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META L. STERN

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50c. A YEAR

META L. STERN.

In the front ranks of the many brilliant Socialist women of New York City stands Meta L. Stern, or "Hebe," as she is known to readers of working class magazines and newspapers.

Mrs. Stern was a college girl, studying diligently her Latin and Greek verbs for some years. Years which she now regards as wasted, for, as she says: "I believe that the old style classical education which fills the young mind with ossified knowledge of two thousand years ago and leaves it more or less ignorant of all the living wonders of the modern sciences is a crime against life itself." Fortunately she was born of Socialist parents, was bred on Socialist diet, and this, together with her own sense of injustice, brought her, while yet in early womanhood, actively into the Socialist movement, in spite of her early classical training.

Comrade Stern recalls with pleasure the childhood of her life when her father, as a member of the old international, brought frequently to his home staunch revolutionists who conversed together with all the vigor of men with a great purpose, facing great obstacles in their work. The founder and editor of *The New Yorker Volkzeitung*, Alexander Jonas, has been a life-long friend, and they are now co-workers, as Mrs. Stern edits a department for women in the *Volkzeitung*, under the nom de plume of "Hebe." She is also very much in demand as a speaker, both for the Socialist and the suffragists, and never misses an opportunity to point the only true way to economic freedom to the latter. She will be one of the speakers at the national suffrage convention to be held in Washington, D. C., this month.

In speaking of women and Socialism, Mrs. Stern says:

"Ever since I have been an active worker in the Socialist movement, and writer and lecturer for the cause. Socialism, to me, has become something more than an economic science, or a political theory; it has become a religion, a philosophy of life. My hope for the near future is that we may experience in the United States a strong movement of Socialist women, such as exists in Germany, Austria, Finland, Australia, and other countries. As a Socialist I am, of course, a firm believer in the political emancipation of women. But I believe that the working woman, not the women of leisure, must accomplish this emancipation. Therefore, I welcome the coming into existence of *The Progressive Woman* as a hopeful sign. May it grow and prosper! May it bear the joyous message of Socialism into innumerable homes."

We recommend that every reader of the *Progressive Woman* interested in the advancement of society through perfect co-operation of the man and woman, send ten cents for a copy of *The Fore Runner*, a magazine edited and written by Charlotte Perkins Gilman. There is nothing else in the journal line like it. It is an excellent supplement to *The Progressive Woman*, taking up the subject of the man and woman as society builders, where we must leave off, and going into details that we cannot enter. If you have only two magazines in your home for the next year, let them be the *P. W.* and *The Fore Runner*. For the latter send to *The Charlton Company*, 67 Wall street, New York, N. Y.

WOMAN'S PROGRESS IN THE WORLD.

OSCAR LEONARD.

Scandinavian women are very much talked about in many parts of the world just now. This is due to the election of a woman in Norway to the legislative body. Another woman has won the noble prize for literature and a third, Ellen Key, the pioneer in the struggle for woman's suffrage, a woman who wrote many works of importance about children and education, is approaching her sixtieth birthday. Great preparations are being made to honor her on this occasion. And it will not be Sweden alone that will honor her. Women in Germany, in France, in Austria and in many parts of Scandinavia are preparing to send tokens of love and respect to the woman who gave to the world that monumental volume known as *The Century of the Child*, a book which has been translated in most European languages and widely circulated everywhere. Ellen Key says that she hardly feels like a woman of sixty and she assures her friends she will continue to work as she has always done regardless of her three score.

Equal Suffrage in Berlin.

For the first time in the history of the university at Berlin women have been allowed to vote in matters concerning the student affairs in that institution. Previously only male students had the right to decide on the matters, the decision of which rests now also in the hands of the women students. At the recent elections the 500 women students exercised their right to vote. A number of women who were candidates for various offices in connection with the university library were elected. This shows that the male students are willing to recognize the abilities of their fellow students of the opposite sex. Of course, the male candidates have been in the majority and there are but few women officers at present. The women students hope, however, at the next elections to get many more of their sisters to be candidates for office.

Woman Chosen.

Frau Elizabeth Hirsch, of Leignitz, has been chosen vice president of the city council in her city. She is the first woman to occupy such a position in her district. She has been chosen on account of her ability as a business woman. For several years she has been head of a manufacturing concern which has been left to her from her husband who died some years ago. Under her management the firm has prospered greatly.

Saleswomen's Home.

The association of German saleswomen has decided to build a home for such of its members as are too old to work and are too poor to retire. There are 280,000 saleswomen in Germany who have been engaged in this work for many years and intend to remain saleswomen all their lives. The salaries they earn are not large enough to enable them to save enough for a rainy day or for the day when they will be considered too old to be employed. There are quite a number of members in the organization who have been at work for 20 to 25 years. None of whom can hope to be pensioned by their employers. For years the

leaders of the organization have been working out plans whereby a home for elderly saleswomen could be established. At last announcement has been made that a home will be established. The ground has already been purchased and quite a bit of money subscribed for the building fund. It is intended to open the home on Monday the organization will celebrate its twenty-fifth anniversary.

The officers hope that all the money for the home will come from the members themselves so that they can be proud of their institution. The members are enthusiastic. They say that they will see to it that theirs is a model home where every woman who has paid her dues for a number of years may find shelter without having to degrade herself by appealing to charitable organizations. About 10,000 members have pledged themselves to give a mark each for the next five years should it be necessary to collect that money for the maintenance of the home.

Egyptian Women Active.

The women in Egypt are becoming rather active. They, too, demand reforms calculated to benefit their sex. The leader of the movement is Mme. Fayun, the wife of a leading Sheick. She has been speaking before women in public meetings. In some cases private meetings took place in harems. She has also written a number of leaflets which have been widely circulated among women. Over 200 women of the aristocracy have promised her to help in the work. Among the demands of the women are: monogamy, reforms of divorce laws so that the husband may divorce the wife by merely stating that he wishes to do so, education for girls equal to that of boys and equal political rights.

In some cases women have been taken to task for it is against the Mohammedan faith to abolish polygamy and to give equal rights to women. Mme. Fayun, however, quotes the Koran in support of her work. In Cairo the movement for reform among the women is strongest, but it is being spread in the provinces also.

Women Public Physicians.

Kolma is the first city in Germany to employ a woman as physician of the public schools. The women regard the appointment of one of their own sex as a victory for they have fought for years for it. They have felt that as long as women are not allowed to study medicine and are given no degree which makes it possible for them to practice, the government ought to give them some recognition by appointing them to such offices as they could easily handle. In case of the school physician, the women are said to be better fitted than men, women seem to be able to handle child patients better than men do.

It is likely that other cities will follow the example of Kolma as soon as the experiment proves satisfactory there. It happens that Dr. Helen Sieber, who occupies this position, is an exceptional physician and it is certain that she will "make good."

It has been recently decided that the correspondence of the Woman's National Committee shall be conducted through the national office of the Socialist party, at 180 Washington street. The addresses of the members of the Woman's National Committee are as follows: Anna Maley, national organizer, 180 Washington street, Chicago, Ill.; Wood Simons, chairman, care Daily Socialist, Washington street, Chicago; Antoinette Konig, care Carroll, 1248 Madison avenue, New York; Theresa Malkiel, 153, McLean avenue, New York; Meta L. Stern, 410 One Hundred Fifty-fourth street, New York, N. Y.

Socialist Housekeeping

From "The Southern Scribe"

et circular issued by a Socialist publica- is such a remarkable piece of propa- a that we reproduce part of it here. a tract written by Josephine Kaneko, begins by graphically describing the from existence of the average farmer's which, heaven knows, is "not a credit he twentieth century." But see what

et us: et us fancy for the time being that we Socialism, and that it is possible for family to have the best of the world's acts. We find then, in country and city alike, not the old-fashioned, inade- heating stove that must be continu- replenished with coal or wood, but an ric device that heats every room y, and all the time, if desired. The city is turned on to this, and without ashes, smoke, or odor from wood or a dainty breakfast is gotten up, and usewife is not half frozen, either. Or, ps, she prefers to cook the meal on electric chafing dish at the breakfast while she discusses with her husband atest news. There is a dumb waiter ted by electricity that carries her s to another table where they are ed, dried and beautifully shining all in seconds, by an electric dishwasher."

it, there is more! ne housewife's floors are then gone with the electric carpet sweeper, and rniture dusted by another mechanical e. If she lives in the country, she t handle the milk and butter at all, at is all taken care of at a co-opera- concern, run by electricity. But her ng is done at home, if she likes, and beautifully by the electric washing ine. She puts the clothes in, turns a a, and the process of washing goes on. are then put into the wringer, which the work of wringing for the fortu- housewife. Her flatiron is then con- l with the electricity, and kept hot for hile she goes over her finery—I do now yet of a small device for ironing s. Her sewing machine is run by icity and is infinitely better for her than the old foot-power variety.

in the summer our housekeeper wants eam, of course. But that is no serious e. There is a device in her refrigera- at freezes the ice for her, and another : that makes the ice cream. It is better than the old hand power, and the is just as good. Better, it is under ism, and it is pure cream. When a ath is wanted a knob is turned at the water faucet, and the water comes ot."

it wake up—the end is not yet!

night, if it is desirable to turn the off, and have the bedroom cool, there lectric warming pans that may be o keep the feet and back warm. There more stumbling about in the night at the baby's bottle, for the baby's is attached to an electric wire, and of the screw will heat the milk in his little 'tummy.' If you want light : small hours of the night, you turn at the head of your bed, and your is ablaze with light. If you want a room to get up in, you turn another nd the heat comes up in the radiators. l these conveniences you could have

in your home today if you had the money. Under Socialism you will have it."

The writer fails to explain just how everyone is going to have all these beautiful things. She simply continues to dream, thusly:

"But, under Socialism, there are people who, through professional preferences, or communistic instinct, prefer to live in large apartment houses, or hotels, rather than in separate homes. Here the electrical inventions have their greatest play. Let us take, for instance, the Hotel Astor in New York City, as a model of what we may have in all hotels and apartment houses under Socialism. The hotel contains 112 large electric motors, besides innumerable smaller ones. They lift its elevators, ventilate its rooms, freeze and cut its ice, wash its linen, burn its refuse, carry its dishes, seal its letters, cook some of its food, sew its linen, polish its silver, and do many other things for the convenience of the hotel's patrons.

"This means that the enormous Astor hotel is cleaner, more orderly, more peaceful than the individual home of the poor man can possibly be today. However, it would break most of us up financially to spend one week at this magnificent place under the present system.

"But Socialism, which will give to every man the product of his labor, and to every woman the product of her labor, will make it possible for all men and women to have such homes as I have described, and house-keeping will be a joy to womankind, instead of the drudgery we find today."

Isn't it grand, isn't it glorious to believe such things? Really it would be splendid everyone in the world could be made to see it in that light. If we could all be Socialists, the world would really be a happier place, because we could dream of the future, all "finery, pure cream, electric lights, nor work, and hot water only when we want it." Never by any chance would any of these magnificent contrivances refuse to do their duty, for they will be under Socialism, when all things will be perfect, including your disposition and mine.

The only pity is that the story ends there abruptly. It does not attempt to show how the unwashed millions who swarm in the tenements of New York, and other great cities, are going to suddenly get used to such luxuries. Today they use the bathtubs provided by philanthropic landlords to store their coal, and their babies die by the thousands. Such hard facts do not bother Mrs. Kaneko, though, for she knows that "under Socialism" all that will be changed in the twinkling of an eye, and men and women will be given the product of their labor, even when they do not labor at all!

Anyway, it's such a cheerful creed—let us all be Socialists, and be happy.

The above is a quotation, with remarks, from The Southern Scribe, on our leaflets, "Housekeeping Under Socialism." The rawness of the thing would cause it to pass without comment here, were it not for the last paragraph, which he gives: "It does not attempt to show how the unwashed millions who swarm in the tenements of New York," etc., are "going to suddenly get used to such luxuries." This slap in the face of the toilers of the great cities is

too much. It is this insotence, together with the other indignities of capitalist greed, that will cause them to rise up some fine day and "show" the filchers of their birthrights how they can "suddenly get used" to the necessities of life. In speaking of bathrooms, The Survey reported a canvass made by interested parties some time ago, which showed that some of the "model" tenements had one bathtub to five or six families—with the result that the nearest family, thinking to make use of it in some way, since it was impractical for its original use by dozens of persons, of various families, used the bathroom for storage. The "philanthropic landlords" evidently think that the "unwashed millions" have no delicacy or sense of decency when it comes to crowding dozen and scores of them into one or two little bathrooms. No, these "facts" do not bother Mrs. Kaneko, in the least. When men and women receive the full product of their labor—minus running expenses—when the enormous profit which now goes to the private owners of the means of life is divided among those who earn it, then all of the labor-saving devices, all inventions and modern improvement, will also belong to the people who do the work, and this will be Socialism, and our "dream" will come true as naturally as water runs down hill. And maybe when the capitalists get off our backs, and we have all had a chance to rest and a good bath, our "dispositions" will be better, too. Even this is not hard to predict.

THE MILLS OF MAMMON

BY JAMES H. BROWER.

In this book there are four big stories welded into one in "THE MILLS OF MAMMON."

First: The story of Beatrice Holdon's attempt to uplift the wretched poor who live near the Holdon company's great plant. In this story we find a Socialist who delights in putting burs under the riders of hobby horses, an anarchist who preaches individualism, and "uplifter" of servants, a settlement worker, a woman "suffragist" and up-lifters in general.

Second: The story of a "WHITE SLAVE"—the tortures of the slave pen a view of Madame Vaughn's "old red brick mansion, gray stone trimmed," where the "white slave" makes her plea for liberty. You will never forget either Fagan's slave pen, the "White Slave," or your visits to madame's mansion. In this story you become acquainted with the forces in politics which go to break down civic virtue.

Third: The story of a mechanic with a vision. He hopes to conquer a fortune through the perfecting of an automatic moulding machine. He finds employment in the great Holdon plant and the vision grows for a time.

Fourth: The story of the ~~Holdon~~ Holdon, head of the ~~Holdon~~ company, and that company's relations with organized labor.

It will hold your interest to the last line and you will re-read it, and never rest until you have induced your friends to read it. There's both laughter and tears, and many a page of solid meat for serious thought in "The Mills of Mammon."

P. S.—Ida Couch Hazlett says, it is the best thing in American Socialist fiction.

In every large town there is a group of Socialists, many of whom never saw a copy of The Progressive Woman. Suppose you canvas the comrades of your city a little, and see if you cannot increase the circulation of the P. W., and at the same time stimulate the Socialist idea among women.

Equal rights, privileges for all citizens is the watchword of a true republic.—Susan B. Anthony.

