave men in their arduous labors.

There has not been a time since the introduction of private property when women have not belonged, as a sex and as a class, in the ranks of the oppressed. There has never been a time in which they have not all been looked upon by the ruling classes, as a lower order of being.

Under the present day civilization there still cling to the wrists of woman-kind the chains of slavery, and about their necks is the yoke of oppression. A few women are the daughters of men economically free—rich men, multi-millionaires—but these women are not equal with their brothers in the matter of self-protection; in the exercise of legislative power. And the capitalist system which victimizes them into selling their souls for a foreign title, or for other great wealth to add to that already owned by the family, is just as much their master as it is the master of the woman of the street. Women are all women under this system, and they are all subject to its tyranny, to its pernicious ideals, to its ethics, and its economics.

But a very small handful of women belong to the wealthy classes. The great majority are still at the bottom of the scale, helping the men in their arduous labors. Half of the

wage earning class are women. A consciousness of their position in society is just as important to these women as it is to any man slave. An *intensified* class consciousness is almost necessary, owing to the double enslavement—to the triple enslavement, economic, political and sexual.

It is a well known fact, that the aroused woman is always the better fighter. The Russian Revolution never could have reached its present stage but for the intense interest of the women in it—women of poverty and women of wealth. They all had a common interest. They saw that this common interest could be realized only through the abolition first of political tyranny, and second through the abolition of economic tyranny.

In the United States no woman can be free until we have abolished wage slavery. The very ethics of capitalism are against the highest and best life for women. These ethics came out of the ownership of private property, they are built on this ownership, and never can be abolished until private property itself is abolished. For this reason every woman who recognizes the class struggle must identify herself with the class that is struggling; must recognize her relationship to it, and must fight with it, if she would win freedom for herself.

No woman living need be called a sentimental Socialist. No woman living, but whose larger interests are bound up in the working class movement. No woman living can secure her real freedom save through the victory of the working class. Men may come out of the middle classes and join the Socialist party through sympathy for the toilers. His immediate needs do not require him to join the party. But women have immediate personal needs that can only be solved through Socialism. The very root and fiber of their needs run deep into the working class movement.

For this reason women, once aroused, are intensely class conscious and make the best workers in the movement.

candidate. The young Czechs declined to do so. Then at the last hour the Bourgeois women on the advice of Karla Machova—our candidate—resolved to put up a candidate of their own, Fraulien Tumova, who represented a purely Bourgeois program. Then a third woman candidate was put forward by the National Social party and the Radical Progressives, Fraulein Zelinkova. The agrarians and other Bourgeois parties put up no women candidates of their own, but made sure of the votes of the women voters, as women have also the right to vote under the same census conditions which are in force for their eligibility.

The Socialist party was the only political one which fought seriously for the woman candidate. The second woman's candidate got practically no support from the very parties who put her up—they made no agitation in her favor and she got only five votes. The Bourgeois women were very active in favor of their candidate, Fraulein Tumova, who was actively fought by the young Czechs, Clericals, the National Social party and the Agrarians, and the Mayor of Hohenamt, a young Czech, even threatened to refuse the Woman's Society of the town the subvention they got for their purposes, if they supported the woman candidate. All the same she got 199 votes. The Social Democrats worked very hard in favor of the woman candidate and held large and crowded meetings, where both sexes were well represented. At Prague Comrade Machova, for instance, had a crowded meeting, after which 800 women went into the streets demonstrating there for their political right. The woman Socialist candidate was dependent exclusively on male votes, as in her circumscription all women, even the propertied, are rightless. She got in the first ballot 491 votes, coming into the second ballot when against the united Bourgeois parties she got 494 votes. It may be said that it is important to bear in mind the above facts, because the Bourgeois Woman's Righters claim to have been first in the field with their candidates, whereas the above shows that the initiative came wholly from the Socialist side.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN BOHEMIA

CLARA ZETKIN.

