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HARRIET D'ORSEY
Delegate to National Congress from Massachusetts

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50c A YEAR 

SOCIALIST FIRST: WOMAN AFTERWARD.

Mrs. Harriet D'Orsay, of Linn, Mass., enjoys the distinction of a record for continuous service within the ranks of the Socialist party organization of the United States equaled by few of either sex, if by a woman. Becoming interested in the labor movement through the somewhat famous Lynn Labor church (1894-1898), of which she was a loyal and prominent member, she joined the social democratic party soon after its inception in 1897. Since 1902 she has acted continuously as secretary of Local Lynn, serving at the same time almost continuously on various important committees. She has been, indeed, a prominent and active member of those campaign committees which have conducted the most encouraging and successful of the Massachusetts local campaigns, evincing much business and executive ability, tempered by good judgment and characterized by unswerving devotion to that course which she believed to be in the party's best interests.

She was the first woman in Massachusetts to be elected to a political convention at a party caucus. Chosen a delegate from Lynn local to all the Massachusetts state conferences and conventions since 1900, with one exception, she took effective part in each. She was also a delegate from Massachusetts to the national convention of 1908, and to the national congress of 1910, in Chicago. In her action in all delegate bodies, Comrade D'Orsay is guided by a keen and almost unerring instinct as to ability and worth among those who are seeking publicly to represent the party, while her decision and courage in the support of those who are truly worthy are seldom without result.

Opposing, always, the separation of the sexes in Socialist as in all other activity, and always opposed to the organization of "women's clubs" as auxiliaries to the regular organization, Mrs. D'Orsay has not identified herself with the militant suffragette movement. She has not shouted for her rights; she has quietly and effectively taken them, so far as they offered, and, often heroically, maintained them against that tendency to sex discrimination which obstinately persists even within the Socialist ranks, and which women must soon or late individually contend with and overcome.

All honor to the suffragettes! To those who are publicly and strenuously demanding that political and legal equality which is theirs of right and of need! They are heroines, and as such will go down in history. But heroism takes on many aspects; and a woman who joins a political party, Socialist or other, at this time, and persistently stays there, evinces a heroism—not without its suggestion of martyrdom—of no mean order. Both by precept and example Mrs. D'Orsay is a pioneer among practical women politicians, using the word in its best sense.

As a member of the party, Comrade D'Orsay belongs to that category of quiet, unostentatious, faithful and responsible workers who can always be depended on, and who in every organization constitutes its mainstay and its strength. If in the Socialist organization there seems to be a lack of vitality or efficiency anywhere, it is because they are not there. That the influ-

ence of even one such is far-reaching and constructive, those who have observed the Lynn movement and Mrs. D'Orsay's connection with it can testify.—E. P.

Benighted Women.

(A college professor has asserted that women are distinctly an inferior sex, and practically an inferior species of men, so far as commercial or intellectual ability is concerned.)

She does not have the intellect to plot and plan and scheme.

To make a transportation trust by starting with a team:

She's deaf to Opportunity—it knocks at her door in vain—

She never realizes what a chance there is for gain, She cannot corner fuel, nor monopolize a food, And get the dozing public in a place to soak it good.

She's partial to contentment—and her ready tears will flow

When she discovers others who are bent with grief and woe;

When someone meets misfortune she will quickly sympathize.

But to make a fortune from it is a feat she never tries.

Oh, woman is a failure! She has never found the way

To put up the price of something and to make the others pay.

Why woman's mind is always on the styles in lace or silk—

Who was it thought of putting some preservatives in milk?

Who was it thought of dousing nasty chemicals on meats?

Who was it thought of putting faulty pavements in the streets?

Who first sold beans for coffee and made pepper out of bark?

When women try commercial life they're groping in the dark!

O, woman is a failure! Why the best that she can do

Is to struggle for ideals and to faiths be true, Is to crouch above her babies, is to softly sling and smile

And to fill our path with sunshine as we journey all the while,

But speaking of successes, only man knows what is meant

For the weak, benighted women seldom plan to steal a cent.

—St. Louis Republic.

THE CHOICE.

BY ANITA C. BLOCK.

The woman was very unhappy. No one seemed to understand her cravings and she felt lonely and dissatisfied. "Oh, for something in life that will make me happy!" was her constant cry. "I must, I must be happy!" And one night, when it seemed to her that she could bear her pain no longer, she became startled by the feeling of a presence in the room.