We have made arrangements with the Chas. H. Kerr Pub. Co., whereby we can furnish you with any of their books, at the regular publisher's price. Send us your orders.

What About Woman's Suffrage

ETHEL WHITEHEAD

In the platform of the Socialist party for 1908, under the head of political demands, is found this "unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women, and we pledge ourselves to engage in an active campaign in that direction." The question that is agitating the minds of some of us is, does the party mean that? Of course, all we who are Socialists know that giving women the ballot will not immediately cause vast changes, and that women will make as many mistakes as men have, we know it is only a means, not an end; we know that education in Socialism is the chief thing, but we as a party stand pledged to an "active campaign." Has any one heard of it? Far from it; there seems to be a prejudice against such a campaign, even such a simple matter as circulating the suffrage petition, has caused the writer to be accused of thinking more of suffrage than Socialism.

There are various reasons given for this attitude—woman's suffrage is a "side issue"—the capitalists will give women the ballot, anyhow, in order to try and side-track Socialism—women are reactionary, giving them the ballot will retard Socialism.

One thing that those who hold these opinions forget to take into consideration is, that the wheels of progress are moving, and while it may have been correct at one time to say that the question of suffrage was a "side issue," it is so no longer; it is a very vital, living issue, an issue which deeply concerns woman, and one that the Socialist party must seriously consider. "The Socialist movement is a working class movement," we proudly say, "the interests of the working class—be they women or men—are identical, all we have to do is talk Socialism, and we will get women as well as men"—but where are the women?

An ever increasing number of women are being forced out into the industrial arena; they have the same fight to make as the men; yes, but they have an additional one; woman has the "added disability of her sex"; she receives lower wages than man, except in rare instances. Why? Because she has something else to sell besides her labor power—her sex; that is for sale to the highest bidder; it is made a matter of traffic, and motherhood, that should be the highest, holiest joy of womanhood, is the curse.

All the evidence goes to prove that giving woman the ballot raises the standard of womanhood; it teaches women to respect themselves more, and causes men to respect them. This is more marked where the suffrage is national, for in states where the population is floating, and those women who are adverse to suffrage are constantly coming in, the effects are not so clearly seen, but even in these cases we find laws being enacted which tend to the betterment of social conditions. There are those who argue that this will retard Socialism, and speak of such laws as a "sop," but the principle thing we have to fight in our campaign against a corrupt and effete system, is the ignorance of the masses, any anything which tends to give the workers more time for bodily and mental improvement, is one step in the right direction. It is contended that people need grinding down before they will embrace Socialism,

and this is true in some respects but there is another side to the question: if their brains are ground to pulp, if they are physical wrecks, how can they see anything? The trouble is that in the main the workers are so oppressed that they are too harassed, and too weary, to be able to think. Ignorance is a great weapon of capitalism, and surely anything that tends to dispell ignorance is one step in the right direction. The fight for the ballot is an educational factor; it is a means to an end: working men need the ballot, and working women need it far more; it means one step to the uplift of womanhood which is the real issue at stake. How can giving women the ballot, giving them that which is proven, tends to raise the standard of womanhood, retard Socialism?

It is true that at first it is more than probable that they will vote largely for the old parties, but even so, is not that better than jeopardizing at the outset the new social system by throwing open the ballot to thousands who have hitherto had no voice, and are opposed to the new social order?—and if they do vote for the old parties, will not our present attitude be largely to blame for it? Till recently we have made no very active effort to reach women, and the effort now being made is often very half-hearted; the wives of male members are in a large majority of cases not interested in Socialism, and instances are known where the man has not even taken the trouble to inform his wife that she would be welcome at the meetings. One woman tells that it was six years before she found out that women were allowed at meetings. And now here is this great fight being made for woman's suffrage: is it not poor policy, to say the least, for the party that stands for equality and progress, to calmly say it is a "side issue." Perhaps the party does not say it, but these ideas are voiced by many of its members, and any sign of an "active campaign" is sadly lacking.

The capitalists are going to give women the ballot, and then after we have called it a side issue, we are going to try and persuade women to come into our party, and tell them "why, yes, we always stood for woman's suffrage." Will it not be a little hard to convince them of that, when we stand by and do practically nothing, except pat them on the back and tell them they have our sympathy? This is largely the attitude of the party membership, and why should we blame the women if they give their support to the parties who give them what they have a right to. It is true we are not strong enough as a party to give it to them, but we can at least help our utmost in their fight. If it is a side issue, why is not the free speech fight in Spokane a side issue? Why did we concern ourselves when three members of the Western Federation of Miners were unlawfully imprisoned; why do we raise funds, and appoint committees, because Mexican comrades are in jail? Why do we not tell all those that we are working to change the system, and that if they will wait till we have Socialism, they will not have to suffer these indignities? Why do we not say to those prisoners in Spokane, "the capitalists will let you out sooner or later;

we are working for Socialism; the fact your being in jail is a side issue; it is due to the false economic system." One says the cases are not parallel; they are not. The condition of woman is worse, and is going on all the time. There are thousands of women yearly sold into a most degrading and abject slavery; they are not of the capitalist class, so we are not that excuse; they are recruited from the ranks of the toilers, and we calmly say it is a side issue, and that nothing can be done; wait till we have Socialism. gods! How much better are we than the religionists whom we hold up to scorn and ridicule when they prate of a heaven; tell us to be contented, and we will be happy in the realms of bliss.

But all this question of woman is based up, and has its root in her economic dependence on man. Very true, and the imprisonment of the Spokane woman and so was the kidnaping of Moyer, Wood and Pettibone bound up in the economic dependence of the workers on the capitalist class. But that was some thing that could be done, and it affected the liberty of the workers. The question of the ballot affects the liberty of women; the lack of it hampers woman in her struggle for freedom, and she has a struggle to make against the autocracy of man, as well as against the autocracy of capital.

Two ideas have permeated society in our ages. One is that one class of people only fit to produce the necessities of life, and that the other class should reap the benefit. In our day the aristocratic blood is giving way to the aristocratic money, but the idea is the same. Two classes belong both men and women along with the class struggle has existed another struggle, that of the woman. This has been and still is considered an inferior being; the idea is still prevalent that it existed for ages, that her main duty is to pander to the passions of men; it is not the way it is said; motherhood and its beauty are prated of, while motherhood itself has been degraded, and the code of chivalry has been thrown over the head of woman in the most contempt for womanhood.

The Socialist party recognizes the struggle, but fails to recognize that the struggle, the evidences of which are clearly shown. Women are admitted to membership; they vote—in the party advocate an active campaign for equal unrestricted suffrage, but we do not do anything about it. Why does not our little Appeal take up this fight; why are there such active dislike on the part of many to special work among women because we as a party have failed to take the matter into consideration. It is the nature of the different environment of men and women, that women are considered inferior; the capitalist is loath to give up his assumption of superiority, and man likes to give up his cherished idea of protecting women; he likes the authority of the idea is dying out to some extent, but is not dead yet, and is to be found in the Socialist party. Science is coming to the rescue of woman, and proving that there is nothing in her nature to prevent her from taking her place side by side with man, but the party does not investigate

of the question; it has been considered necessary to put out special propaganda, now when woman is struggling to have great sign and token of the stigma on womanhood removed, we are practically it as a party. Let us look this question in the face and either take out that sentence or live up to it.

MOTHERS OF MULTITUDES.

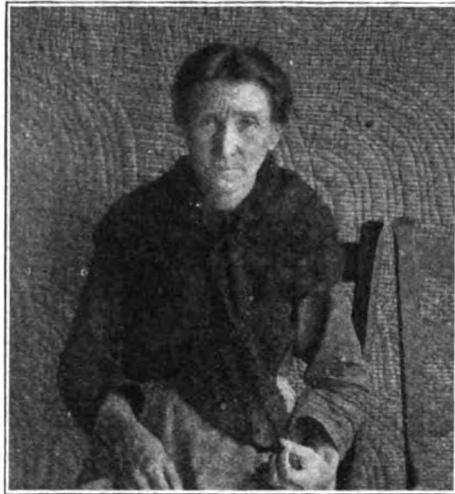
MAY BEALS-HOFFPAUR.

was about seven years ago on my first in the mountains of east Tennessee that for the first time a mother of sixteen children. Never shall I forget her face and name.

We had been driving all day through the beautiful mountain scenery; sometimes along winding river, under beetling crags; sometimes hemmed in by rocks and trees on all sides; sometimes looking down from a high cliff, "ringed by the azure world." And our guide who was conducting the party, a dear physician, who had given up brilliant prospects in his youth for the sake of educating mountaineers, had been entertaining us with the cream of his own widely varied experiences, the romance of Indian legends, and no less interesting facts of his adventures in indigenous plants and local geological conditions.

When we stopped for the night at a mountaineer's cabin, I came down to earth with a bump. The cabin was larger and better than I had ever seen, but the woman who came out to meet us was wrinkled and withered and older in appearance than many women of fifty though she was not half that age. And her voice! I could not believe at first that it was a human voice. It was so cracked and resonant, more plaintive than a parrot's voice. It was like the creaking of a door upon ungreased hinges. I looked around involuntarily for a parrot, and then, remembering that there could be no parrot so far in the "back mountains," looked for a raven having heard that ravens have been taught to speak.

But the voice came from the withered little shell of a woman, who had given her strength to her children. Even the youngest of her children were plump and pink-cheeked. I looked at the woman—what could the woman be?



A Typical Mountain Woman

Those who glibly denounce race suicide should go where it is unknown, and view the wrecks of womanhood who have mothered fourteen, twenty, even in some cases twenty-three or four children. I think they would come to the conclusion that race suicide should be reformed, not abolished.

The best argument that has ever been brought against Socialism is that "the mighty instinct of reproduction and its consequences, the tendency to multiply with great rapidity," would sooner or later "re-introduce the cosmic struggle . . . not merely for the commodities but for the means of existence." That is, when the population reaches the limit of possible expansion, the surplus members of society must be disposed of somehow; or the fierce struggle for existence must recommence and change the peaceful industrial state back to the old order of senseless competition.

Huxley suggests that this difficulty might be met by the "systematic extirpation of the superfluous. The hopelessly diseased, the infirm aged, the weak or deformed in body or mind, would be put away, as the gardener pulls up defective and superfluous plants, or the breeder destroys undesirable cattle."

It would be far more economical, not to say more humane, to prevent the production of these undesirables, than to destroy them. Race suicide is not a solution of the problem, though the mere diminution of quantity means an improvement in quality. This is woman's problem, and by far the most important problem of the future.

The check on reproduction and its consequence, over-population, must eventually be intelligence, not war, pestilence and famine—nor abortion.



An East Tennessee Mother

Sorrows of Cupid and Little Sister of the Poor, both, 25c.

Breshkovskaya.

ELSIE BARKER.

How narrow seems the round of ladies' lives.
And ladies' duties in their smiling world.
The day this Titan woman, gray with years,
Goes out across the void to prove her soul!
Brief are the pains of motherhood that end
In motherhood's long joy; but she has borne
The age-long travail of a cause that lies
Still-born at last on History's cold lap.
And yet she rests not; yet she will not drink
The cup of peace held to her parching lips
By smug Dishonor's hand. Nay, forth she fares.
Old and alone, on exile's rocky road—
That well-worn road with snows incarnadined
By blood drops from her feet long years ago.

Mother of power, my soul goes out to you
As a strong swimmer goes to meet the sea
Upon whose vastness he is like a leaf.
What are the ends and purposes of song.
Save as a bugle at the lips of Life
To sound reveille to a drowsing world
When some great deed is rising like the sun?
Where are those others whom your deeds inspired
To deeds and words that were themselves a deed?
Those who believed in death have gone with death
To the gray cages of immortality;
Those who have believed in life have gone with life
To the red halls of spiritual death.

And you? But what is death or life to you?
Only a weapon in the hand of faith
To cleave a way for beings yet unborn
To a far freedom you will never share!
Freedom of body is an empty shew
Wherein men crawl whose souls are held with
gyves;
For Freedom is a spirit, and she dwells
As often in a jail as on the hills.
In all the world this day there is no soul
Freer than you, Breshkovskaya, as you stand
Facing the future in your narrow cell.
For you are free of self and free of fear.
Those twin-born shades that lie in wait for man
When he steps out upon the wind-blown road
That leads to human greatness and to pain.

Take in your hand once more the pilgrim's staff—
Your delicate hand misshapen from the nights
In Kara's mines; bind on your ungent back,
That long has borne the burdens of the race,
The exile's bundle, and upon your feet
Strap the worn sandals of tireless faith.

You are too great for pity. After you
We send not sob, but songs; and all our days
We shall walk bravelier, knowing where you are.
—New York Times.

OUR LEAFLETS.

(Don't forget that leaflet campaign)

A Word to Working Women, by Agnes Downing; **Elizabeth Cady Stanton on Socialism**; **A Word to Club Women**, by Agnes Downing; **Reply to Anti-Suffragists**, by Theresa Malkiel. Any of the above, 50 for 10c; 100 for 20c; \$1.50 per 1,000. **Francis Willard on Socialism**, 10c per 100; \$1.00 per 1,000.

Woman; Comrade and Equal, by Eugene V. Debs. This article from the November Progressive Woman has been done into leaflet form for wider circulation. Prof. C. F. Dight, of the University of Minnesota, says it "will rank, I think, with the gems of Robert Ingersoll." 20c per 100; \$1.50 per 1,000.

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FILLERS.



May Beals-Hoffpaur in her Tennessee Cabin

Sketches of Russian Heroines

MAY BEALS-HOFFPAUR

(Continued from January.)

The school which Sergius and Sonia Sinegub began teaching with such enthusiasm, was opened and supported by a peasant who had become immensely rich in the boot trade. This manufacturer, Martinoff, was a native of the village, but fortunately for our youthful teachers, he spent most of his time in St. Petersburg, where he had a large shop, and enjoyed the patronage of Grand Duke Nicholas Nicolaiewitch. This was fortunate because on his visits to the village he indulged in the grossest debaucheries, and, like other autocrats, demoralized his cringing subjects. To give him his dues, Martinoff was a generous autocrat, spending money freely, feasting the villagers royally, and appointing for the school teachers very generous salaries, compared with those usually paid at that time to village teachers. Sergius' salary amounted to nearly one hundred dollars. Sonia's to more than fifty dollars. Perhaps I should remind you that this was their yearly, not their monthly pay, but as they were nominally man and wife, he gave them also the use of a residence, which contained two rooms and a kitchen.

But what cared they for cramped salaries and cramped quarters? They were "going to the people" with their message of hope and freedom. Besides they were exceedingly well-paid compared with some of their comrades, one of whom, Zhukoff, in a neighboring village, was receiving less than forty dollars a year for the same sort of teaching, cloaking the same political propaganda.