Before the recent elections for the Bohemian Lantag the Social Democrats pointed to the fact that women could be put up under the law, as the only condition was the payment of 16 crowns tax, and the arrival at 30 years of age. That despite the generally reactionary character of the existing suffrage in Bohemia, as a survival of those rights which in the social order of the middle-age were inherent to ground property, the existing suffrage renders the participation of the Social Democratic party in general serve much more as a means of protest against the oppression and exploitation of the proletariat and also in favor of the emancipation of woman, rather than as entered into with any immediate hope of winning a large number of mandates. At the last party's congress which took place on

the 15th of January the delegates decided that the party was to put up also a woman comrade as their candidate for the coming election and that was in one of the best circumscriptions. The selected comrade was Karla Machova, the editress of the Social Democratic woman's organ in Prague. A second Socialist woman's candidate was proposed, but she was unfortunately not qualified as to the law. The Social Democrats resolved to put up Frau Machova on January 15th and her candidature was officially proclaimed as soon as the party entered the campaign on February 9th. After it became known that the Social Democrats had put up a woman candidate the Bourgeois women righters thought too of profiting by the situation. They went to the young Czech party to get them to put up a woman

Dear Comrade, I am sending you a club of 10 yearlies and 7 three month's. I am treasurer of the Women's Progressive League, and would like to help Socialism along as fast as I can. Just sent 61 subs to The Appeal to Reason. Now send me a few blanks, and I may be able to help you. Patiently awaiting the blanks, I am, Yours for the Revolution, Lessie Engles, Kansas City, Mo.

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SOCIALIST WOMEN HOLD MEETINGS DURING CONVENTION WEEK

The First Meeting of the Socialist Women at the Convention.

The first joint meeting of the Woman's Branch, and the Socialist Woman's League, was called to order Tuesday, May 12, at 2:30 p. m., in the dining room of Brand's Hall, Chicago.

May Walden called the meeting to order. Kate Richards O'Hare, of Oklahoma, was chosen permanent chairman, and Josephine Conger-Kaneko, of Chicago, secretary.

The subjects for discussion were "Propaganda Among Women," and "Woman Suffrage."

May Walden presented a resolution calling for a meeting for the effecting of a national organization of Socialist women.

After some discussion a motion was made to table the resolution. Motion carried.

Mrs. Anderson, chairman of the Woman's Branch, Chicago, talked on reasons for the formation of the Woman's Branch. She said that many women preferred meeting with other women, rather than with a mixed company. That in a woman's meeting they feel freer to talk and express themselves, and that one of their aims is to carry propaganda to women outside the party, with the view to getting them acquainted with and interested in Socialism. She told of the Sunday school organized by the Woman's Branch, and of the success already attained by the Sunday School.

Mrs. Dixon, of Chicago, talked on the aims and purposes of the Young People's League, which she believes has a very large mission in the Socialist movement, and which mission it already is fulfilling. May Walden, of Chicago, supplemented the talk by further enlightenment on the organization.

Luella Krehbiel, of Coffeyville, Kan., made a talk on propaganda among women, in which she said that the women of her town had held league meetings every alternate week in a private home in some ward, to which they invited capitalist minded women, who, through courtesy came to the meetings; after sitting through them, and listening to the discussions, they left, feeling that Socialism was not the ugly, anarchistic thing they had deemed it. Every alternate week the women of the league prepare the program for the regular local.

Rose Pastor Stokes, of New York, rose for question of information, regarding a national organization. She was replied to by Mrs. Wilshire, of New York, President of the Woman's National Progressive League. Mrs. Wilshire said among other things, that the W. N. P. L. had come up as the result of an article she had written in Wilshire's Magazine, entitled "An Appeal to Women." In answer to this article about five thousand letters came from all parts of the world, asking for instructions as to how to proceed in the study of Socialism, how to organize,

and so on. After some deliberation, the National Progressive League was organized, and now has some thirty-two branches in different parts of the country, with over three hundred paid membership. In so far as her knowledge goes, she said, it is the only national organization of women in the United States.

Josephine Cole explained as a matter of information, the conditions of the Woman's Socialist Union of California. This union, she said, was organized some five years ago, and in her own home town—San Jose—and in other parts of California, has done good work.

Rose Pastor Stokes raised the question of the possibility of a new national organization of Socialist women, and advised against it. She said, "If there is anything in the constitution or platform of the W. N. P. L. to which we cannot all subscribe, let us wait until it is reorganized at the end of its first year, and then join it. We should not have two national bodies of Socialist women."