"I am the God of the Modern World," said the Presence, "and I have come in answer to your cry for happiness."

"Oh, have you the power to give me happiness?" asked the woman eagerly.

"I have the power to lay before you a choice," replied the God of the Modern World. "And whatever your choice will be that shall I have the power to give you."

The woman's eagerness grew less, and with a trembling voice she murmured: "Between what must I make my choice? What is it that you can grant me?"

"I can grant you personal happiness," responded the Presence, slowly—and at that the woman rose with a quick, glad cry, "or I can grant you the power of rendering social service."

As he finished the woman sank down again, looking before her with fixed, frightened eyes.

"What do you mean?" she asked suddenly. "Must I choose the one at the expense of the other?"

"That I cannot tell you," was the answer. "I can tell you nothing, save that if you choose at all, you must choose definitely the one or the other."

"Oh, how can I do that?" cried the woman, wildly. "I want personal happiness! I want to live a rich, personal life! I want to know pleasure and joy! But I have ideals, ideals, not only for myself, but for humanity. I yearn to be useful, to help all mankind to be happier. Oh, such a

choice is unfair! It is cruel to have to choose between two things, both so dear to be desired!"

"But that is exactly what you must do," said the God of the Modern World, quietly. "So make your decision."

"Yes, I am ready to make my decision," said the woman fiercely. "I have a right to personal happiness. Why shall I not seize it? Every human being has a right to personal happiness!"

But as she spoke these words there arose before her the long lines of poorly-clad toilers, men, women and children shivering and obeying the summons of the factory bell in the cold gray of day-break. The woman arose before her the thousands of meek babies playing in filthy gutters amid the stench of garbage. There arose before her the army of tender young girls who stood out upon the street to ply their trade, after the sun goes down. These were all human beings. Where was the personal happiness they were entitled to?

Very quietly, very subduedly the woman stood there, but the light in her eyes shone steady and clear.

"Yes, I am ready to make my decision," she repeated.

"I choose the power to render social service!"

Years passed and the woman, now a longer young, and scarred as one who has fought erect in the front ranks of the battle of life must become scarred, sat musing at the dusk. Her face revealed much, with its firm, yet sweet mouth, sharp, yet kind eyes, alert, yet contented, expression.

"How vividly I remember that night," she said, smiling to herself, "when, choosing I thought I had renounced happiness, Little did I dream that on that very night I chose—happiness!"

Hand that working woman a copy of this paper. She will be interested in it.

FROM DOROTHY DIX'S SPEECH.

"'Cose I ain't a presumin' to criticise de Good Master, but hit does look lack to me dat when He was a creatin' woman an' made de whole man to cut from dat He could have saved us a lot of trouble ef He had made Eve out of Adam's backbone in-stead of his rib.

"Yassum, dat's de trouble wid women down to dis very day. Dey ain't got no backbone. Of a rib dey was made, an' de rib dey has stayed, an' nobody ain't got no right to expect nothin' else from 'em.

What worries me is why de Laud's choice fell on de rib, which ain't nothin' but a sort of rafter to hold up a man's chest an' swell hit out, an' make him look proud.

"Hit's becaze woman was made out of a man's rib—and from de way she acts hit looks lak she was made out of a floatin' rib, at dat—an' a man was left wid all of his backbone dat he has got de com-uppanc over woman. Dat's de reason dat we women sits down an' cries when we ought to git up an' heave brickbats.

"We'se just a hoanin' for de franchise an' we might have had hit any time dese last forty years ef we'd had enough backbone to riz up an' fit one good fight for hit, but, instead of dat, we set around an' hold in' our hands, an' all we'se done is to say in a meek voive, 'Please sir, I don't lak to trouble you, but ef you'd kindly pass me de ballot, hit sho'ly would be agreeable to me.'

"An' insted of givin' hit to us, men has kindly winked one eye at 'de odder an' said, 'Lawd, she don't want hit, or else she'd make a row about hit. Dat's de way we did. We didn't go after de right to vote wid our pink tea manners on.'"

THE MITIGATOR.

ELSA C. UNTERMANN

CHAPTER II

"Women were the originators of industry. In the distant, shadowy past which unconsciously pictured as a wilderness of dense forests and murky swamps alive with beasts, serpents and birds of gorgeous plumage, and here and there a light, flowery glade or a rose dotted plain, the female being sowed the seed of this industry. At that time the sex relations were probably promiscuous. This placed men as well as beasts of prey in the position of enemies to the pregnant woman; she found it necessary to protect herself against the passions of the male as well as against the ferocity of prowling animals. To this end she sought secluded recesses in the wilderness, perhaps a hidden cave or a tree that might serve as a dwelling place. To this palladium she brought fruit and nuts and such other nourishment as her environment provided to guard against the time of her travail.