As teachers Sergius and Sonia were so successful that the parents of their pupils soon began coming to them and asking to be taught to read. Of course, they gladly complied and soon organized popular readings which served a dual purpose, as the reading matter selected by the young teachers described as vividly as possible the causes of the people's poverty.

All went well until Martinoff's irresponsible profligacy brought about conflicts between himself and the teachers. Martinoff was a "blonde beast," utterly without principle. On one occasion he had killed his own clerk, for an alleged impertinent reply, but his wealth bribed judge and jury, and actually paid a substitute to go to Siberia in his stead.

On one of his visits to Gubin-Ugol, Martinoff had everyone in the village awakened at one o'clock in the morning, and made the girls form a khorovod (procession with songs and dances) and the men go fishing by the light of lanterns. Most disgusting to the teachers was the fact that he sent them presents, which they could not return on account of Martinoff's influence. They managed to avoid an open rupture with their patron, until one day he appeared in the school in a drunken state, clad in nightgown and slippers and accompanied by a young woman, his mistress. As he could not turn them out, Sergius sent away the boys in his class, and Sonia, fearing the unwelcome guests would appear in her department, sent away all the girls.

This threw Martinoff into an unreasoning rage. He swore and insulted Sergius, who immediately found lodgings for himself and his wife in a peasant cottage. Martinoff sent for the district head of police, who advised Sinegub in a friendly tone, and evidently with the best intentions, to apologise to his patron.

"Life's rule teaches us," he said, "that the weak must yield to the strong."

"I have nothing to apologise for," answered Sinegub. "I believe it is Mr. Martinoff who owes me an apology."

It was Martinoff who finally apologised and called together the whole village to feast and carouse until daybreak in honor of the reconciliation. The teachers decided, however, to leave Gubin-Ugol, and resumed their political propaganda among the factory workers of St. Petersburg.

Before they left Gubin-Ugol they had discovered—this very young and would-be platonic pair—that their sharing of each other's plans for the enlightenment of the ignorant, their constant and close intellectual intercourse though highly satisfactory to their intellects was less so to their affections. Sinegub, in fact, had fallen in love with his wife even before they were married, but he knew she had married him to gain freedom from parental tyranny—and he would not speak one word to abridge her freedom. And Sonia, although understanding his position, would not speak, of course, until she just naturally couldn't help it. In Sinegub's diary is a partial record of the event:

One evening our conversation touched on moral and social topics, and through the association of ideas passing to the question of love, ended in Larissa's (Sonia's) sudden confession that she loved me, and had no longer strength to conceal her feelings. I went nearly mad with happiness that evening. My own tongue would never have moved to tell her how madly I loved her as I considered such an act would be simply a crime on my part, an encroachment upon her freedom, and an abuse of my position as her legal husband. But, now she herself made the confession of love, and in a moment destroyed the barrier that had checked the outburst of my intense feelings. . . . Yes, there was in that moment something to make one mad with joy.

After a short time spent in propaganda in St. Petersburg, Sinegub was arrested, and was kept in solitary confinement, awaiting his trial, for four years and eight months. Sonia, too, was arrested, but she was soon liberated, and after her husband's imprisonment had lasted several months, she was given permission to visit him once a week.

"Oh, my Lord! With what impatience I looked forward to Friday," writes Sinegub in his diary. "And with what bitterness I returned every time to my cell after her visit, having before me a whole week of separation from her I love so intensely. On awakening Friday mornings, I could find no rest, pacing to and fro in the cell, jumping on the chair, counting the chimes of the fortress clock, and seeking in every way to relieve the tormenting feelings of waiting. I tried to read but could not, every moment my hearing was strained in the direction of the door, listening to every sound of footsteps and wondering whether they were coming in the direction of my cell. At last I was taken to the visiting room, and there I could press her to my bosom, kiss her and caress her hand to my heart's desire."

Although the interviews were always in the presence of gendarmes, Sonia managed to give him brief news. And their kisses served a double purpose, as notes were hidden in their mouths and transmitted to each other. Sonia managed in the same way to supply her husband with blank paper for his notes, and a bit

of pencil. The notes were written on thin paper and wrapped in lead paper, so they could not get moist and be obliterated in the mouth. For a year they corresponded in this way and then a prisoner who practiced the same method of correspondence with his relatives was caught in the act, and afterwards the prisoners were always separated from their visitors by a table. Kissing was forbidden, save the kissing of hands across the table.

Sinegub was finally sentenced to nine years of hard labor in Siberia. After his sentence expired he continued to live in Siberia with his family until the proclamation of the "constitutional manifesto" in 1905, caused him to be exiled from Siberia. He was living in Tomsk, holding the position of controller of the government savings bank, and devoted his leisure to literary work. But the authorities began to clear the town of political unreliable characters, and Sinegub, aged before his time, broken in health, and at the time actually ill and in the hands of a doctor, was seized and thrown into prison. After four days' confinement he was ordered to leave Siberia, and was not even allowed to settle his affairs at the bank or at home.

He was allowed to return to Siberia, after a year of exile, but his position in the bank was not given to him. The government director of the Siberian railway, who has charge of the savings banks, wants no politically reliable officials.

Their home life has been as happy as can be that is blighted with the double curse of poverty and tyranny. Their eldest son committed suicide as a result of overstudy at a government classical gymnasium. It is government policy to cram the students, they will have no time for political propaganda—a cruel policy that has often the most tragic results. Another son, an army officer though opposed to the war with Japan, had to take part in it and was killed, no one knew where. Their daughter, Natasha, a charming and cultured girl of seventeen, became nervous and melancholy through witnessing the tragedy of life in their own family and among friends, and so she, too, committed suicide.

Madam Sinegub recently wrote to a friend in England:

"We still have four children alive, but what Russian parents do not look on their children as doomed from the very dawn of life? Our own children are of nervous constitutions, extremely sensitive natures, and the conditions of Russian life do not permit the development of healthy organisms and well-balanced minds. Will my children live to see better days, without deportations, prisons, gallows, shootings and tortures? How I envy the English you know! What a happy childhood they seem to enjoy! What happy school years!"

They are still living in that far-off land still suffering for their crime of trying to enlighten the ignorant, and free the oppressed Maryville, Tenn.

Revolutionary Socialist songs, compiled by Chas. H. Kerr, ten cents a copy. The Mars-laive and the International alone are worth the price of the book.

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The New York Sunday Call offers a resume of the week's news, giving always the Socialist interpretation, and carries, in addition, a most excellent literary section. If you want to acquaint yourself with the literature of the common people, of working class interpretation, don't fail to subscribe for the Sunday Call. With the Progressive Woman, one year, \$2.00.

THE VAMPIRE

HERESA MALKIEL

Are men's veins so full of beast nature,
Men's bosoms so sordid and cold
That humans, aye, children must suffer
For being in feminine mold?

—Lurana Sheldon.

lary bent her head low over the wash-
try trying to suppress the tears that were
rolling down her cheeks into the soapy
er.

a surprise I asked the cause of her grief,
this was the first time she had worked for
and I attributed her tears to some momen-
dissatisfaction.

No, it's not the work; it's all him, my hus-
d!" she exclaimed in reply to my question.
suffer and work, I've four children already,
he no care nothin'. My baby, she nineteen
nths and I had a hard time in going to
rk and leaving her home, and now . . ." a
flow of tears prevented her from speak-
for a while.

Calm yourself, Mary." I tried to soothe
"What is it now?"

Oh, madame, I just feel like throwing my-
f into the river," continued Mary heaving
leap sigh. "I am going to have another. . .
st night I fight with my husband. I say
a shame, he is out of work and we can't
p these children, but he don't care; he says
can't help it! I tell my priest, but he say:
o not sin, my child, this is God's way."

As I stood there helplessly gazing at the
fortunate being in feminine mold, who was
ng slowly sacrificed on the altar of legit-
zed lust the words of Oscar Wilde suddenly
me into my mind: "Each man kills the
ng he loves."

Mary's was not the first utterance of des-
ir I had heard. Even while she spoke I re-
lled the face of a pathetic, little, middle-class
man I had met but a few days ago, who
ugh only twenty-three years old, was al-
vly the mother of two living children and
number of still born that came long before
r time. Her stooped figure and the hunted
k in her eyes bespoke of great suffering
d, as she told me later, the verdict of her
ysician was that she had become a physical
reck.

"He told me not to dare to have any more
ildren," she informed me mournfully. "But
can't help it!" she added in despair. "My
shand would not hear of anything of the
nd."

The poor soul had made a vow of coniugal
ty and now considered herself bound by it,
is would not have been the case, perhaps,
she had not to depend on him for a living;
he had not been the supporter of her two
ildren. Then she might have still found
ough energy to rid herself of the vampire
was, in the name of so-called love, sap-
her life's blood.

About the same time I received a letter
om an able friend who wrote: "Tolstoy
is right when he said that the emancipation
women cannot be brought about in female
lleges, nor at the ballot box, but in the nup-
il chambers. For no one can guess the
isery that the majority of women bear in
eir wedded life; the depths to which society
pulled down, through the unchecked pas-
sions of husbands preying upon hapless and
dripless wives. If there was no other reason
earth for wanting Socialism, this would be
ason enough—that women may be economic-
ly free of men. That children may be born
mothers who desire them, that women may
tain their natural vitality for social service
ather than for sex service to men!"

These three incidents coming close one upon

the other caused me to regret once more the
fact that the sex problem, though the most
vital problem of the human race, is as yet the
least considered and discussed.

The people at large are coming to realize
that this instinct of human nature had long
ever stepped the natural boundaries and de-
veloped into debauchery. But they refrain
scrupulously from all public utterance against
the depravity of sexual life which, instead of
remaining a center of attraction for new gen-
erations has become, as a rule, the selfish grati-
fication of the exaggerated desires of the male.

Since history began woman has restrained
and man has willfully gratified his passions,
artificially implanting lust as an instinct of or-
ganic necessity. But on account of her eco-
nomic dependence she submits to his will and
suffers in silence.

All too frequently is the conventional mar-
riage in reality a deeply immoral relation
fraught with the most fatal results for the
woman. If the pillars of our society were
brave enough to start a thorough investigation
of the marital problem, and woman sensible
enough to confess the truth, it would become
evident soon that the majority of women are
in the hands of vampires to whom their per-
sonal desires are supreme. And yet—our
moral code and the church not only tolerate
this horrible crime, but, on the contrary, ac-
ceed to man the privilege of treating his wife
according to his inclinations.

Taking advantage of his superior strength
and his politico-economic power over his girl
wife, the young husband proceeds to master
her to submit to his bid and call. She is his
chattle, his goods, and he often takes advan-
tage of this fact in sapping all health and vi-
tality from her.

Once hopelessly entrapped in the net, in-
stead of welcoming relations predestined by
nature, woman often comes, through man's
abuse, to abhor the very thought of them, de-
ploring her enforced motherhood and still
helplessly continuing it. If she had the legal
right and opportunity to develop the ability
to humanize these conditions the time would
soon come when man would cease to be a
vampire.

Or, in the words of Edward Carpenter:
"He is indeed a master of life, who, accenting
the grosser desires as they come to his body,
knows how to transform them at will into
the most rare and fragrant flowers of human
emotion. For the moment man rises into
any sort of consciousness of the equal rights
of others with himself his love needs open up
the terrible problem."

Man, if he wishes, can educate himself to
subdue his passions, to abandon the egotism
which by using the right of the stronger, tries
to fetter the weaker. But, he seems to be sat-
isfied to leave matters as they are. And here
lies perhaps, the secret of man's constant op-
position to woman's emancipation.

It is therefore absolutely necessary to make
woman conscious of her miserable position
since today the majority of women go on suf-
fering without clearly realizing the gross in-
justice of it all, both to herself and the race.

Woman must at last come to understand
that she, too, has a right to assert her wishes
in regards to her sexual relations, for it is
her blind and ignorant submission to the self-
assumed mastership of man that has brought
her present suffering upon her. She must
come to believe that she can exist for her own
sake, and not as an appendage to him.

Yonkers, N. Y.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

META L. STERN.

Finland.

The fifth national conference of the Socialist
women of Finland was held in Helsingfors during
the late fall of last year. Much of the discussion
was devoted to problems of modern education and a
unanimous resolution was passed favoring obliga-
tory school attendance (the public school system
is still rather undeveloped in Finland) as also the
founding of public institutions for the education
of neglected and orphaned children in which poor
mothers should be given shelter likewise. The
conference declared against the employment of
women at night and demanded a rigorous restric-
tion of child labor. Total abstinence was again
declared for and the Socialist women issued a
special appeal to working class mothers urging
them to teach their children to abstain from all
intoxicating beverages. Contrary to the Socialist
parties of other countries our Finnish comrades
have a prohibition plank in their platform. In-
surance of mothers, to give working women finan-
cial aid during pregnancy and after child-birth
was strongly favored and the party was urged
to take up the demand for this measure. In a
long series of animated speeches the women bit-
terly condemned militarism, denouncing it as the
strongest tool of the government of czar and aris-
tocracy for maintaining the people in subjugation.
The outlawed position of the Jews in Finland was
likewise vehemently condemned. The demand for
religious freedom and the separation of church
and state constituted the contents of another reso-
lution. One practical result of the conference was
the decision to dissolve all separate woman's or-
ganizations and to place the work of agitation
among women under the direct control of the
party. The formation of study clubs for carry-
ing on educational work was decided upon. It was
furthermore decided that the women should en-
deavor to procure means for giving free instruc-
tion to women and girls at the school which is be-
ing conducted under the auspices of the party.

Iceland.

To the women of Iceland the coming of the new
year has meant another step in progress. On the
first of January the law passed during April last
went into effect, whereby women are qualified to be
elected to any public office except to parliament.
At present women are holding municipal offices in
Reikjavik and Hafnarfjardur. In accordance with
the new law they can be elected to all local bod-
ies throughout the island. The suffragists of Ice-
land are hopeful that it will not be long until they
shall have obtained the parliamentary suffrage
also.

Sweden.

A limited form of municipal woman's suffrage
has existed in Sweden since 1862. Only independ-
ent tax payers were included, which meant that
only unmarried women of means were permitted
to vote. But by a recent decision of the Swedish
parliament the suffrage has been extended con-
siderably, leaving only a very slight property
qualification. The Swedish Socialist newspaper,
Socialdemokraten," sets forth that even work-
men's wives can obtain the right to vote at all
municipal elections if they have an independent
yearly income of but ten crowns. The national
Swedish woman's suffrage association has decided
to distribute throughout the country leaflets set-
ting forth and explaining to women their newly
acquired political rights. By the same parlia-
mentary decision which has extended the munic-
ipal franchise to a greater number of women, they
have also been declared eligible to municipal of-
fices.