Josephine Kaneko asked for a speech by Daisy Conklin Millard, of the Woman's Branch of Cincinnati. Comrade Millard complied, and said, in part, that the Woman's Branch of Cincinnati has done a great work in reaching women through the distribution of literature. She told of several instances where women were reading secretly the literature of Socialism, who were members of good Republican and Democratic families, and that a number of these women had come out in favor of Socialism. The Woman's Branch, she said, carried on propaganda meetings also, both on the street and in halls, the same as were carried on by the men comrades.

Annah Finsterbach, of Chicago, commented on Mrs. Millard's talk.

Announcement was made of a delegate meeting to be held by the Socialist Woman's League of Chicago, in the parlors of the Revere House, on the same evening.

DELEGATE MEETING CALLED BY WOMAN'S SOCIALIST LEAGUE OF CHICAGO.

The Woman's Socialist League of Chicago called a meeting for Tuesday evening, May 13, in the parlors of the Revere House. About eighty-five women, most of them delegates to the national convention, were present. Mrs. Corinne Brown acted as chairman of the meeting, with Mrs. Annah Finsterbach, as secretary.

The meeting was opened by a resolution read by Josephine C. Kaneko, chairman of the resolutions committee. The resolution was as follows:

"Whereas, Women are physically capable of casting a vote, are mentally capable of understanding public questions and socially as necessary to the maintenance of society as men, and

"Whereas, Women, while occupying the same position industrially as men

have not the same power of changing conditions, and are subjected to abuses, injustices and impositions because of their sex and which they alone can understand and remedy, and

"Whereas, Women realize their inability to protect their children who are starved, poisoned and brutalized by capitalism, and

"Whereas, the activity against woman suffrage by the women of wealth draws clearly the class distinction that exists between the working women and themselves, and

"Whereas, The introduction of machinery has forced women from their homes into the industrial world and thus made them a necessary part of the labor movement; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the Socialist party being the political expression of the working class should urge the local organization to lay a special stress in the coming campaign on the necessity of giving women the vote, thereby securing more perfect solidarity of the working class."

May Walden explained the purposes of the resolution.

Josephine R. Cole, of California, then spoke: "There is something to the Socialist movement besides the Socialist party," she said. "When the economic evolution brought man out of feudalism it gave him the ballot, and that same evolution will give us the ballot. It is not for us that I speak. We will get the ballot; never fear. I speak for the party."

Mrs. O'Hare, of Oklahoma said: "We find that a strong stand on the suffrage question is one that can no longer be escaped. The Republican party of Oklahoma, in an effort to get the support of the women of the State, is trying to insert in its platform a plank declaring for suffrage. They want the constitution of the State defeated on the ground that it does not contain a suffrage plank. I concur in the resolutions, but I have something of a contempt for them. I would like to go to the convention and demand that a suffrage plank be put into the Socialist party platform and lobby if necessary to get it there."

Mrs. Rose Pastor Stokes said: "I don't believe that it is best to draw the lines of distinction between men and women too closely. The organization will prepare women to come into the party to work with the men. The great question is an economic question; not a sex question."

Mrs. Winnie Branstetter, of Oklahoma, said: "I favor the Socialist party taking a decided stand on the suffrage question. I don't blame the men for overlooking us; they have enough to look after in fighting their own battles. We must fight for ourselves."

"I don't think this is the proper time to make a decided demand," said Laura B. Payne, of Texas. "When the chains of slavery drop from the hands of man they will also drop from the hands of women. It is just as reasonable to say that there should be a spe-

cial children's plank in the platform as it is to demand a woman's plank."

Gertrude Breslau Hunt, of Chicago, made a strong plea in favor of women's organizations and suffrage.

When the matter finally went to a vote there were but few women in the meeting that had not spoken on it. Mrs. Maynard, of Colorado, warned them that the economic question was the all-important one. The vote showed 68 were in favor of adopting the resolution and 13 against it.

Then came the discussion of the national organization proposition. Mrs. Corinne Brown stated that five years ago an organization for women was started in California and that the first year of its existence received little attention.

"In the last four years," she said, "the economic struggle has become more intense and more attention has been given to the women's organizations. We are here to-night to consider the advisability of having a national organization apart from the Socialist party.