"The seeds of the food which the woman had gathered to support her during the period immediately after the birth and during the early infancy of her child, sprouted round her dwelling and afforded her subsistence whenever she might choose to return. When she again became pregnant it is very probable that she renewed her sojourn there and in this wise the temporary place of concealment became a permanent habitation. Then a group of women housed themselves in this retreat for mutual protection and developed the nucleus of a clan or tribe.

"In the course of time when this group of women had become strong enough to hold its own against the males, some of the male children evinced a desire to remain with the mother and were allowed to do so. They tended the vegetable products about the maternal shelter to procure a livelihood and provide for the common welfare instead of pursuing the usual male life of hunting. Occasionally men who came from other localities as the mates of these women also remained; so by degrees the sexes ceased living separate lives and became part of the same community. But the female was always the center around which revolved the power, the reverence, the traditions of the group. The religious offices were in her hands, the infant industry of that time; the offspring was entirely hers.

"As time passed the desire on the part of the male to control unconditionally the female and also the productive forces of that day, grew stronger. To subjugate her he had to rob her of the religions that acknowledged her supremacy, wrest from her hands the soil, and also her right over her children. However, this was a long, tedious endeavor. As society became more complex women continued to cling to the forces that were instrumental in the maintenance of their power. The human species traversed the space from promiscuity to highly developed group marriage before the male began to discern ways in which to undermine woman's stable position. It appeared to him that one of the most effective means of acquiring the coveted dominion over her was to claim a share to parentage in offspring. In a most primitive and unique manner he demonstrated his prerogative by imitating the birth pangs. Instances of this practice exist even

at the present time in some savage tribes, the father going to bed after the birth of the child and feigning illness while the mother takes the position of nurse.

"As another agency to the downfall of the female sex the male evolved religious dogmas in which he set forth the irritatingly comical proposition that the sex passions to which he is subject are consciously and intentionally aroused in him by the female (the woman she tempted me and I did eat); he further attributes to those passions an evil, unclean aspect, probably because they have caused him a great deal of misfortune and discomfort. It is very easy to see that in a society where such a religion dominated woman would occupy an extremely degraded, subservient position; upon her would be shouldered all the blame for man's weaknesses and she must, therefore bear the punishment. Man introduced the first conception of uncleanness into sex matters. This was inevitable if he wished to obtain any great influence, for woman ruled by virtue of her sex; consequently, in order to dethrone her he found it necessary to disparage that which was the root of her power. Therefore, he constructed, foot by foot, taking a period of thousands of years, the prison house in which she now dwells, that dwarfed her naturally broad sympathies, confined her to a limited sphere, that warped her body and her mind, and made of her man's footstool.

"In the same slow manner and at the same time that religions changed their aspect the man gained control of the soil. When he had accomplished this he not merely enslaved women, but also proceeded to enslave his weaker brothers and as a result there exists at the present time a society which is represented on the one side by a handful of domineering, autocratic, featherbrained upstarts and on the other by swarms of groveling, pitiful humanity."

At this juncture a man near the edge of the rapt circle of listeners broke the silence of the audience by exclaiming excitedly, as though delighted that he was able to find some objection to the maiden's cutting truth:

"Your argument is rather weak and illogical. Religions are the outcome of economic conditions. Men's thoughts are shaped by their environment, and in their religions they express their ideas as to the origin of things and the relations of human beings to each other which they have derived from their environment. The manner in which you express yourself leads one to think that you attribute to men a free, self-governing action, when you say that they altered religious faiths to enslave women and took possession of the land for the same purpose. Men have no free will. What developed and determined the changes you speak of was the manner in which human beings procured their food, the sort of shelter they were forced to build, the dangers entailed by the existence of formidable beasts; in fact, the causes were economic ones."