Germany.

The number of organized women workers in
Germany is steadily increasing. In 1892 only
4,355 women were members of unions; statistics
gathered during the past year show that there are
138,443 industrially organized women in Germany
at present. The attitude of the German work-
men toward their sister workers has undergone a
considerable and encouraging transformation.
While men formerly tried to keep the women out,
they now welcome them into their organizations.
At the recent party convention of the Socialists
of Prussia thirteen women delegates were present.
They took an active part in all the proceedings of
the convention.

France.

At a recent debate on election reforms in the
French chamber, Deputy Marcel Sembat advocated
the extension of the franchise to women. The
chairman of the committee on election reforms re-
plied that the committee would take the question
of woman suffrage into consideration.

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Editor and Publisher... Josephine Conger-Kaneko



Mrs. Belmont, the millionaire suffragist, has said that women ought to be economically free from men. But that is impossible under the present system. Followed out to its logical conclusion, Mrs. Belmont's statement would lead straight to Socialism. Wonder if the lady knew it?

More than 500 women have been sent to prison in England for demanding political liberty. Many of them have been put through forms of torture, such as forcible feeding, sleeping on plank beds, the so-called frog march, having cold water from a fire hose played upon them, wrenching them to the skin in cold cells. They have not diminished their ardor for freedom, however.

Do you know why you are poor? Why you have to have cheap and ugly furniture in your home, why your children's clothes are insufficient and why your table is not abundantly spread with the best of the land? The answer is simple. It's because your husband doesn't receive all that he makes at his work, and the profit makers take away that little from you in high prices when you go to buy. So, between low wages and high prices, you are just about skinned clean. Yet you don't seem to care very much.

Around the world is heard the voice of woman, so lately cloistered and quiet, asking for human recognition, for education, for industrial freedom, for political rights. Here and there are little groups of women who are awakening to the fact that the slavery of their sex has its roots in the same mire that holds the workingman. Also, that there is no woman, whatever her station in life, but is in some way or another the victim of modern society. A victim with hands tied. And there are those who are coming to see that the woman question is the tenderest spot in the capitalist body, one from which, in its probing, the capitalist mind most shrinks. The pillars of society know that the woman's movement will gather adherents from their own rank and down the line even to the weakest and most crushed of their victims. And they know that the final end of this rebellion of woman can be, through the very nature of their needs, none other than absolute economic freedom—or Socialism.

Buy a copy of The Socialist Primer for your children. It will start them on the right track. Reduced price, fifteen cents.

Miss Selma Lagerlof, winner of the Nobel prize for literature, believes in woman's suffrage, and is a member of the Frederica Bremer association, a powerful woman's club organized to promote the social betterment and enfranchisement of women. Socialism also absorbs Miss Lagerlof's attention.

In last month's issue we published some resolutions and a "Statement of Principles" drawn up by the Socialist women of Chicago, to be presented to the National Woman's committee with the request that they make an effort to have it embodied in the national platform, as an explanation of the Socialist's stand for woman suffrage. We hope that all Socialist women will take an interest in this matter, and will write to the committee members their personal ideas about the addition of the S. of P. to this plank of the platform. We believe that such an addition will make clearer and more impressive our stand on the woman question, and will be highly educational. The mere statement that we stand for equal political rights for men and women* is easily overlooked, or ignored by the thoughtless, and fails to carry the weight that it should carry. Altogether we think it is a matter that should be taken up by the rank and file of Socialist women who should submit their views to the woman's National committee.

The newspapers are full of the reports of strikes. Strikes that count. Strikes such as society never knew before. Dozens and scores of them. Sometimes they win, sometimes they lose. But they all mean something. And it is this: That the working people are discontented with their condition. They are tired of being run through the capitalist wringer, for profits. The strike of thirty thousand, or more, little sewing girls—for they were mostly under twenty—in New York city, was epoch-making. The entire country held its breath at the audacity of it. The girls won. Close upon their heels comes the great street car strike in Philadelphia. It has kept the country guessing for weeks. Men, women and children in various trades have gone out in sympathy with the car men. Thousands of women textile workers are engaged in this great struggle for the workers' rights against capitalist wrongs. Following upon the heels of the Philadelphia strike will come others even more important. Where will it all lead? To the "Iron Heel," as described by Jack London, or to—the co-operative commonwealth? Did the workers but understand the full extent of their rights, as the producers of the necessities of life, there would be no need of the iron heel. But do they understand? *Will their leaders permit them to understand, not the full extent of their wrongs, but of their rights, which is vastly more important.* But the workers are not following leaders so much today. The shirtwaist girls had practically no leaders; the strike of the Philadelphia men and women was largely forced by the rank and file. It is an excellent time for the Socialist worker—not to lead—but to point the way. Indeed, the Socialists have great responsibilities from now on. May they be wise and capable in the execution of them.

Picture of Comrade Debs and the Girard Socialist children, on tinted paper, with five copies current issue of The Progressive Woman, ten cents.

Wherever a woman's meeting is held, P. W. literature should be liberally used.

Little Sister of the Poor, 15c.

WOMAN AND SOCIALISM.

A fiftieth edition of any standard work is remarkable. It becomes almost phenomenal if this occurs in the publication of a radical book. August Bebel, the great old man of the German Social democracy has lived to see his masterpiece, *Woman and Socialism* reach this distinction. He has revised it with almost every edition, and the Jubilee edition just published is an imperishable work, which the Socialist Literature Co., 15 Spruce St., N. Y., is now publishing in English, and its appearance will make an appreciable impression upon the female suffrage movement now agitating our country. It is significant that the masterpiece of the greatest statesman of the Socialist movement should have been a book on the Woman Question, and that work on this subject should have had a phenomenal circulation!

In her article, "The Vampire," which appears in this issue of the Progressive Woman, Theresa Malkiel calls vividly to mind the condition under which all too many women are living and suffering today. A condition, which if we are to progress as human beings, must be abolished. We wish that Mrs. Malkiel had more strongly emphasized the need of economic freedom for woman in her otherwise strong and fearless article, if she ever hoped to free herself from the slavery such as therein pointed out. As much as we feel like doing it, it is next to us less to admonish our men, and argue with them about this treatment of women so long as conditions under which men and women live remain as they are. The man who is honest with himself, who desires social progress, and human betterment, deplors the fact that woman is so situated that he cannot resist taking advantage of her helplessness. He would like to see her freer, stronger, more independent of him. He does not like, indeed, his own production; is sick at heart often, that he has reduced that which should be the joy and inspiration of life to him, to a creature of temptation and gross pleasure. All through the ages men have marveled at the so-called double nature of women; at her power over him, and the evil she brought upon him. "The Temptation of St. Anthony" is typical of this attitude of men throughout history. Cursing woman, as the source of evil, yet longing with all his being for her. She has been as a two-edged sword to him; luring him with her magnetism, and cursing him with the response to it. No wonder, in his helplessness, he laid the sins of the world at her feet. "The woman, she tempted me, and she did eat." Think of her power over the destinies of men. And all the time man could not see that the pain of her came through the abuse of her. Through his ignorance in reducing her to a soulless, brainless, over-sexed creature incapable of achievement in any line save the conquest of him, through his weakness. Only the Socialist mind, perhaps, can conceive of the absolute freedom of woman. For Socialism alone, of all the philosophies and creeds and politics and sciences, offers woman the opportunity for self-ownership, for self-direction, for full human development. It may not be so much amiss, then, for the opponents of the woman's movement to predict that woman's freedom and Socialism are identical. They are. One cannot exist without the other.

What have you done to increase the circulation of the P. W. this last month?

Send us your orders for Socialist books.

The Marriage Contract

LIDA PARCE

We saw in the March installment on the Marriage Contract that marriage, while regarded as a contract is not exactly a contract; and that it is really more of a status of servitude, existing within a government that is supposed to have abolished the status of servitude a long time ago. As nearly as it can be defined, it is a contract, signed in enforced ignorance of its terms, which deprives the woman signing it of any contractual rights which she previously had. By this contract a woman enters a status of servitude, in which she incurs the penalties and obligations of slavery, without enjoying the protection arising from the market value of a slave. A wife can not be sold. In Gage's "Woman, Church and State," you will find an account of a case that transpired in the nineteenth century in England, in which two men entered into an agreement by which the one acquired the other's wife for a consideration. The woman was arrested, tried and sentenced to a term of imprisonment. The barter and sale of wives is at least not a safe transaction for the wife.

In their origin and history the legal elements of marriage go back to the beginning of political history. The early Greek and Roman women were chattels belonging to the family until such time as they were sold to a man who became husband and owner at once. The early laws, however, took much of the governance of the slave-wife out of the hands of the her owner by prescribing in the minutest way many of the personal and intimate affairs of women's lives. The number and description of woman's dresses the quantity and quality of their food and the size of lunch baskets they might carry when journeying, the rules for their sacrificings to the gods, were all laid down by the careful and anxious law makers of the times. Then there was no talk about a marriage contract. When a man died, if he had a wife, he named the man who was to succeed him as her owner. But in later Roman times when culture was far advanced, the contract idea was introduced, as it has been again in modern times. Success has never attended this effort, however, because, in fact, you can not mix the status of slavery with the right of contract. The two are mutually destructive.

When the barbarian tribes of northern Europe fused with the elements of the decaying Roman state to form medieval civilization, the laws governing the minute affairs of women disappeared. From this time, her husband was her only ruler, and the laws that give him the right of an owner over her are derived from that period with very little change. Sir Henry Maine says, on pages 151-152, of "Ancient Law:"

"Modern jurisprudence, forged in the furnace of barbarian conquest, and formed by the fusion of Roman jurisprudence with patriarchal usage, has absorbed, among its rudiments, much . . . of those rules concerning the position of woman which belong peculiarly to an imperfect civilization. . . . When we move onward, and the code of the middle ages has been formed by the amalgamation of the two systems, the law in relation to women carries the stamp of its double origin. . . . But the chapter of law relating to married women was for the most part read by the light not of Roman law, but of cannon law, which, in no one particular departs so widely from the spirit of the secular jurisprudence as in the view it takes of the relation created by marriage. The proprietary disabilities of mar-

ried females stand on quite a different basis from their personal incapacities, and it is by the tendency of their doctrines to keep alive and consolidate the former, that the expositors of the cannon law have deeply injured civilization."

It is a strange thing that laws that arose in this way should have been preserved so completely in the one institution on which our morality is supposed to finally rest. The appalling immoralities thus preserved and enforced in the name of morality should, at last, receive careful analysis and vigorous treatment at the hands of women, at whose expense they still exist. Women will receive contemptuous treatment at the hands of the state, they will occupy a contemptible position in society, so long as they allow these immoralities at their expense to go unchallenged.

That the common law is at variance with common morality and common honesty the following excerpts from "Tiffany's Persons and Domestic Relations," will show:

"Neither spouse is liable to the other, either during coverture or after divorce, for wrongful acts committed during coverture. The husband is such a case could sue third persons who assisted his wife, but the wife could not sue third persons who assisted her husband."—Page 68.

"A husband has no right to restrain his wife of her liberty, except where restraint is necessary, either, (a) To prevent her from committing a crime. . . . or (d) To prevent her interference with his parental authority over his children."—Page 50.

"The husband has a right to fix or change the family domicile and refusal of his wife to follow him, without sufficient excuse will amount to desertion."—Page 53.

"The husband has the enjoyment of his wife's chattels real . . . during his life, with the power to dispose of and encumber them, and they are liable for his debts. If undisposed of on his death, they go to the wife. On the wife's death they go to him. At the death of the husband the wife is entitled at common law . . . to one-third of all lands of which he was seized at any time during the coverture, and which her issue might have inherited."—Pages 96, 101.

"At common law the wife's personality in possession vests exclusively in her husband without any act on his part, and on his death passes to his personal representatives. This is true as to personality owned by her at the time of her marriage, and personality acquired during coverture, and as to personality in actual possession of some third persons not holding adversely. Exceptions: The rule does not apply to the wife's paraphernalia, that is, such articles of wearing apparel, personal ornament or convenience as are suitable to her rank and condition. These belong to the husband, like other personality in possession; but if undisposed of by him, they belong to the wife on his death."—Page 85.

The facts of slavery consist in the relations of the individual to the soil, to society, to the law, and to the state. The slave works, the master owns the product; so with the married woman. As seen above, the husband owns absolutely all the real and personal property she may have been possessed of.

The slave is property, not a person in the eyes of the law. The wife is so much a slave that she can not defend herself, even against the wrongs committed against her by third

persons, with her husband's help. He is the only legal parent of her children, he can decide where she shall live.

The slave has no part in making the laws of the country in which he lives, neither has a woman. He is not a member of the state, but is, on the contrary, the subject of a subject. So is the married woman.

The only way in which the married woman differs from a slave is in the fact that her owner can not kill her nor sell her without incurring a legal penalty. And her children provide legal heirs, to whom he can leave his property if he so wishes.

In some states the common law has been modified by statutes in one or more particulars. But everywhere the common law lays down these basic principles, and the spirit of it is the shining light of jurisprudence. Nowhere has the principle which makes the wife the subject of the husband been questioned. Verily women are a meek and lowly lot.

WOMAN MEMBER OF THE N. E. C.



For the first time in its existence our national executive committee has a woman member. Comrade Lena Morrow Lewis came out fifth among the seven delegates who were elected. This is interesting, as it shows the seriousness with which the party

members take the women within their ranks. In looking over the returns, we find that three states gave Comrade Lewis first place; five, second place; six, third place, and so on. As it might be a pointer as to the amount of work needed to educate the membership up to the necessity of special work for and among women, we give Comrade Lewis' rank in the various states. Notice, please, how well up the list the southern and western states placed her: Arizona, 5; Arkansas, 3; California, 5; Colorado, 7; Connecticut, 14; Delaware, 15; Florida, 2; Georgia, 3; Hawaii, 4; Idaho, 1; Illinois, 13; Indiana, 13; Iowa, 2; Kansas, 2; Kentucky, 3; Louisiana, 2; Maine, 6; Massachusetts, 8; Minnesota, 9; Michigan, 1; Missouri, 3; Mississippi, 14; Nevada, 5; New Jersey, 6; New Hampshire, 23; New Mexico, 19; New York, 6; North Carolina, 4; North Dakota, 2; Ohio, 5; Oklahoma, 3; Oregon, 7; Pennsylvania, 3; Rhode Island, 20; South Carolina, 9; Tennessee, 11; Virginia, 5; Washington, 8; West Virginia, 6; Wisconsin, 17; Wyoming, 20.