Mrs. Kaneko said that the Chicago Socialist Woman's League had called this meeting to discuss organization because of the many letters she had received in her work with the Appeal to Reason, and since starting The Socialist Woman, and which other members of the league had received, asking for some plan of action for women all over the country.

A few of the women were willing to join the National Progressive League, of which Mrs. Wilshire is president, while others seemed in favor of forming a separate organization, and still others wanted no woman's organization at all, claiming that the Socialist locals alone were good enough for them.

Ester Nieminen, of Biwabik, Minn., was the champion of the women in favor of nothing but the Socialist locals. She spoke with much feeling on the subject, and told why the American women lacked experience, and advised them to look into the methods of the women of Finland, her country. She said, however, that in Finland, special agents had been appointed to work among women, and thus educate them in Socialism.

At a late hour a vote showed that sixteen favored waiting until the matter of national unity of women's Socialist clubs should be more thoroughly studied and eight opposed it. The meeting adjourned to meet again after the meeting Thursday night. A committee consisting of Mrs. O'Hare, Miss Cole, Mrs. Niemann were appointed to inquire into the methods and progress of the National Progressive League and report.

THE SOCIALIST SUNDAY SCHOOL AT THE CONVENTION.

On Saturday, May 16th, while the older members of the Socialist Party were making laws and preparing for future action, the young children of the movement were giving a demonstration of their Socialist Sunday school work in an ante-chamber of the Convention hall.

Mrs. E. M. Livingston, who has the Sunday school in charge, gave a most

instructive and interesting talk on the methods and aims of the school.

First of all, she said, her assistant teachers co-operate with her in every possible manner in pushing the interests of the school. They meet with her every Saturday afternoon, and together superintendent and teachers go over the outline for the next day's lesson, try over the songs together, play the little games, and rehearse the story that is to be told. Next day, when the children come together, there are no hitches, and everything passes off smoothly and intelligently.

The children have learned something of parliamentary law, and when a matter comes up which they wish to act upon one of them puts a motion, another seconds it, they vote for, or against, and the result is perfectly satisfactory to the whole class. They have even learned to talk to their motions, and know how to do committee work. At first, Mrs. Livingston said, the girls were very shy, and allowed the boys to overrule them in committee. They have come at last, however, to understand that they are a part of the organization as much as are the boys, and that they have the same means of letting their wishes be known, and of gaining their ends. The result is that they make their little talks, and vote for their side of the question, whenever the necessity for such action comes up.

The children's lessons began with the primitive life of man, and on one occasion they proved their understanding of the early jungle life, by cutting out pictures of the most ferocious beasts they could find, of the largest trees, and the most savage men, and pasting them in groups on white sheets of paper.

They are taught dialogues, recitations and songs, and several of these were given for the entertainment of the visitors at the Convention, directly after Mrs. Livingston had finished her talk. Unfortunately a very important matter was before the convention at the time of the children's visit, and not as many heard them, as would otherwise have done.

REPORT OF LEAGUE COMMITTEE.

The committee appointed by the delegate meeting of Tuesday, May 12, brought in a report, the substance of which is, that there should be an effort made toward a federation of Socialist woman's clubs, and that each club already in existence should appoint a member to correspond with a correspondence committee in Chicago, appointed by the Chicago Woman's League. Such committee was appointed later by the League, and is composed of May Walden, Ida Dixon and Josephine C. Kaneko. For further information regarding the nature of the work to be taken up by the federation of clubs, address May Walden, 619 East 55th street, Chicago.

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WITH THE PUBLISHERS

The responses to letters sent out to our readers last month, has apparently placed The Socialist Woman in the category of the stayers. We believe now that we are here for a long time to come—that is, with your consent. Of course the minute that you lose interest may be the minute in which fate will decide against us. So don't lose interest, if you can help it.

There were a good many interesting people at the National Convention, and many of them promised to write for us in the future. You would be surprised to hear the good things these intellectual proletarians said about the Socialist Woman. And from the way things went in the Convention we would judge that some of the delegates had read certain of the articles in last month's issue.