"You speak truth, Mortal," the maiden replied, "when you say that economic environment is instrumental in the formation of religions, that it is instrumental in the establishment of institutions and that modes of production, direct the thoughts and ac-

tions of human beings, but you do not carry your trend of thought far enough. Your economic factor is not the only factor in the growth of human society. There are many forces that build universal life and as human beings are a part of the universe these react on them and thereby effect "economic conditions." There are many men like you who lay stress upon "economic determinism" as the only factor in human progress while you admit the activity of many others besides when you are dealing with animal or plant life or the life of some cosmic body. What of the telluric factor, what of biological, physical, chemical laws? Are they not as active in human society as everywhere else in the universe? And a force that is present and active in every particle of life from the electron, atom, cell, blade of grass, and budding flower, to some cold, dark planet pursuing its mad course through a distant constellation, searching its mate with an infinite longing for new life, is the love force, or the law of attraction. You cannot explain that away by your "economic determinism." It existed long before a society of a human kind was known; it existed before man existed.

"When I spoke as I did of men forming religions to suit their requirements and of gaining control of the land, I did not wish to intimate that they did it freely, by merely conceiving the idea. The point that I wished to make was that more forces were instrumental in the formation of that desire than mere economic determinism and that it is exceedingly important that sex peculiarities be taken into consideration. What you fail to comprehend is that all the forces of the Cosmos intermingle, supplement each other, and interact on all things. And he is more than human who professes to know where the effect of one or another begins and ends."

At this juncture the maiden paused to gain her self-control; her vehement speech had deprived her of all composure. At first she was inclined to regret that she had forsaken her calm mien, but on looking around she saw that she had done so to some purpose; men were running hither and thither, to and from the Plain of Established Ideas, some going to the plain to bring their friends to hear the words of this extraordinary person and others were returning from the plain where they had already gone for the same purpose. At last she had aroused an active interest in the people.

(To be continued.)

Lady Leisure.

Gaze at her thoughtfully, languid with graces,
Tired with the burden of nothing to do;
Tear-gleaming diamonds, and ghostly white laces,
Poverty's whisper her garments pursue,
Eyelids close wearily, lo she sighs drearily,
Thoughtlessly dreaming, the slow moments creep,
Earnestly gaze at her, look in amaze at her
Lady of Leisure: ah see, she's asleep.
—Wildie Thayer.

Every Socialist Man and Woman.

MUST read "THE SCIENCE OF GETTING RICH." The great scientific work of the year. An explanation of the Laws of Thought and Action by which any individual can get rich under capitalism, and by which the working class as a whole can get rich together. Don't stay "down"; don't be poor. Get rich now, and help establish the commonwealth. Send your address on a postal card for descriptive circulars of these books, and for free literature of value. Address W. D. WATTLERS, Dept. P., Elwood, Ind.

Every Progressive Woman

Ought to read "Letters to a Woman's Husband," by W. D. Wattles. Price only 15c. Tells how to emancipate woman from her slavery to the stomachs of her family. Mr. Man, how would YOU like to plan and get 1,095 meals a year, each one different from all the rest? Get this booklet, and read it to him. Digitized by Google

Notes on the Congress.

J. G. K.

The first American Socialist congress has passed into history. Every one is asking "Was it a success?" Whether it was or not depends on the viewpoint. There certainly was no very brilliant disposition of affairs. Had there been four weeks more of the meeting the delegates would have gotten down to good hard work of a constructive nature. But for Socialists to come together from such diversified portions of the country as we have in America, carrying the interests of their environment with them, and "do business," in four or six days, is a physical impossibility. It would take longer than a week to discover the status and needs of each locality represented. The delegates from the industrial districts of Pennsylvania and New York City could not possibly know the needs of the farming districts of the great west, and vice versa. The grievance of the western coast scarcely touched the hearts of the eastern. Their immediate interests are not identical. New York isn't afraid of Oriental labor, and California has no sweatshop problem. Women and children are exploited on the farms of Oklahoma, but the Ghetto in New York has no farms and it is hard for a New Yorker to realize that the little land owners in Oklahoma are not of the capitalist class. When the women of the east objected to co-operating with the suffrage women there because a Mrs. Belmont belonged to the organization, they failed to touch a responsive chord in the sympathies of the women from the west. There are no Belmont members of the suffrage movement in Kansas and Oklahoma. The club and suffrage women out here are the women of petty storekeepers, \$15-a-week clerks, here and there a \$700 preacher or town official, and so on.

All of these differences of condition and environment had to be brought up and gotten acquainted with—or, at least, tolerated—before any effectual, co-operative work could be done. And one week wasn't enough to do it in.

Possibly one of the things learned was the necessity of state or local autonomy in the matter of tactics. It is impossible, in so large a country, with such varied immediate interests, to place all its control under a national movement. Many things must be worked out locally first, and national interference would but retard and restrict progress.