Thus, we find that twenty-seven states voted for Comrade Lewis on the first seven counts. And perhaps next time we will put more women on the N. E. C. The Progressive Woman is not so foolish as to wish women elected to office simply because they are women; but neither do we wish them debarred from responsible places in our movement, simply because they are women. We know that competence has no sex, but Mother Nature has seen fit to divide the human race into men and women, and we believe that men and women in all the walks of life give a better balance, and a better stability to society, than if men, or women alone, fill the places. And especially must we have this balance in our Socialist organization.

Send us your order for any book on Socialism.

We have a fine line of leaflets on hand now; don't forget that leaflet campaign.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND SOCIALISM

[Extract from speech of Comrade Meda Agnes England, at the Portland, Me., "Woman's Day" meeting of suffragists and Socialists, February 27, 1910.]

The battle for woman suffrage is one which is already partly gained. Here and there, among the more enlightened nations and communities of the world, recognition has already been accorded to the desire of women to take an active part in the making and the administration of the laws by which they are governed, taxed, or punished. In a recent number of the German Socialist paper, "Der Wahre Jacob," appeared a full-page group of thirteen Finnish women, all regularly elected and active members of the Finnish diet. These thirteen women, and ten more beside, have—even under the very heel of czarism—been doing no end of good work as regards the drink question, the "social evil," the old-age pension and other measures of a progressive nature. The majority of them are Socialists, which is not at all surprising, as the Socialist party all over the world is actively supporting the woman suffrage movement—as it is, in fact, the only political party in the world that recognizes women as political equals as human beings.

What is happening in Finland is merely a symptom of the forward and upward movement of women all over the world—yes, even in the United States, which for some reason or other so often stands back and lets other nations surpass it in the paths of progress. Although the capitalist press here at home usually either sneers at this movement, or else ignores it, yet the fact remains that abroad the movement is rapidly going forward. So rapid is this progress that, almost before we can record it, some new phase of development is taking place somewhere or other. New Zealand, as we have already heard, has for some time granted the full suffrage to our sisters. Charles Edward Russell, in his "Soldiers of the Common Good," has recorded the results. You have only to read his work in order to learn just how active women have been there, politically, and how beneficial the results of that activity have been. The part that women have taken in cleaning up the dark corners of New Zealand's civilization adequately refutes the favorite statement of our opponents that "women wouldn't vote if they could." As a matter of fact, they have voted, when able to do so, and the good work they have done with those votes would require more time, to describe, than I have at my disposal here.

Australia has not lagged far behind New Zealand. As far back as 1902 the federated states granted full national suffrage to women. Last November, even the somewhat backward state of Victoria gave in to the inevitable.

Conservative England some years ago here and there granted the municipal suffrage to a varying extent, and no serious observer doubts that today the full parliamentary suffrage is at hand.

Denmark succeeded last year to the demand for municipal suffrage. At the Copenhagen elections in March, women took an active part in the fight. At least one-third of the votes were cast by them. There are today in Denmark 127 women municipal councillors actually seated in office. How is that for an answer to the statement that "women won't vote?"

In Sweden, the riksdag recently passed a bill enabling all the inhabitants of the country, men or women, to vote at the age of twenty-four. So the unlimited suffrage is already, there, an accomplished fact.

In Germany, so far as old party politics are concerned, women seem to be under the ban, but they are tremendously active as members of the Socialist party. Once Socialism sweeps Germany, as the latest dispatches seem to give evidence it must do before long, the German women can at once transfer their activities from Socialist propaganda to truly national affairs.

In Russia, Cuba, Spain, Japan, Turkey—even in the United States—the movement is gaining ground. Its outcome is positively certain. It never loses, but always gains ground. Its eventual triumph cannot for a moment be doubted; a triumph which the keenest observers know is not far off!

Now, comrades and friends, just what is the special relation, the particular connection between

Woman Suffrage and the Socialist Movement

Wherein does the Socialist woman differ from the non-Socialist in her desire for a vote, and in her outlook for the whole subject? Let me, in a few words, outline one or two of our ideas, by way of answer.

Is it through an abstract desire for justice and equality? Yes; but for more than that. Is it through and for ethical reasons? Yes; but again for more than these. For Socialists base their actions very largely on the philosophy of facts, on the development of society, on the relations between the different classes which constitute the capitalist state. And, when such relations change, they know that the political relations, together with many others, must also change. Our demand for the suffrage, then, has back of it an economic motive, as well as a motive of pure reason, or justice, or ethics. Our demand, though it takes fully into account the good that we might do in the so-called reform work of the nation, the limiting of the liquor evil, the abolition of the "social evil," the cleaning up of municipal corruption, also includes another fundamental factor, that is, the protection of woman in her labor and her toil.

In answer to the time-worn objection of our

opponents that "woman's place is the home," Socialist women point out the fact that modern capitalist industry has forced some 5,000,000 American women and 2,000,000 children into industry, where they are made to suffer more or less severely by and through the laws which have been made by men, and in which they themselves have had no hand. Not only are women taxed, governed and punished, in the mass, by man's law, but they are also—to the number of 5,000,000—exploited in a commercial sense by capitalism and the laws which support it. This forcing of women and children into wage-work is the result of the growth of capitalism, just as much as the present high prices and low wages are a result of it. Such a process cannot be stemmed by present methods. Neither can the exploitation of women, until they themselves have a hand in the making and the administration of the law.

Men who tell us that the vote would degrade and unsex us; men who tell us our "sphere is the home," own and operate industries where we are cruelly exploited. They foster a system which makes home-life impossible for millions of us. Their tender-hearted regard ceases, when it becomes a matter of dollars and cents. For women to vote once a year would harden and debase them, but to work ten hours a day in a paper-box fire-trap, every day when they can be driven to work, and at starvation wages—that is right and proper and just. Oh, sublime masculine and capitalistic logic!

That logic, to expose its shallow pretensions, aims at keeping women where they are—in the capacity of political slaves—because it recognizes full well that, once women had the ballot, they could and would strike back for better conditions of labor and of life. That would diminish the profits of capitalism, extorted from women's and children's labor. The motive of capitalism's anti-suffrage agitation is neither far to seek nor, once found, difficult to understand.

Let me quote to you a few words from a speech by Marion Craig Wentworth, of Salem, delivered before a legislative committee hearing on a bill for equal suffrage, at the state house in Boston, only a few days ago:

"The industrial organization and the political organization," said Comrade Wentworth, "were never more closely related than today. They are interdependent. They regulate each other, the industrial life determining the political, and the political in turn shaping the course of the industrial. . . . In the political organization resides the will of the people as to whether the industrial life shall go justly or unjustly. Man has the ballot, and through the ballot the means of determining whether the industrial life shall deal justly or unjustly with him. But the woman has no such safeguard. She has no self-protection, no self-defense in the industrial life, no means or redress before the juggernaut of industry. . . .

"I wish to emphasize this point, that the suffrage is no longer a matter of theoretical and abstract justice, but of practical necessity for self-protection in the industrial field. . . . It is a necessity in order that women may obtain better conditions, better factory laws, shorter hours, better wages. With the ballot, the enormous industrial waste involved in the recent shirt-waist strike in New York city might have been eliminated. With the ballot, the working women of Illinois might have secured an eight-hour day, instead of struggling in vain for nine weeks with an obdurate legislature, and then getting but a ten-hour day. In the largest cotton mill in the world are employed 15,000 operatives. Seven thousand of these are women. The 8,000 men employed can vote, can determine the right conditions relative to their welfare, but what can the women do? They are helpless in the field of industry, because they have no weapon. If woman wants a wrong righted, no one will listen, because she is not a political entity. . . .

"The Socialist woman has a definite purpose in view in asking for the vote. She has a definite program for every immediate measure that would ameliorate the conditions of the working class at large, as well as the class of working women and working children. She wishes to unite her efforts in the great movement of the century, namely, the abolition of poverty, with its attendant ills, and crime and misery. She wishes to aid in establishing a true industrial democracy, a social order of justice, equity and beauty, a co-operative commonwealth, in which the resources of life, the land and machinery upon which all people depend, shall be owned in common."

Such, in brief, without going into details, are some of the reasons why Socialist women demand the ballot. We realize that it is needed as a means of protection, a means of education to fit women to take their place beside men in the fight for the emancipation of all. That the ballot will eventually be in our possession, not one of us for a moment doubts. Social evolution guarantees it. As to the final outcome we have no fear. It is only for the hastening of that outcome that we labor. And in our work we gladly welcome all who are striving, even though with different motives, for that which we desire. Their help is grateful to us; we offer them ours. Better still, we think, if those who as yet do not see the evolutionary process as we see it would come into that vision. For, once seen and understood, it furnishes a motive and an inspiration with which no other thing on earth can compare.

It means not only equal rights and equal opportunities, but the complete freeing of society from its ills and sorrows. It means liberty. It means emancipation. It means life.

ORGANIZATION ONCE MORE.

ANNA A. MAMEY,

Organizer of Socialist Women.



The first, the necessary condition for the performance of any task is that the workers shall have a foundation upon which to stand. The work must be made possible. Life involves the bread of life. War involves the munitions of war. A movement involves the

necessary money for making its propaganda. A movement such as the Socialist movement dies it ceases to exist, if there is not steady, methodical support of its treasury.

What, therefore, is the first duty of the man or woman subscribing to the Socialist platform and principles? Obviously it is to pay party dues. We do not enough insist upon this and we cannot insist too much. Make the inquiry of any local secretary as to how many members are on his list and he will tell you that out of the total number, only about one-third are in good standing. Frequently, the proportion is much smaller even than this.

The loss of the delinquent himself is not the only, nor even the most serious effect of this condition. Those who are faithful in their dues paying, are also in all probability faithful in their attendance at the business meetings. Every comrade knows that it is the exceptional business meeting at which no begging letters are read—letters from the party press, from strikers in distress, from political defense leagues and from other struggling enterprises of the working class. Two-thirds of the members are in arrears and there is therefore no money in the local treasury. The hat is passed among the faithful few at the meeting. They are bled for dues, bled for regular and special collections and subscriptions until it requires a brave man not to say a well-to-do one, to stand up to his work in the party; that is, under an order of things where the majority recognize no duty and content themselves with feeling sympathetic toward the work. Sympathy makes mighty poor picking when meal time comes, and our party without a systematically supported treasury, has about as much staying power as an organization of the unemployed.

The member who does not pay dues regularly is not only a failure himself but his failure makes the burden of the faithful worker so heavy that even our best members often find themselves in the mood to "lie down," too.

In making our crusade to get the wives of party members to pay dues, we are often told by the husbands, who hold the pocketbooks, that the family cannot stand double dues. We find upon investigation, that the husbands usually pay more than twenty-five cents in addition to their dues, to special collections of one kind and another in the course of the month. We urge these husbands to make it possible for their wives who may be disposed to do so, to pay regular dues, even though it is necessary to neglect the special collections in order to do so. What is the difference? Why, to the party there is the same difference that there is to the individual between depending upon charity and the holding of a steady job. Let the party treasury have an income and let it be known with some definiteness what that income is.

Our women, themselves, too frequently say: "Oh, I am as good a Socialist as any one."

THE PROGRESSIVE WOMAN.

THE EDITOR.



Alongside of the workman's movement, and growing out of the conditions which produced it, is a great world-wide woman's movement, which, although more or less blindly, is groping for the same kind of freedom that the workingman wants—economic freedom.

Economic freedom for wage slave and for sex slave is offered in the Socialist program, and only in the Socialist program. It naturally would follow, then, that both workingmen and women should flock to the Socialist movement expanding its organization to countless numbers. However, the workingman has not come into our movement, save through long and patient propaganda, through untiring and unceasing efforts to "make him see the light"—to educate him. This force, brought to bear upon him for years, together with industrial development, is bringing him to us in large numbers today.

But the woman—every Socialist local is weak in its woman membership. Some locals are utterly barren of the woman member. And this in spite of the great awakening of women the world over, and the industrial development which is forcing them to a quest for freedom. What is wrong, then, with the women?

Nothing is wrong with the women. The fault lies with us—the Socialists. We have not "gone after" them with the zeal and determination that has characterized our efforts among workingmen. We have left the working woman and the wives of workingmen to see the light as best they could, alone or as it filtered down to them through their "men folks," highflown discussions on economics and industrial determination—and other phrases which were utter incomprehensible to them.

But the great woman's movement is growing. Women of all classes are becoming restless, and "sex-conscious." They are going after our women of the working class, and to our everlasting shame, it will be to the sex-conscious woman's movement that our sisters will owe their awakening and their education, and it is to this movement that they will give their allegiance, if we don't wake up and do something for them ourselves.

The Progressive Woman is here to do this work so long left undone. The Progressive Woman appeals to women as no other propaganda literature appeals to them. Since its advent, less than four years ago, women's Socialist clubs, societies and committees have grown up in all parts of the land, where before they were unknown, and woman's membership in the party has materially increased. This membership, however, can be doubled or quadrupled by a more judicious use of the Progressive Woman by the various locals.

This is how it can be done: Every local of sufficient membership or prospect to warrant it should keep on hand copies of the Progressive Woman to sell from their literature stands, or to give away with other propaganda material. Every local employing a woman speaker, or a speaker to address women, or to speak on the woman question, should order bundles of the paper to distribute at the meetings. Every local should keep on hand sub cards to the P. W. This sort of work kept up from month to month would soon

bring returns in regard to the membership of women.

And the membership of women in locals will be not only a moral help, but also a very substantial material help. Look at the churches and the hundred and one societies that women today raise the finances for. And they would help with equal enthusiasm the financial end of our movement. Also they would help with the children.

In fact, you can't run your home without women, and not a whit more can you run a successful Socialist local. Get the women in once and see how it will transform your frozen little group.

The Progressive Woman will do it. We ask all local and state secretaries to write us for sample copies and for leaflets.

The Progressive Woman, 50c a year; 25c in clubs; 2c a copy in bundles; 5c single copy. Girard, Kans.

Little Beloved.

LEONORA PEASE.

I hold by man's hand for thy sake,
Little Beloved,
Of the large human life, in thy being I partake,
Little Beloved,
My heart's to the lowly, the weary and frail,
Who shall fall,
For they step up and enter thy place,
Lift thy face,
Little Beloved.

My soul fellowships in thy name,
Little Beloved,
Man's overcome is mine, his wrong is my shame,
Little Beloved,
Thy image for me stamps the low and the high,
As a die,
And thou, of thy kind, one with all,
Mount or fall,
Little Beloved.