They certainly did good work for the women, and now it is the duty of the women of the movement to roll up the party membership by the thousands in the next four years. Let us put our best efforts to this part of the work. One of the things talked about in the matter of propaganda for women was the necessity of spreading more literature. The Socialist Woman and a large number of pamphlets on phases of life especially interesting to women, should be spread broadcast in great quantities. A number of pamphlets and leaflets will be written in the near future, and in the meantime The Socialist Woman contains the concentrated thought of many of our best writers, and costs but a penny a copy in bundles of ten or more. You cannot do better than spread it.

When we started this paper one year ago, we had on our list about 120 names. Our regular paid circulation has grown from that to a little over three thousand, in twelve months. This does not include bundle orders which run every month between 1,000 and 4,000. Against the 120 names received this month last year, we count 510 names received in the month just ending. This shows considerable increase in interest. It is *just as easy*, however, to make our circulation run at the rate of 1,000 a month, as 500, and this we **MUST** do.

If you want to get in on the competition for the splendid pair of elk antlers offered by Comrade Karr, of Oregon, send in your lists at once. The antlers are a pair that few of us could buy for love or money, and will be a fine ornament to any den, home, local or Socialist headquarters. Or they may be sold for a good price. Comrade Karr offers this pair of antlers—the face, head and antlers of the elk in perfect shape,—to the person sending in the largest number of subscriptions to The Socialist Woman between May 15th and October 15th. Don't let this offer pass. Show it to your friends. **BEGIN AT ONCE.** It is easy to take subs for The Socialist Woman, once you get at it. Mark your letters "Prize Contest."

SOCIALIST WOMEN IN THE GARRICK THEATER

Sunday, May 3, 1908, was a red letter day for the Socialist women of Chicago. Through the courtesy of Arthur Morrow Lewis and the Twenty-first Ward Branch, the Garrick theater meeting was given over to the cause of the working class woman, and was addressed by Comrades Gertrude Breslau Hunt, May Wood Simons and Ben Hanford, with Corinne Brown as chairman.

The big theater was well filled and from the generous applause it seemed that the audience thoroughly understood and sympathized with the need of women in the matter of education along Socialistic lines. In fact, Mrs. Hunt was compelled to ask her hearers not to interrupt her with applause. She sketched briefly woman's place in the evolution of society, showed how she had been the first toiler, how she had invented the first rude vessels with which to work, how she had always been the faithful mother and the conservator of home relations. How later her work had been taken from her and placed in the hands of men, how she had been compelled to follow it into the factory, shop and mill; how she had been exploited in these industries, and how, because she could not vote, she had been used as a lash over the workingman, keeping down his wage as a competitor, and lowering the standard of living. She told how in the various States women had no right to property; in some States they have no right to their wages; in others they are only secondary guardians to their own children, and in some few States their unborn children may be willed away from them by the father and may pass into foreign hands as soon as they are born, against the mother's will.

"Women suffer from all the ills, all the burdens that men suffer from," Mrs. Hunt said, "and many bitter ones besides. And against all these oppressions they have not even the right of the ballot. Women need Socialism for the same reason that men need it, and for their own special reasons besides. Because of these special reasons women must have special education as to what Socialism will do for them."

Mrs. Simons spoke on the education of the working class. She showed the necessity of an education for the workers that will teach them self-reliance and independence, rather than making of them machines for capitalistic exploitation, as they are being made today in all our schools and colleges. She believes in the working woman coming out side by side with the working man, and fighting, even as he fights, the battle against capitalistic oppression. She told of how the women of Lyons, France, had helped win a great strike there, and said: "I sometimes wonder if our American women have no iron in their blood. Why it is that they, too, do not come out and take their stand against tyranny and oppression." She said that the real test of value was in doing things, and that women must learn this fact and must do their part toward the emancipation of the race,

Ben Hanford said that the saddest thing in all the world to him; sadder than the underpaid toll of women; sadder than the legalized prostitution of women; sadder even than child labor, was the fact that good women the whole country over had to share the bed and board of some man because in all the world there were no other homes for them. "They are the mothers of the race," he said "and they are tied hand and foot through their economic dependence; forced to sell themselves in the marriage market even as their prostitute sisters sell themselves in the public market." He also read a fine prose poem on Chicago, showing the hideousness of a modern industrial mart—and giving a forecast of what the city will be under a sane social order.