One of the things, indeed, THE thing that is never superfluous or out of place in a Socialist convention, congress, or local meeting, is a discussion of the ways and means of organization and propaganda. Education is what the people of every locality need, and education they should have. When every man and woman of the working class, of average intelligence, is properly informed regarding the evils of capitalism, and the escape from these evils that Socialism offers, then, and then only, can we hope to carry this country for Socialism. It may seem a long way, but it is the only sure way, and so is the shortest cut in the end. A cheap, capitalistic bid for votes will never bring in Socialism. And when our congress spent its first precious two days arguing as to whether we should heed the cry of the unions of the western coast and register our party as favoring

Oriental exclusion, it was wasting valuable time in methods that never will pay.

One clause in the report of the Woman's Committee carried the matter over two sessions, owing principally to the varying constituency in the woman's suffrage movement, thus causing various notions as to whether it is a "bourgeois," a "proletarian" or just a sex movement. Some were in favor of official co-operation by the party, others preferred that the party take no official stand on the matter, but merely state matters so that individuals could act in individual cases as they pleased. This discussion, fortunately, brought out a very fine attitude from the majority of our advanced Socialists on the woman question. Whether they favored this particular class or were against it, I am sure that every one felt that there is no uncertain ground as to the should-be-status of woman in the minds of leading Socialists. They know that the



May Wood Simons, re-elected chairman of National Women's Committee.

woman question is a social question. That as a chain is no stronger than its weakest link, so society can be no stronger than its weakest members. And that so long as woman is intimidated, cowed, brutalized, pampered and degraded by legal disabilities of all kinds, just so long will the sons of such women inherit weakened and disgusting tendencies, and so long will the progress of society be retarded. As the recent congress overshadowed the last convention in the matter of the woman, so will the next convention far outstrip this in the vigor, intelligence, and dignity, with which it handles this very important social question.

Perhaps not in what it did, was our congress great, but in what it found necessary to be done, will it be worth while. If it has learned its lesson of sectional differences, and of the never ending necessity for local organization and propaganda, it has been worth while. And the workers who stayed at home and paid the bills must know that the best place for them is where they are, and the greatest work they can do is to educate their immediate locality. There is nothing more pressing in our movement than just this. That is how Milwaukee managed it, and that is how the rest of us must manage. There are no magicians in the Socialist movement, Socialism will not come through sorcery of any kind, we need not have vain dreams

about it, we must just look the situation in the face as we find it—and go to work.

Plan for Work in Socialist Locals

The Woman's National Committee of the Socialist party indorses the following statement of the aims and methods of the local woman's committees, and urges upon the locals of the party prompt activity in accordance with this plan.



LENA MORROW LEWIS
Member National Executive Committee.
Newly elected member Woman's National Committee.

It is earnestly requested that all national, state and local organizers aid in the inauguration of such committees, to the end that a larger party membership, wider experience, fuller knowledge of Socialism and increased activity in propaganda may be secured among the women of the working class.

The Woman's Committees in Locals.
Each local of the Socialist party should have a woman's committee. In the ideal local there are as many women as men and their work in the local is the same extent and character, yet even in such a local there are opportunities for special propaganda and education among women.

In most locals the need to make distinct efforts to reach women is marked and imperative.

Appointment of Committees.

The local woman's committees should be formally authorized by the local. This is not a mere form, but vital to the solidarity of the movement.

Clubs or classes already in existence with the approval of the party may put themselves right in this respect by having the officers or members of such club or class (if members of the party) appointed a woman's committee of the local by the local.

In a local of average size the committee may well be composed of all the women who are members of the party.

Duties of Committees—Per party Year Book for 1908, concerning purposes of Woman's National Committee of the Socialist party.

"To make intelligent Socialists and suf-

fragists of women and to secure their active membership in the Socialist party are the general duties of the committee."

Methods of Procedure—A meeting of all women interested should be called by the authorized committee. Usually many new party members can be secured at the initial meeting among women who are convinced Socialists, but have neglected to join the party.

The chief point to be decided at the first meeting is the character and frequency of the regular meetings held—whether these shall take the form of a propaganda club or study class, or a combination of the two. A name for club or class may also be chosen.

Chairman—A different chairman should usually be elected for each meeting, but at the preceding meeting if possible.

Secretary and Treasurer—These officers of the committee should be chosen for a set term.

Sub-Committees of the Local Woman's Committee.