When sounds the alarm of disaster,
Little Beloved,
For thee the swift prayer of my heart runneth faster,
Little Beloved,
Thou too imperilled, fashioned as they,
Of the clay;
Thou too who shalt walk in the way,
Or astray,
Little Beloved.

I would disentangle in vain,
Little Beloved,
Thy one shining, delicate thread from the skein,
Little Beloved,
For Fate's fast-running loom all the strands doth enmesh
Of the flesh,
And her intricate pattern unroll,
As a whole,
Little Beloved.

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The Safety Pin
Without a Coil

SAFETY—to the person and for the fabric pinned

Since the first safety pins were invented many improvements have made them still safer for the user. The safety of the fabric pinned was not considered—until the inventor of the "Capsheaf" made a safety pin without the coil spring which catches and tears the clothing. Send postal to 101 Franklin St., New York City, for free samples. Use "Capsheaf" once and you will always use it.



Made in all sizes. Stiff, strong, sharp; the delight of trained nurses.

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I do not pay dues but I do what I can on the outside." Do not deceive yourself; if you do not carry the Socialist card and buy your stamp regularly, you are a Socialist just as the man is a union man who hangs on to his own job at all hazards, keeps his money in his pocket but devoutly hopes that the strikers may win their fight. The Socialist campaign is carried on by men and women committed to one task and using a special method for its accomplishment. Small contributions from each must be in the hands of the authorized executive of the party for the performance of their work. If you do not pay dues, you repudiate organization. You are only an anarchist. You are anywhere but in your place when the command for a charge comes and to all practical intents and purposes, the fight is being made without you. The army does not depend upon you. It cannot depend upon one who acknowledges no claims but insists upon being a little party unto himself. The workingmen and women of the Socialist party form a chain, hand joined to hand, all around the world. If you do not pay dues you are at best a missing link.

With the fulfillment of the dues paying obligation by all Socialists, comes large relief from the special collection plague to which the editor of the New York Call has recently so well called attention.

What can you who sit in business session tonight, do to bring into good standing the delinquents of your local? Get out your financial record book and resolve yourselves into a committee to canvass those who are behind before your next meeting. Do not leave it all to your financial secretary—each one shoulder a part of the task—each one canvass one or two delinquents who may live nearest to you. Do this not only tonight; but keep "Examination of Members' List" on your order of business, and see to it that dues are not allowed to fall behind for three or four months. To collect twenty-five or fifty cents from a worker is vastly easier than to collect a dollar or a dollar and a half. The personal work pays, the work of all and not alone of that good fellow—you all know him—who carries the platform, locks up the hall after meetings, posts the bills and distributes five-sixths of the leaflets put out by your local. If you recognize this individual easily on mention, it is to be feared that you have, properly speaking, no movement, you have a man and your work would die if he were so inconsiderate of you as to give up the ghost.

The dues payer in arrears is a reflection of the member who is in arrears in everything but dues. This latter man is up to the organizer. Magnetize him and send him out to rouse the dead and the near dead.

About the Progressive Woman.

The last Woman is fine.—Lida Parce.

The March is certainly up to grade.—Lena Morrow Lewis.

Accept my congratulations on the high character of The Progressive Woman. You are on the right track, and I hope for great things from your publication.—George Allan England.

I think The Progressive Woman is one of the best publications I come in contact with. You have an able staff of contributors who express themselves forcefully and convincingly upon the questions of the day concerning things women are interested in. I do not know of any male writer who can speak as well upon these matters, and they often try.—Alice T. Jenkins, treasurer; Elizabeth Cady Stanton, E. S. club, Washington, D. C.

REPORTS FROM "WOMAN'S DAY."

San Francisco, Cal.

Woman's Day was celebrated in the Golden Gate Commandry hall, which has a seating capacity of 800, and which was crowded to the door even standing room being at a premium. About half the audience was men. One hundred and fifty copies of Charles Edward Russell's pamphlet, "Obstructions in the Way of Justice" (woman suffrage) were sold also one hundred copies the suffrage number *The Progressive Woman*, and subscriptions for the latter were taken. The collection more than paid the expenses, which were unusually high.

Mrs. Emma P. Gray, chairman, introduced William McDewitt, who was candidate for mayor on the Socialist ticket. He said the great emancipating force in the world was science and knowledge that liberty was knowledge, and the struggle of women for the right to vote was a fight for liberty, the breaking of an old bond of slavery. McDewitt insisted that women should be given a full and fair chance with men.

"It all depends," continued the speaker, "on an industrial base, an economic foundation. You must know social science to know the woman question. It is a struggle against industrial bondage. Socialism provided a field in which the suffragist could fight, because it furnished the knowledge. It provided the weapon to fight with and the organization to abolish class slavery."

Mrs. Dorothy Johns talked on "Woman and Economics." She declared that she was not on the firing line of the suffragists, and that in her opinion politics was a cesspool that could not be purified by adding women's votes. Her method of correcting the existing evils was a wider study and a deeper understanding of economic conditions that govern the world. Ballots for women, she declared, would be a waste of time and energy which could be used to better advantage in studying economic and social conditions for the purpose of their betterment. Economic independence, Mrs. Johns said, should be the keynote and motive power behind woman's activity.

The need of the ballot among working women was discussed by Miss Maud Younger, president of the waitresses' union. She insisted that many of the existing hardships imposed upon the working woman at the present day by the corporations could be regulated by the proper legislation if women had votes.

Mrs. Elizabeth Lowe Watson, state president of the California Equal Suffrage association, spoke on woman's day. She said in part:

"Woman's day! Has it really dawned? We are seeing this afternoon the first faint golden light which is being spread over the wide world. Successful reform must be along natural laws. So woman's emancipation is as sure as the law of gravity. Science and knowledge are to redeem humanity, and it is our awakening that has given impetus to the progress of the last century in the matter of woman's rights.

"It is said in the argument against giving the women the ballot that she has lowered the wage scale and is crowding men out of employment.

"You never hear that man has taken away much of woman's work. Are men weavers and spinners? They have taken these occupations and women have been left with but very little home work. Her needs, however, are the same as they were when she did this kind of work, and she has been compelled to follow the work out into the world. There is many a cry goes out today from women and girls whose hearts are being ground out for dollars for the capitalists.

"The remedy lies in human nature and in the world in which we live. Happiness will never come so long as part of humanity is trodden down by the swine feet of lust.

"By wanting to vote woman has in mind the little children and women of the north and south whose lives are being crushed out by man's greed. We are trying to find a way out of this dilemma."

J. Stitt Wilson was the last speaker. His remarks were short, reviewing socialist work he had recently been doing in England.

New York City.

When a score of women and girls with flushed faces and eyes that beamed satisfaction gathered in the committee room after the meeting, warmly pressing each others hands in mutual congratulation, one of the most memorable events in the history of Socialism in this city had just come to a close.

Our great Carnegie hall meeting was an unqualified success. Long before the doors were opened a crowd of people stood outside the hall in the warm, drizzling spring rain that alternated with bursts of hopeful sunshine, and when the doors were swung open it took only a short while to fill the mighty hall from pit to gallery. Three thousand men and women were there to listen to the message of Socialism and woman's suffrage, and the audience was as earnest and enthusiastic as it was large. The boxes that were chiefly occupied by Socialists and other progressive organizations, were adorned with many banners and presented a festive appearance. There were the red banners of various assembly districts and of the woman's committee, there were the yellow "votes for women" banners of different suffrage societies, there was the many colored emblem of the Inter-High School Socialist League, and the green flag adorned with a shamrock of the Irish Socialist Federation. Many were the nationalities that were represented, but uniform was the progressive spirit that prevailed.

It was just three o'clock when Miss Maie

Oberlander, secretary of our local woman's committee, stepped forward to the speaker's table, adorned with the party banner and a large American flag, to open the meeting and introduce the chairman, Mrs. Meta L. Stern. In a brief, introductory speech, Mrs. Stern explained the meaning and purpose of Woman's Day, and pointed out that the disfranchised sex and the exploited class were natural allies. She dwelt upon the rapid growth of the Socialism woman's movement, and said that if there ever had been a time when Socialists were more or less indifferent to the woman question, that time had passed. Then she introduced as chief speaker of the day, Franklin H. Wentworth, "a man who is to the Socialists of the present time, what Wendell Phillips was to the abolitionists of his day." The speaker paid a long and glowing tribute to the woman's portion in the history of civilization and bitterly denounced his own sex for the past and present enslavement of women, closing with Mrs. Gilman's elevating verses on the "free woman of the future, 'She Who is to Come.'"

The next speaker, Carrie W. Allen, introduced as the indefatigable campaign speaker of the Socialist party and special representative of the Socialist women of New York, dwelt less upon the ideal and more on the economic phase of the question. She depicted the trials of the woman wage slave in the factory and of the slave of a slave at her kitchen stove; she spoke of the industrial conditions that make "white slaves" of young and innocent girls, and she pointed out the great social duty of mothers toward the growing generation.

The crowning moment of the day was when Mrs. Caroline VanName, with a voice of rare power and sweetness, sang that song which has been the international hymn of freedom since the days of the French revolution, the "Marseillaise," and the entire audience, rising to their feet, joined in the chorus.

Miss Rose Schneiderman, vice-president of the Woman's Trade Union League and its organizer for the east side districts spoke from the working woman's point of view, and based her arguments for suffrage on many personal experiences during the recent strike of the shirt-waist makers. Miss Schneiderman said that a general strike of all women workers would speedily lead to the granting of the ballot to women.

The last speaker, Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, introduced by the chairman as one of the finest women in America, made a speech that had but one fault; it was too short. The advanced hour—it was nearly six o'clock—caused Mrs. Gilman to make a virtue of brevity. But what she gave us was indeed "multum in parvo." It was a little auto-ology, a little sociology, and a little philosophy combined, and presented in such a simple and lucid manner that no one could help but understand.

The committee on arrangements presented resolutions that were framed and read by Mrs. Anita G. Block, associate editor of the *New York Call*, and were adopted by the meeting by a unanimous vote. The resolutions read as follows:

I.

"WHEREAS, A consistent attempt has been manifest of late on the part of those placed in positions of judicial authority through the use of court injunctions and arbitrary convictions: First, To deny the right of free speech; Second, To prohibit a free press, and Third, To prevent peaceable assemblage, resulting in false imprisonment and the imposition of unjust fines; and

"WHEREAS, The first amendment to the constitution of these United States distinctly provides that there shall be no abridgement of the freedom of speech or of the press or the right of the people peaceably to assemble; therefore be it

Resolved That the women today here assembled being themselves denied the rights of citizenship, and therefore sympathizing especially with all to whom the rights of citizenship have been denied, protest against the violations of the constitution as above enumerated; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this protest be sent to all labor unions, trade organizations, suffrage societies and other progressive organizations for their public endorsement, as well as to the press of this city."

II.

"Be it *Resolved* That we, citizens of the city of New York, in mass meeting assembled in Carnegie hall, extend our sympathy to the striking carmen of Philadelphia and express the earnest hope that they may be successful in their brave struggle, not only to improve their own economic condition, but also the economic condition of the entire working class; and be it further

Resolved That a portion of the proceeds of this meeting be contributed to the fund of the Philadelphia strikers."

Upon the following day the entire press of the city took notice of the meeting and—a fact that is remarkable with the muzzled capitalistic press—reported it fairly. The Socialist women of this city feel that their Woman's Day will go down as a red letter day in the history of Socialism and suffrage, and they feel that they owe special recognition to the men comrades for their gallant support. Upon this day the Socialist men of New York have shown that they stand for woman's suffrage, in fact, as well as in theory.

Newark, N. J.

Woman's Day was celebrated in the Labor lyceum, with speeches and music. The Socialist Sunday school children sang the "Red Flag" and "The Marseillais." Comrade Wm. Schott gave some fine selections from Mendelssohn. Miss Gertrude

Schnable recited "Ma Can't Vote." Mrs. Carrie Allen of New York, and Mrs. Idella N. Gardner, of Connecticut were the principal speakers. "When woman takes her place side by side with man in the affairs of the country," said Mrs. Allen, "a long step will be taken toward the redemption of humanity."

Mrs. Gardner's speech was short. She caused merriment by her witty comment.

Rochester, N. Y.

Woman's Day was observed by members of the Socialist party throughout the United States, and a local celebration was held at Shoemakers' hall in Elm street. A literary and musical program was given and there were addresses by Mrs. Mabel Kennon and John O'Rourke.

Mrs. Kennon's subject was "Woman Suffrage From the Socialist Standpoint." Among other things, Mrs. Kennon said: "I believe that political freedom must come before industrial freedom, that the question of woman suffrage will be settled before co-operative commonwealth is brought into existence. The Socialists do not know whether it would prove injurious to their cause if woman suffrage were to become an established fact or not, but they advocate it whatever the result, as they feel it is a just measure. I believe that women in the use of the ballot would be less conservative than men have been for they are bound by no political traditions.

"There is an unrest today among women workers and the only hope for them lies in industrial freedom. Help us to get the ballot, and we will promise to march side by side with men into the co-operative commonwealth."

Mr. O'Rourke spoke on "Socialism and Woman Suffrage," and said that the party he represented did not expect woman to come and beg for the right to vote. That the ballot was her right and that she was entitled to it.

"The interests of men and women are identical in the class struggle in which we are engaged," he said, "and it is necessary for them to work together."

Mrs. Frances Steiner presided at the meeting. Miss Frank and Mrs. Wollenhaupt sang, and Mrs. Bask read a paper. After the meeting a social hour was spent.

Chicago, Ill.

The Socialist women of Chicago celebrated Woman's Day in grand style in the Garrick theater. May Wood Simons made an eloquent address, in which she showed the relation of the woman's movement to the industrial and economic movement of the working class. She appealed to the working woman especially to join the Socialist party, and thus help in the emancipation of the working class. Lida Parce read the "Statement of Principles" prepared by the Chicago women, with the view to having them presented for a place in the next party platform, through the woman's committee. Mrs. Parce made some telling remarks about the articles, and also spoke on the necessity of bringing women into our movement. There were other interesting speakers, the music was first-class and the collection good. Woman's day in Chicago, was an all-around success.

P. W. sub blanks will be furnished free.

WANTED—Socialist (women preferred) to take part in Chautauqua debate. Big pay, big audience. Address, Basil Barnhill, Xenia, Clay county, Ill.

Housekeeping Under Socialism, Josephine Conger-Kaneko, shows how real homes can be made with the improvements and culture that will be possible under a sane system of government, 20c per 100.

Books for Home Reading for Sale by Us

Woman and the Social Problem, May Wood Simons, 5 cents.

Socialism and the Home, May Walden, 5 cents. Little Sister of the Poor, Josephine Conger-Kaneko, 15 cents.