Corinne Brown, the chairman of the meeting, always bright, intelligent and responsive, was in her element at this particular meeting. She evoked both applause and laughter in making her announcements, and introducing the speakers. The Socialist Woman was being sold in the audience, and in announcing this fact Comrade Brown made a good speech for our woman's paper, and said: "You cannot afford to miss this paper. Everybody in the audience ought to buy a copy and subscribe for it. As long as we women have to suffer so much injustice and oppression, just so long will we have to use the best means with which to fight our battles. Besides, this Socialist Woman is worth reading. The best women writers in the movement contribute to it every month. The other day an editor of a daily paper in this city said to me: 'Where in the world do you Socialists get your women writers? We can't find such women to write for us.' I told him: 'Of course, you can't. They don't exist outside the Socialist movement.'"

More than \$55 was taken in the collection, and numbers of pamphlets and copies of the Socialist Woman were sold. And just here we would offer a suggestion—in every city there are Socialist women who can make good speeches. Especially can they tell of the need of women to learn about Socialism. Why not arrange for just such meetings as the one held in the Garrick theater May third?

THE WATCHMAN'S STORY.

HORACE S. REIS.

The Central Committee of Local Philadelphia had adjourned. I stood on the sidewalk, outside, watching the "women of pleasure" plying their trade. The private watchman on the square, with whom I had struck up an acquaintance, came along and stopped to speak to me. Soon we fell into a discussion—an easy thing for Socialists to do—about the women of the street. I hadn't been looking for information, but I got it. He knew them all, and their histories.

"Do you see that tall blonde woman talking to the man at the corner of Juniper street?" he asked me. "Well, she is the most dutiful daughter I

know. She started her parents up in business, in a little dry goods store on the Bowery, with the money she made on the street here, and to this day they do not know how the money was obtained. We call her 'Diamond Katie,' because she wears diamond earrings.

"Here comes Rose," he said, as a handsome Jewish-looking girl turned the corner of Thirteenth street. "She has two children and is paying for their education in a fine private school, she's wise; she says that if she were to take a job in a store, or something equally 'respectable' that the children would grow up in ignorance and be handicapped for life, and she knows what a hard fight it is.

"Here comes a new one," he said; and I watched and saw an intelligent looking girl, of not more than twenty. "I spoke to her last night, and she told me she had lost her job in a department store after the Christmas shopping was done. She doesn't know the ropes' yet, so I posted her about the police. She complained to me that she is barely making a living, even at this; and I don't doubt it, for the hard times have thrown so many men out of work that very few are coming down town to meet these girls.

"Now this one," he began—but I interrupted him; I had heard enough. "You'll have to excuse me, it's past eleven, and I'm going home to bed," and I went—but not to sleep. For a long time I lay awake thinking of the widowed Rose, of "Diamond Katie," selling her soul to save her parents from poverty, of the new girl out of work, driven to prostitution, fearing every night she would land in a prison cell. And at last I fell into a troubled sleep, to dream of a better social order, wherein women will not be compelled to barter their honor for bread and the unemployed sales girl will have the same right to a decent existence as the captain of industry; wherein she will be his equal in the sight of man, as she is in the sight of God, if there can be a God who permits these things to be.

HOW TO ORGANIZE A STUDY CLUB

MAY WALDEN.

Inquiries are coming to the Study Club Committee, and to the Socialist Woman regarding the forming of classes for study. We have thought it might help some to put suggestions along this line in *The Socialist Woman*.

Organize your club with a chairman, vice chairman, secretary-treasurer, and a corresponding secretary, and also choose a leader for your study class.

Raise the money for your books in any way you prefer; by dues, donations, assessments, or entertainments. It will be necessary for you to have Morgan's Ancient Society, or Engel's Origin of the Family, and Bebel's Woman. You can get from the public library Ward's Pure Sociology, Darwin's Descent of Man; Kropotkin's Mutual Aid, etc., or any of the books may be obtained from *The Socialist Woman*.

Having secured your books and having decided upon the time and place

of meeting, arrange your method of study. Have your leader read aloud the necessary passages from references given, and discuss the subject matter, or have some member write a paper on the topic and follow it by discussions, or have each member read up on a certain part of the subject, and furnish to the others the information each has found. In other words, use the method best adapted to your members that will bring out each one's energy and enthusiasm. Do not let one person monopolize all the time by talking or reading, for there is no better way to kill the interest of a club than that. Assign work to each member, and encourage him or her to do that work until confidence is assured.