Program Committee—This is a most important committee, since the success of the meeting held will depend upon the clearness and simplicity of the work chosen and the extent to which all can be brought frequently into program and discussions.

Some book or pamphlet should be taken as a basis for a part at least of each program—the subject matter of its subdivisions being reproduced by members in their own words.

Discussions should be kept somewhat formal as experience is better gained in this way.

Membership Committees—The test of success in all this work is increased membership and activity in the local. A committee to secure new party members and payment of dues to local and additional attendance at club or class and at local meetings is desirable, "lest we forget."

Literature Program Committee—In the general distribution of literature the women should help in the work organized by the local, but special efforts should be made to reach women employed in shop or factory, wives of working men, women in trade unions and wives of union men.

The "Woman's National Committee has issued and will continue to issue and recommend leaflets, pamphlets, etc., which will aid in this propaganda work.

Write to May Wood Simons, 180 Washington street, Chicago, Ill.

Suffrage Committee—The duty of this committee is to see that no opportunity is lost for agitation and education for votes for women, to which our party is uncompromisingly pledged. Also to see that where full suffrage has been granted them that working women properly register.

Children's Committee—Where a Sunday school is feasible, it may well be in charge of a sub-committee of the Woman's Committee when not practicable; meetings for children may be held yearly, quarterly or monthly as conditions and locality warrant.

Music Committee—A generally recognized lack in our movement may be removed if the women begin in their local club work to familiarize themselves with Socialist songs and the musical possibility of the local membership. Music in the local and propaganda meetings will naturally follow.

Locals providing such committees for the activity of the women of their membership will be strengthened and stimulated immeasurably.



Dora B. Montefiore, of London, Eng. A distinguished visitor at the Congress.

The Suffrage Question at the Congress.

E. C. U.

Another proof of the fact that the woman's movement is assuming ever vaster proportions and occupying a place that is continually becoming of greater importance was evinced at the last national Socialist Congress which assembled May 15th. This being a congress, a conference, instead of a political convention as were all former assemblies, all matters brought before the delegates received even greater attention and the opinions expressed were delivered in speeches of even greater length than formerly. And the particular question bearing especially on woman's activity which occupied the congress, namely, in what manner Socialists should work for universal adult suffrage, received a corresponding increase of attention.

The manner in which this question rose before the delegates was as follows:

The National Woman's Committee brought in a report of propaganda carried on among women in the past few years, which contained also many worthy plans, suggestions and resolutions for future effort. One section of this report, however, proved unsatisfactory to some of the delegates and an amendment was suggested. The paragraph in question is quoted below:

"Woman's disfranchisement being a great factor in aggravating her economic dependence, we urge the party to take more direct action in the matter of woman suffrage, which should, however, be carried on under party supervision and advocated from party platforms."

This was interpreted as meaning that although Socialists as individuals would be permitted to add their effort and assistance to suffrage movements outside the party, the party as a body would not co-operate with such movements. Comrade Ella Reeve Bloor, of Connecticut, made a motion that the report of the Woman's Committee be amended by substituting for the above section a portion of the Propaganda Program submitted by Morris Hillquit, of New York, which reads as follows:

"The modern Socialist movement began its political career with a demand for equal rights for all adults, without distinction of class or sex, and the platform of our own party contains a specific pledge that the Socialists of America would engage in an

active campaign for unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women. This pledge was made in good faith and must be redeemed unequivocally and whole-heartedly. Our propaganda for the enfranchisement of women must be carried on, not spasmodically and perfunctorily, but steadily and enthusiastically. We must allow no opportunity for such propaganda to escape. Whether it be a legislative hearing, a public demonstration or discussion, the Socialists should range themselves on all occasions with the advocate of woman suffrage."

Such a broad, sympathetic statement we may well be proud of. It states the whole situation clearly and concisely. The suffrage movements of America are working for something which the Socialist party has explicitly declared is one of its aims. Therefore, the Socialist party, as a party, should take an active, enthusiastic part in the struggle of the disfranchised and prove itself as stalwart and liberal in practice as it is in theory. The party can never progress if it holds itself aloof in any way or gives to itself an air of exclusiveness. It must broaden itself in all directions, reach out to the hearts of the people, all exploited and oppressed, gain their love and make plain beyond a doubt that it is fighting their battles. It is not simply an industrialist party or simply a farmers' party or a suffrage association; it is a party fighting for all these, for the proletariat in the city, the exploited farmer in the scorching field, the downtrodden housewife, and the woman on the streets.