Outlines in the Economic Interpretation of History, Lida Parce, 15 cents.

Sorrows of Cupid, Kate Richards O'Hare, (paper), 25 cents.

Sorrows of Cupid (cloth), 50 cents.

The Socialist Primer, Nicholas Klein, 15 cents. Socialist Songs (with music). Compiled by Charles H. Kerr, 10 cents.

Songs of Socialism, Chas. H. Moyer, 25 cents.

The Changing Order, Triggs (cloth), 75 cents. Looking Forward; the Status of Woman, Rapaport, \$1.00.

FICTION AT REDUCED PRICES.

The Jungle, by Upton Sinclair, (paper), 35c.

Beyond the Black Ocean, McGrady (paper), 35c.

When Things Were Doing, Steere (cloth), 75 cents.

Peculiar People in a Pleasant Land (cloth), 75 cents.

The Sale of An Appetite, Lafargue (cloth), 50 cents.

Rebels of the New South, Raymond (cloth), 50 cents.

The Recording Angel, Brenholz (cloth), 50 cents.

The Scarlet Shadow, Hurt (cloth), 75 cents.

A Captain of Industry, Sinclair (cloth), 50 cents.

SEX-CONSCIOUSNESS.

HELEN UNTERMANN.



What is the meaning of sex-consciousness?

Some see in sex-consciousness only a demand for suffrage, and are wrought up if our Socialist women extend their sympathy and their co-operation to all women in their struggle for political liberty. Others again exclaim emphatically that women must fight their own battles, without, however, having a clear conception as to what these battles are.

Sex-consciousness means far more than a mere struggle for suffrage. *It is a realization of the fact that the present system is built on the male psychology.* All our actions and ideas betray this influence. Whatever of the feminine there is in the present order, it comes through indirection, and need not be considered here.

With the introduction of private property, women, who before, were economically and therefore sexually independent, became the property of men, and dependent upon them. While it was necessary for men to develop their mental energy in order to meet the requirements of the new economic phase, women were forced into the domestic sphere which limited even their natural physical and mental powers.

Through this economic and physical superiority of men it was possible for them to force woman into a state of absolute dependence. This dependence changed the nature of sex selection. Formerly it was woman who did the selecting, now man became the selector, since he had the right to buy and sell her. The ignorance of natural law being great, no suspicion arose as to the detrimental effect of such a change. Later, however, these effects became more and more noticeable. In order to be chosen by man, woman was now compelled to conform to his idea. It was necessary for her to develop mentally and physically as he saw fit. And since man would select only such women as would easily yield to his ideas and influences, it is plainly to be seen how society became more and more the reflection of masculine psychology.

Sex-consciousness, then, is the awakening of a sex to its position and obligations in life, just as class-consciousness is the awakening of a class to its position and responsibilities in society.

Yet, we often hear it said that the education of women in regard to sex-consciousness is at present a useless effort. This is an assertion made by many Socialists, both men and women. Their contention being that the opportunity for economic equality under Socialism will naturally develop this consciousness.

I would like to ask, then, why it is that we are so persistent in educating mankind in regard to Socialism, since the affirmation might also be made that industrial development which gives opportunity for economic freedom, will of itself bring Socialism? If the opportunity of economic equality will in itself develop sex-consciousness, it might also be argued that constant industrial growth will naturally lead to Socialism, without educating the people as to its meaning.

However, we know better than this!

Although industrial development will bring about a new order of society it is not readily shown that this society will be Socialism, if

we neglect the important matter of educating the workers into class- and social-consciousness. We cannot jump from the present system into a matured stage of Socialism. A constant growth, development and education are necessary to accomplish this. An everlasting transformation is going on. We thoroughly realize that the awakening of class- and social-consciousness, which we teach under the present system, will determine the type of the coming age. Or, in other words: Socialism will be the reflection of the mental standard which we achieve at the present time. And that is why we never tire in educating mankind in regard to Socialism.

For all of these reasons we insist upon educating women in regard to sex-consciousness instead of waiting until we have the possibility of economic equality. For, although without this consciousness we may have potential economic equality of men and women, still we shall not have sex-equality.

Then, if a lack of education in regard to Socialism means a retardation of it, just so will a lack of education in sex-consciousness mean a retardation in the progress of the female sex. And as the present education determines to a large extent the form of the new society, so will the manner of relation and comradeship between men and women under the new regime depend to a large extent upon the developed consciousness of womankind, achieved under the present order.

This article is only a short analysis of the meaning of sex-consciousness, and was merely written to arouse the interest of the reader in this subject. Much valuable material on this question may be found in the writings of Lida Parce, published in this paper. Her two articles in the August and November numbers of the International Socialist Review will also prove to be of great benefit to the careful reader. Mrs. Perkins Gilman's magazine, the *Fore Runner*, will also furnish one with splendid knowledge on this subject. For the careful student Lester Ward's "Pure Sociology" is almost ideal in its exhaustive treatment of the woman question, and I also recommend Bebel's "Woman Under Socialism."

I do not wish to leave the reader under the impression that a knowledge of sex-consciousness is of more value than that of class-consciousness. I simply wish to state that the understanding of the one is as necessary as the other, since they equally concern and benefit the whole human race. For, since the woman is the mother of the race, she must become conscious of her rights and responsibilities to the race, to society, before we can have a highly developed humanity.

The Socialist Woman's committee of New York city donated \$100 to The New York Call, at their last meeting. The sum of \$25 was also donated to the Philadelphia strikers. We are not of the "told you so" kind, but we said once—or twice—before that when women began seriously working in the Socialist party the finances of the movement would assume a happier expression than they have worn in the past. We take this occasion to make the statement again.

"The Woman's Portion," by Franklin Wentworth, is a pamphlet that every thinking man and woman should read. The whole range of expression from poetic ideal to scientific fact is brought into play in this valuable little treatise. There is no warmer friend of the woman who is struggling to free herself from capitalistic bonds, than Franklin Wentworth, and there is none better able to point out this struggle and the road to freedom. Send for a copy of "The Woman's Portion" and read it. Then send for more copies and give them to your friends. Price ten cents. The P. W. Pub. Co.

Progressive Woman sub cards, \$1 for four.

THE FIRST SUFFRAGETTE.

J. A. WAYLAND.

The agitation for woman's suffrage reminds me. It was in 1892 that I first engaged in politics and was recognized as one of some influence in the new political movement that was forming out of the alliance, union labor and other protest factions. I had been very active in the Pueblo, Colo., politics and we had a convention at that place with delegates from the southern congressional district. In that meeting appeared a little woman named Emma Ghent Curtis, from Canon City, who button-holed the delegates in favor of putting a plank in the platform for woman suffrage. Our convention was the first of all the parties. I was not favorable to it at first, not because I was opposed to it, but because I felt it was not expedient just at that time—I had not progressed far enough to demand right because it was right and as my influence was really a dominant one in the meeting, she had to have me. I could not reason her out of it, and finally agreed to let the plank go in. The democratic convention met, then she went to get it in that, and then she got it into the republican platform—so that all the platforms had the demand for woman suffrage. And it was made into a law because that little lone woman left her home and her babies and battled for it alone. I feel somewhat ashamed now that I stood out against it, but I did what at that moment seemed right. The women of this nation ought to know the name of the woman who made the first break in the solid phalanx of masculine rule—that name is Emma Ghent Curtis. I do not know if she now lives, but I think not. One woman can be a power when she puts her soul into it. Colorado was the first state to give women the suffrage, and she was the cause that produced it.

FOR MAY 1st.

The Progressive Woman will issue a special workers' edition for May Day. This issue will contain articles on woman and child labor with pictures illustrating the lives of these most oppressed of capitalism's victims. *Wherever there is a demonstration for labor on May Day, this issue of the Progressive Woman should be used.* There will be a great deal said about the working class in general, *but let us bring home the fact in particular that women and children are being ground beneath the upper and nether stones of the present system,* and thus force upon the public the more need of freedom for the working class. Send your bundle orders early. We are making a special rate of seventy-five copies for \$1, of 1,000 for \$12; two cents each in smaller bundles.

Just as necessary as it was for public opinion to beshame and defame the illegal amassing of property; just as necessary as it was to expose the shameful exploits of slaveholders; so it is pertinent that public opinion eradicates the pernicious system that makes a woman a slave to man, and it is pertinent to make woman free and forever destroy her functions as a pleasure-giving instrument. The emancipation of women cannot be brought about in female colleges, nor at the polls, but in the nuptial chamber; the combat with prostitution, not the houses of ill-fame, but in the family circle. We free woman at universities and at the polls, but still consider her a subject of enjoyment. Teach woman to consider herself as we do, and she will forever remain a slave.—Tolstoy.

FOR THE CHILDREN

Nursery Rhymes.

D. K. YOUNG.

Ten little children working in a mine,
One was blown up in the air, then there were nine.

Nine little children through the factory gate,
One was caught in the machine, then there were eight.

Eight little children in the sweat shop heaven,
One of them pined away, then there were seven.

Seven little children, orphans in a fix,
One of them starved to death and then there were six.

Six little children in the glass works strive,
After the explosion there were only five.

Five little children in department store,
One got consumption then there were four.

Four little children go to work in glee
Trolley killed one of them, then there were three.

Three little children in the mill did stew
One caught pneumonia then there were two.

Two little children all the spindles run
One inhaled cotton dust then there was one.

One little child forlorn skipped a day for fun,
But he was soon put in jail, then there were none.

"Suffer little children to come unto Me,"
For they pay a bigger profit than the men, you see?

THE CONGRESS OF FLAGS.

[This may be represented by seven children, six of them carrying flags of United States, England, Germany, France, Russia, Italy. The seventh the red flag of Socialism. Let them enter the stage marching to a medley of national airs of the various countries. The march may continue until the medley is complete. Then let the children stand in a row, at front of stage, with the red flag in the center. Then follows the following dialogue:]

United States Flag: Behold, I am the Stars and Stripes. I represent the United States of America; I stand for the liberty, peace and progress of my countrymen, and am willing to drag my beautiful folds in the blood and dust of war for the defense of my country.

British Flag: I am the Union Jack. I floated proudly over a great monarchy ages before you were born. I am the father of progressive monarchies, and I, too, will drag my silken folds in the mire and dust of war for the defense of my king and his subjects.

German Flag: I am the silken emblem of the great German empire. I float proudly above the palace of my emperor, and no flag is more willing to suffer the anguish of rifle and of sword for its monarch and his subjects than am I.

French Flag: I am the red, white and blue of the French republic. Above the palace of my president I float as gaily in the breeze as floats the wit and laughter of my people. And with the same nimble readiness do I offer myself for battle when it becomes necessary to defend my country against all invaders.

Russian Flag: I stand for the emperor of all the Russias. Through all the ages I have stood with Russian emperors against invasion either internal or external. I have tasted blood from time immemorial, and shall never fail my master when he calls me forth to war.

The Italian Flag: I am the emblem that proudly waves o'er sunny Italy. My people in their vineyards, and my king upon his throne will I defend to the last shred of my life. No flag would more willingly give itself than I for those beneath its folds.

Red Flag (taking a step forward): I am the red flag of the people. Around the whole wide world my color flames, lead-

ing the peoples of the nations away from bondage and darkness and superstition, into the light of truth, plenty and freedom. I stand with you for every thing you represent that's good. But wider than yours is my mission, for you are limited by ancient feuds to sectional boundaries and racial lines. You stand sometimes for wealth and power, and bitter dread oppression. I stand for the rights of the weakest man and the weakest woman; I stand for the poorest child in the poorest quarter of the earth; I stand for equal opportunities for all. You stand for war, for property, for special interests. I stand for peace, for men and women, for co-operative interests. You are the flags of the nations; I am THE Flag of the nations. I am the people's flag. Today, therefore, I float side by side with you in every nation. Today are the oppressed in every country where you float singing. (All sing to the tune of Maryland, My Maryland).

The people's flag is deepest red,
It covered off our martyred dead;
And ere their limbs grew stiff and cold,
We wrapped them in its crimson fold.

Chorus—
Then raise the scarlet standard high,
Beneath its folds we'll live and die.
Though cowards cringe and traitors sneer,
We'll keep the red flag floating here.

(March out, all the flags waving in unison.)

SOCIALIST TOTS.



The family were seated at the table for the evening meal. The plate, piled high with golden brown, fluffy, light biscuit, and the six large loaves of equally tempting appearance reposing on the pantry shelf, were evidence to all discerning eyes of sufficient cause for the over indulgent attitude of the housewife and mother. Alas, that pride must have a fall. Urzula, the young four-year-old, held up her biscuit and after a critical inspection disdainfully remarked: "We'll have lots better bread than this when Socialism comes."

Marion, who has beautiful red-brown hair, was playing with a group of children, when one of them taunted her about her "red" hair. At once Mildred spoke up: "Never mind, Marion, that's the color of our flag, you know."

Norene is four years old. One day at the table the family were discussing the death of an old man, who was a Quaker. Norene's father looked at her and said: "Mama is a Quaker, aren't you mama?" At which the mother replied: "Yes, mama is a Quaker." Norene at once hung her head and looked disgusted. Then suddenly burst out: "No you isn't! You're a Socialist!" Another time the father, who has a rather hard boss was complaining of his treatment one day and said: "He makes me so hot," and Norene broke in: "Then, why don't you fan yourself?"

Sub cards for The Progressive Woman, four for \$1.

Socialist Songs, cloth bound, fifty cents.

Sorrows of Cupid, paper, 15c.

BUD AND THE CAPITALISTS.

HAZEL STEELEY, AGED 14.

Father owned seven hogs, the old sow and six pigs. When dinner time came, one pig would root his brothers and sisters out and of course he fared better than the others. My brother named him "Bud." Bud grew to be a big fat pig, while the others were rather skinny.

When they came to the trough, Bud knocked the others out, and had no mercy for any of them. The other pigs didn't stop him but hung back and looked like they admired their big brother because he had the whole thing.

I don't blame the pigs, because they are only animals and don't know any better, but I do blame human beings. We call ourselves civilized, but we are no more civilized than hogs. We let John D. Rockefeller own all the oil wells, railroads, coal, iron and gold mines, and he becomes wealthy off of the people's labor who work in his mines. Of course they get payed, but only about one-fourth, while John D. gets the other three-fourths because it is his property. We poor, common people stand back, and admire John D. and wish we could only be in his place, instead of becoming Socialists, and putting things to rights so that all can be happy and have an equal chance in the world.

If people would just study history a little bit and try to find out about the world they would find that thousands of little children work in factories owned by the rich men. They have to work sixteen hours a day, and when dinner time comes they are so tired they can not eat, but fall asleep. There is a brutal man that comes around and whips and kicks them as if they were dogs, and shouts at them, "to get to work." Any one that will allow such a system as this is no better than the hogs; he is worse, because he ought to know better.