Send in your reports from time to time and these will be printed for the benefit of others who are also studying.

You should appoint committees on different lines of work, as for instance, a committee to organize work among children in Sunday Schools, or in Young People's Leagues; a committee to visit unions, and to talk to them on Socialism, and to get the union men and women into the Socialist party. A press committee, whose duty it is to get all notices and reports of your meetings, and also timely articles on local affairs written from the Socialist standpoint, into the local press, is valuable; also a committee to visit women's clubs, and to furnish Socialist speakers for them, especially on the question of women's suffrage, showing them that the Socialist party is their only hope in obtaining the ballot. Try to get Socialist books and papers into the public libraries, and see to the distribution of Socialist leaflets and periodicals in hospitals. Also organize a "flying squadron" among the young people, and have a regular distribution of leaflets, papers and pamphlets, in every house, shop or factory. Above all, use your club as a feeder to the Socialist party and try to give each member a thorough understanding of the principles of Socialism.

WOMEN SOCIALISTS IN NEW YORK.

Dear Comrade Kaneko:—I was glad to hear from you. I thoroughly agree with you and the other women comrades that we must start a national organization of Socialist women, which need not necessarily be directly affiliated with the Socialist Party, but be rather a sort of preparatory school for it. We must invade every city, town and village with our clubs and leagues, whose mission would be to bring the women of the kitchens and factories into a new atmosphere, where pictures of real life could be presented to them in different forms. Because of their long bondage women cannot be reached by the same methods as their brothers; we must awaken them first to the necessity of a life outside of their narrow family circle, even for the sake of that very same family. And this work can be accomplished by no one else but our women comrades, whose foremost duty at present is to arouse the women and educate them into class conscious Socialists, who will, on their

own account, join the Socialist party and, hand in hand with their brothers, work for the coming regeneration.

With this end in view I presented a resolution to the Westchester County Committee, a copy of which I inclose, for a conference of Socialist women. The plan has since been approved by the state committee, and I place great hope on the work of that conference. If the other states will follow suit, we may in the near future be able to start the national organization we all seem to desire so much. Meanwhile several leagues, based on a platform similar to the one described by me above, have been started, and with considerable success.

THERESA MALKIEL,
Yonkers, N. Y.

WOMEN DELEGATES AT THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

The nineteen women delegates who attended the National Socialist Convention at Chicago are as follows:

Josephine R. Cole, Mary F. Merrill, Bertha Wilkins Starkweather, California; Mila Tupper Maynard, Colorado; Gertrude Breslau Hunt, May Wood Simons, Illinois; Margaret M. Brown, Iowa; Grace D. Brewer, Kansas; Antoinette Konikow, Harriet D'Orsey, Massachusetts; Mrs. Etta Menton, Michigan; Ester Nieminen, Minnesota; Ida Crouch Hazlett, Florence Westleder, Montana; Margaret Prevey, Ohio; Winnie E. Branstetter, Oklahoma; Mrs. Mollie Crabtree, Oregon; Alice McFadin, Laura B. Payne, Texas; Miss E. H. Thomas, Wisconsin.

RENEW!

Do not forget to watch the number on your wrapper, so that you may know the time when your subscription expires. If you see No. 13 on the wrapper it means that your subscription expires with No. 13. The postal laws do not allow us to send the paper after expirations. Comrades, when you send in your renewal put in \$1 for three other names, and you get yours for 25c. This will help you, and will boost the circulation of the Socialist Woman, which means that more women will come into the movement. Women have a great influence over men and children. Remember that. And one more subscriber to this paper means many more Socialists. Don't forget this fact, and get three more women to send with you when you send your subscription.

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OUR LEAFLETS.

Leaflets advertising The Socialist Woman will be sent free of charge. Other leaflets for sale are "Elizabeth Cady Stanton on Socialism," a fine propaganda leaflet; "Where Is Your Wife," by Kilichi Kaneko, good for propaganda in Socialist locals, second edition; "Why the Socialist Woman Demands Universal Suffrage," by Josephine C. Kaneko. Every working man and woman should read this argument for equal suffrage. Any of these leaflets 50 for 10 cents; 100 for 20 cents.

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