Many delegates stood on the floor of the congress and in ardent, even oratorical, addresses showed that it would be equally as inconsistent to refuse to add our strength to the suffrage movement of this country as it would be to refuse to work with organized labor, if it necessitates no organic affiliation, when it is following some aim directly in line with our principles as we have done many times. Not by fighting separately, but by standing in a compact mass, shoulder to shoulder will we make an impression on capitalism. And there is absolutely no political objection to co-operation with the movement for adult suffrage since it necessitates no political affiliation. The purpose merely is to carry on our work in a manner that will convince women that we are fighting for them. And in spite of many statements to the contrary suffrage associations do reach many working girls. In Connecticut there are twenty thousand who are members of a suffrage association; in Oklahoma you will also find many in the ranks of the suffragists. The Socialist party should not miss the opportunity to spread its propaganda amidst such promising material. The point is that women will be enfranchised under any conditions in the course of a few years and it is up to the Socialists whether they will bend every effort to spread their ideas and make a bid for these new votes or whether they will stand by quietly with folded hands while the capitalist parties reap the harvest.

For over forty years I have not hesitated to declare my conviction that justice and fair dealing, and the democratic principles of our government, demand equal rights and privileges of citizenship, irrespective of sex. I have not been able to see any good reason for denying the ballot to women.—John G. Whittier.

If the women of New York City had the ballot they would drive the corruption out. Each party would be compelled to put up its best candidates to stand any chance of winning. I would like to see the ballot in the hands of every woman.—Mark Twain.

In my opinion suffrage for women is bound to come. There are many arguments against it, but no reasons.—Wm. Dean Howells (author).

Which is Better for Women, the Woman Suffrage Movement, or the Socialist Party?

A Controversy by Abigail Scott Duniway, President of the Oregon State Equal Suffrage Association, and Thresa Talkiel, Member of the National Woman's Committee of The Socialist Party

ABIGAIL SCOTT DUNIWAY

Nothing has ever been given space in The Progressive Woman—though it is always full of good things—can so thrill a reader who knows the depths of her meaning as Theresa Malkiel's well-told story, **The Vampire**, which appears in the April issue. And yet it is not the woman who lives near enough to such neighbors as can afford to employ the Vampire's victim—mother-enchained chattel that she is—who should first enlist our sympathies, but the isolated drudges upon the farm, many of whom I have seen and known, and part of whom, in all my early married years, or until my husband learned better judgment, I was. While it is true that the condition of the wife upon the farm has been much ameliorated during recent years as a result of the equal rights movement—especially upon the farms adjacent to cities and the larger towns—there is not, in all the land, in regions remote from these centers, a place where the Vampires' wives are as well provided for as the "Mary" of the story who could go out washing for hire. The utter hopelessness of the servant of the farm who is known as wife, who adds to her unpaid servitude the sickness, suffering, and anxiety, the sleepless nights and unspeakable exactions of her inconsiderate though not intentionally cruel task-master, who, with tear-dimmed eyes and aching heart, remodels the last bits of her longago depleted bridal outfit for "another one"—ah! how all this comes back to me in this evening of my days! And with what thankfulness I watch the tender care for the welfare of the wives of many manly men of today, whose husbands have been reared under the loving tutelage of the intelligent parents who, taught in the school of experience, themselves have taught their sons the better way. But these manly men are so few in number compared to the untaught multitudes of the Rooseveltian school, who are unable to follow the ex-president's example in anything except opposition to "race suicide," that I turned again to the story of **Mary** and "the Vampire," to suggest, from the depths of long experience, both the cause and the remedy.

While I am not able to see with Tolstoy, or even through the eye of The Progressive Woman, any way to make the theories of Socialism at all practical under present conditions, I can and do see in the enfranchisement of the mothers of the race how the power of the ballot can, and will, in time, give to woman economic equality with man. But, as matters now stand, women are no more able to help themselves, as mothers of the race, to freedom than the Children of Israel were able to make

bricks without the straw of which the hosts of Pharaoh had deprived them.

Just as the activities of certain women on the lines of the prohibition propaganda have aroused the ballot-armed purveyors, the liquor vendors and consumers of the land, into organized opposition to equal suffrage, which women have no votes to combat, and for that reason they can and do defeat us at every turn, can the readers of The Progressive Woman not now see a new danger to our liberties in their activities in the political fight for Socialism, which our enemies have the votes to oppose and thereby defeat the fundamental fact of self-government for our sex, without which no effectual progress can be made?