President Taft does not work for the common good of the people, he works for his class. A new law he has passed is to protect the seals. Why does he not try to protect the poor, little suffering, starving children of his own race?

Wake up, you slaves, the people, and become Socialists. Destroy this horrible system of murder, sorrow and misery and have peace and good will among men.

Clements, Cal.

Child Labor in the South.

LAURA GONICK, AGE 12 YEARS.

Child labor is very common in the south; especially in the slave states.

The capitalists own all the houses in the cities, and therefore compel the people to send their children to work in their mills, and if they do not, they are not allowed to live in a house.

The children are taken to the mills at the age of four years. They work twelve hours and sometimes more each day, and receive about forty-four cents a day. Some Chinese children are employed in the mills at the rate of four cents a day. With this money the children support the family. The father or mother are not employed in the mills because they will not work as cheaply as children will.

This support of the children influences the father very much. He usually grows lazy, drinks, "hangs around the streets," and spends the money that his child earns in a careless way.

The children usually work in the cotton mills. Some children control one machine and others two. In these machines cotton thread is always being made into fine thread. The child who takes care of two machines has one on each side of him, and sees that the thread does not tangle. Sometimes they catch their fingers in the machine and lose a hand or an arm. The (position) children have to stand in the same position nearly all day, and many times they become invalids.

Besides all this cruelty they are not allowed to have recess to eat their lunch if they have any. This keeps them thin and pale all the time, and when they grow up to be men and women they are never strong.

TO THE WOMAN'S COMMITTEES.

ANNA A. MALEY.

How many copies of the March issue of The Progressive Woman have been distributed by your local? This is a suffrage number. Spread it. Let all women know that the Socialist party fights for their right to the ballot. The suffrage battle is hot now, and men and women will read the arguments. Give them Socialist arguments. Let them understand that we care nothing for the vote for its own sake, but we prize it for freedom's sake. In demanding the ballot for women, we emphasize not sex lines, but class lines. A majority of all women belong to the working class. It is not hard to make them see that economic dependence whether in the household or in the shop, is the basis of the wrongs they suffer. But it is not easy to enlist a woman in a political movement unless she is permitted to have full political expression. The working woman needs the vote. The working class movement needs the working woman. Let us go after her, you and I and all of us. The vowels of the alphabet are initials for five fine watchwords proposed by a good, old comrade a few days ago: Agitate, educate, initiate, organize, unite! See to it that every copy of the suffrage edition finds its place in the woman's agitation.

Chairmen of woman's committees in Minnesota: Granada, Mrs. Byron L. True; St. Paul, Mrs. Eisenbeck, 399 Grove street; Ada, Mrs. A. M. Brattland; Climax, Mrs. R. W. Huffman; Crookston, Miss Mary Engstrom, 222 Second avenue; Greenbush, Mrs. E. H. Wold; Badger, Mrs. Anna Chapin, Box 192; Garland, Mrs. Hans Christensen; Rouseau, Miss Violet Rice; Minneapolis (Scandinavian) Miss Selma Pehrson, 1441 West Lake street; Local Hennepin, Mrs. Marietta Fournier, 3505 Sheridan avenue; Hackensack, Thomas Finnelly; Lengzy, Torkle Hoiland; Bagley, Roy Morgan; Grand Rapids, Mrs. Mable Leferve; Brainard, R. A. Henning; Upsala, Ida Soderstrom; Sleepy Eye, Mrs. A. G. Jensen; Round Lake, Mrs. E. H. Richman; Pipestone, Mrs. A. D. Brown; Fargo N. D., Mrs. Mary D. Weible 708 Eighth street South.

How Socialist Children Can Bring Socialism into Their School Work.

EDNA MOTLEY, AGE 12 YEARS.

As there are so many school teachers it is necessary for them to become enlightened on the great question of Socialism. Children in the sixth and seventh grades, especially in history can question the teacher on things going on in our own country. Pupils in the higher grades have a better chance to get the teachers enlightened. It is a very good time to talk about and question the teachers on our government when pupils get into the part of the history about the continental money and the foreign loans during the American revolution. For instance, when the teacher gets to talking about the continental money and the panics ask the cause of panics and every question you can think of pertaining to Socialism that will expose the rottenness of this system. Also get into arguments with your school friends but be sure to post up on Socialism so you can answer questions and be able to tell what democracy and republicanism are and be able to show why Socialism will come.

Children's Letters.

Dear Comrade—Inclosed find ten cents for five copies of the P. W., also the picture of Debs and the children of Girard. I will distribute the papers to my school mates to take home to their parents to read. I think they like to read it.

My father, mother and grandma are Socialists. My father reads the Chicago Daily Socialist, the National Rip Saw and the Appeal to Reason. My father used to vote the democrat ticket, but now he is a red hot Socialist. I am glad of it. I am thirteen years old. My birthday is the twenty-first of August. I am in the B class of the grammar room. I have been going to school ever since I was seven years old. I have not been tardy nor absent unless I was sick. This term I have not been tardy or absent. Isn't that a pretty good record? My brother is going to put a letter right in with mine. Yours truly, Edith Worley, Elgin, Iowa.

Dear Comrade—I am eight years of age. I live in Bay Rapids, Mich., but am visiting my grandma here. I am going to speak the "Red Flag" tonight at the local. Two of my aunts take the P. W. I like to read the children's letters. I am a Socialist because I like to see children happy and have play things and not have to work in factories.—Mildred E. Robinson, Sparta, Mich.

Dear Comrade—I will send you ten cents for five copies of the P. W. and Debs and the children's picture of Girard. My father and mother are red hot Socialists. Papa takes the Appeal to Reason and the National Rip Saw and the Chicago Daily Socialist. He has got a Maple-Powell Debate. He has let three men read it. I will give the paper to my school mates to read. I

am in the intermediate room. I am eight years old. My birthday is the twenty-seventh of January. I am in the first class.—Loren Worley, Elgin, Iowa.

Dear Comrade—I saw your piece in the paper asking for letters. My grandma takes the P. W., and my grandpa takes the Appeal to Reason, the Rip Saw and the Industrial Democrat. I am a boy twelve years old and have two brothers and one sister. I am a Socialist because I think Socialism is right. Enclosed find ten cents for which send me the picture of Comrade Debs and the little Girard children.—Carl Brittain, Hennessey, Okla.

Now that children are manifesting an interest in Socialism—as expressed in their letters in the P. W.—it is time we looked about for special reading matter for them. The Little Socialist Magazine is published for this purpose. Each number contains articles of interest for the little folks, besides an installment of the History of Our Country, written from the class-conscious standpoint. Price 50c; with the P. W., one year, 75c.

Everybody uses safety pins. Send a post card to the Judson Pin Company—ad elsewhere in this issue—and get a free sample of the best safety pin on earth. Do it today. You need them now.

MUSIC LOVERS everywhere, whether beginners, advanced pupils, teachers or professional musicians are rejoicing in the fact that through an affiliation with The Quinn-Campbell Conservatory of Music, The Peoples University of The American Woman's League is able to offer to all of its members a complete course of study in music, from the most elementary instruction through to Harmony, Composition, Counterpoint, Fugue and Orchestration.

The Quinn-Campbell Conservatory of Music is probably the greatest correspondence school of music in the United States, if not in the world. Among their successes they have three pupils who are at the head of three state universities, one who won the state prize offered for the best musical composition, another who won the national prize for the best article in one of the largest music magazines.

A complete course in this Conservatory is offered to all members of The American Woman's League, as one of the rights of membership. A slight service, only, is required to become a member.

The instruction offered by the Quinn-Campbell Conservatory of Music is the product of a lifetime's study, twenty years of which were spent in London, Berlin, Leipsic, Paris and other musical centers, and is the fruition of personal association with Sir G. A. Macfarren, Dr. Oscar Paul, Salomon Jadassohn, Manuel Garcia, Franz Liszt and other music giants.

Hundreds of pupils of The Peoples University who are taking this course have written to the Conservatory expressing their astonishment at the thoroughness and beauty of the instruction. Music teachers are finding in this work a system of instruction that is invaluable—so much so that the method of this Conservatory is being adopted in schools, colleges and by private teachers throughout America.

Full information about the League and the Quinn-Campbell Conservatory will be gladly sent in response to a post card request. Address:

THE PEOPLES UNIVERSITY

P. O. Box 907

University City, St. Louis, Mo.

MR. AND MRS. SAPSEA.

ISAREL ZANGWILL

The idea that underlies the objection to women's suffrage is expressed with engaging frankness by Dickens' Mr. Sapsea, the auctioneer in "Edwin Drood." Mrs. Sapsea revered Mind, as embodied in Mr. Sapsea. "When I made my proposal," says Mr. Sapsea, "she did me the honor to be so overshadowed with a species of Awe as to be able to articulate only the two words 'O Thou!' meaning myself." After years of admiration, Mr. Sapsea tells us, his wife died of feeble action of the liver, still addressing him in the same "unfinished term," and after her death it occurred to her husband that perhaps his superiority was what she had died of. "There have been times," he says, "when I have asked myself the question, what if her husband had been nearer on a level with her? If she had not had to look up quite so high what might the stimulating action have been upon the liver?" He carved over her grave:

ETHELINDA,

Reverential wife of

MR. THOMAS SAPSEA,

Auctioneer, Valuer, Estate Agent, Etc.,
of This City.Whose knowledge of the World,
Though somewhat extensive,
Never brought him acquainted with
A SpiritMore capable of
Looking up to Him.

Of course, it is very pleasant to be addressed by one's wife as "O Thou," but, like so many pleasant things, it is not good

for one. It was not good for Mr. Sapsea to imagine himself so superlatively sage; in fact, it only increased his natural silliness.

Today Mrs. Sapsea has turned suffragette. She no longer cries "O Thou!" She no longer leaves the phrase unfinished. Today it is "O Thou Hypocrite!" at gentlest, "O Thou Monopolist!" She no longer cranes her neck looking up so high, and I assure you it has quite a stimulating action on her liver. She is shaking off the lethargy of the ages, and it is making her healthier, brighter and even prettier. It is in vain that Mr. Sapsea shrieks desperately that he is superior in every department, and that her vote will make a hash of the affairs of the country, which he has been managing to such universal satisfaction.

There is a Heathen Chinese edition of Mr. Sapsea, and he tells us that the women of his country can never compete in walking or running with the men—they are an inferior race. But we tell Mr. Ching Chang Sapsea, let him leave off crippling his women's feet in infancy, before he decides that no woman can be a champion pedestrian. And let us westerners give our women freedom to follow their own genius before we decide they have none.

Those of you who have traveled in the east will be familiar with the strange ghostly spectacle of shrouded and masked women whose faces may only be seen by their lords, and who pass the bulk of their days hidden away in a harem, eating sweetmeats and talking petty gossip.

This shocked you: but will not the civilized observer of the future be equally shocked at the limitations we have placed

upon the rights and liberties of our own women? They are only yet half out of the harem. Mr. Sapsea is only a monogamous Turk.

But the Turk's day is over. In our generation women have made their way into almost every department of life. After you have let them work in your factories and workshops, in your gardens and postoffices and counting houses, after you have let them practice medicine and study law, it is too late to turn them back, or to refuse them the rights of their new position. Those who object to female suffrage, who say that woman's sphere is the home, should have kept here there. Too late to turn the key on her now—she is not at home.

The fact is, that important as is the sex-division in some things, it does not stretch across the whole of life, sex has no meaning in politics, any more than in dinner parties.

Men and women pray in the same church and dance to the same music. Both sexes have far more in common than they have points of difference. Why should once sex be shut out of the polling booth? Why is Florence Nightingale's opinion of the candidate for her constituency less valuable than the chimney-sweeper's? We demand votes for women, not because they are women, but because they are fellow-citizens. It is nobody's business to inquire what sex a voter is, any more than what color the voter's hair is. Once get it into your head that the claim of women rests not upon their being our rivals, but upon their being our comrades, and you will escape tangling yourself in a whole network of fallacies.

How To Save Money and Be Well

26 Square Meals for 25 Cents

How is that for low? And that's not the best of it. They are nourishing meals too. You don't have to sacrifice your taste to your sense of duty. They are appetizing meals. We are referring to PRIMEL, the new cereal food, all grain, and all of the grain; clean, pure, appetizing, wholesome, cheap. What more do you want? Order a 100 lb barrel and use it, or divide up with your neighbors, and avoid paying retail prices.

Combination Orders

5 Gals. Nutol	-	\$4.65
1 Case Primel (40 lbs.)	-	2.50
		\$7.15
	FOR	\$7.00

Hogs Go Up...Hog Eaters Go Down!

The price of hogs has risen another notch. Lard will soon follow. Will you also follow?

Every family uses some kind of shortening or frying material.

Most families use lard made from ?

Some families use compounds made of—?

Lard is made from hogs, some healthy, some diseased, all dead, some so long dead as to be alive again. THINK.

LARD IS NOT VERY WHOLESOME.

IT IS LIABLE TO BECOME RANCID.

It is high-priced, and getting higher.

NUTOL, our odorless cooking oil, is made from clean, shell-covered seeds. It's pure, wholesome, nutritious, easily digested, never becomes rancid, goes further than lard, and IS BETTER IN EVERY WAY AND ONLY COSTS ONE-HALF TO TWO-THIRDS AS MUCH.

Do you use lard from choice or just because?

Your financial welfare depends on two things: 1st, how much you receive; 2d, how much you spend.

Of course you wish to be healthy.

One necessity of health is good, clean food.

If you can get the best for the same price as something not so good, which ought you to buy?

If you can get the best for LESS than something not so good, which should you buy?

If you can get the best frying and shortening material for ONE-THIRD LESS THAN YOU NOW PAY FOR LARD, ought you not to do it?

From every part of the union, from Atlantic to Pacific, from Minnesota to Florida, people who have tried Nutol are sending for it and will use nothing else in its place.

We feel certain that you will do the same if you will give Nutol a test. There are not too many good things. You cannot afford to miss this. We will send a gallon can, express paid, anywhere east of the Rockies for \$1.35, or west of the Rockies for \$1.50 and give you a rebate check good for all above 90 cents to apply on your first order for 5 gallons or more.

Remember, even with express added, THIS IS NO MORE THAN A GALLON OF LARD COSTS.

We gain nothing by this offer unless you do like it.

Send us a sample order, or better still, get your neighbors to join you and get twelve 1-gallon cans by freight for \$11.30.

NEW GIRARD MANUFACTURING CO., GIRARD, KANSAS