I am not writing this to argue against either prohibition or Socialism, but I do wish to warn all women against the danger—**ay, peril**, of advocating any man-made political side issue, of whatever name or nature, which can only clamp our chains the tighter, through the reactionary votes of men who think they see in our coming enfranchisement the specter of self-indulgence falling from their hands, and are thus, in uncontrollable majority, prepared to fight us to the bitter end.

It is because of the proneness of women to forsake the fundamental principles of personal liberty in pursuit of man-made political hobbies which we have no power to assist nor can we help them till we first get the ballot ourselves that I would sound this warning.

The Equal Suffrage Association of Oregon, recognizing the utter hopelessness of our forty-year struggle for full suffrage, which we have sought in vain through four amendment campaigns, are now asking our voting masters to grant us one step at a time, hoping thereby to get one foot on solid ground, and thus secure a place for our fulcrum to extract the foot. Under this amendment, which is to prohibit the disfranchisement of women who pay taxes, any woman can, if it secures a majority vote, offer her tax receipt, whether it be for ten cents or ten dollars, and compel the county clerk to allow her to register as a full-fledged voter "at all elections authorized by law."

Can your readers not see the advantage to be gained by the adoption of the amendment? Our few heavy tax-paying women are all anti-suffragists—but the tens of thousands of us who have no property except as we earn it are eager for success. Leading Socialists of Oregon, like Chas. Kitching and J. D. Stephens, heartily endorse this idea, and agree with the E. S. A. that the experiment is well worth the trying. This step, should we gain it, will enable women to make a beginning for economic independence, through which, alone, can they get the opportunity to rise above the power of the Vampire, who will, in turn, receive great benefit himself, though he fails to see it now.

Dear readers of The Progressive Woman, let us all seek first the power over our own bodies which can only come to us through the ballot, which, under existing conditions,

is beyond our reach. Then all other blessing of liberty and righteousness may come to us without revolution or bloodshed in their natural order.

Woman's Economic Freedom.

THERESA MALKIEL

In the April issue of The Progressive Woman appeared an article, "The Vampire," which dealt with woman's sexual slavery to man. This article has been read, criticised and approved by many. Now, an unknown friend from Oregon seems to verify the truth of the existing evil, but does not agree with our suggestions as to remedy.

She does not believe that Socialism could be made a practical issue and, therefore, cannot understand how we women, who realize the terrible injustice to which our sex is subjected, can join hands with the men Socialists working for the welfare of both men and women alike. To her mind we are committing a great error and she warns us Socialist women against the danger of avocating any man-made political issue, no matter what its name, or nature may be.

She does not comprehend that the ballot alone will not ameliorate woman's ever growing economical subjection, from which she will be freed only after the present state of society is completely changed and the edifice of a new state erected.

Now, of all the people living, I would certainly be the last to argue against woman's enfranchisement. Woman is entitled to, must, and will get, the ballot before very long. Her rapid entrance as an economic factor into the life of our society is bound to bring with it her economic equality with man for which our Oregon friend is yearning. But economic equality with man does not mean economic independence of him. The man voter today has the franchise and is still far from being economically independent.

Only in a society where woman will be completely free from the necessity of seeking man's support for herself and children can we hope for the ideal relation between husband and wife. For, no matter whether with or without the ballot, so long as economic embarrassments continue to prey upon woman, so long will she submit to being dehumanized.

"The hopeless servant of the farm who is known as wife," of whom our friend speaks with so much feeling and compassion—how will the ballot free her from the brute of a husband to whom she is chained by the ties of economic necessity? What will she gain by her economic equality with him, unless she strives to become economically independent of him.

True enough that it is still worse at present, today she is the slave of a slave, but why refrain from helping to bring about human freedom for both sexes, so that when she finally ceases to be the slave of a slave she will not encounter new fetters, but will find herself a sovereign of her own destiny.

Our friends, the suffragists, forget that woman has a double task of liberation, for even if she succeeds of casting aside the yoke placed upon her by man-made conditions, she will still bear together with man the yoke of economic oppression.

First made dependent on man through force, she submitted to her oppression which increased with the growing difficulty of procuring a maintenance. Today woman has reached a point where she has to sup-

Woman's Relation to Society

BELLE OURY

An article in the March number of The Progressive Woman, entitled "How Shall Women Be Recompensed Under Socialism," is an exemplification of the misapprehension of the relation of woman to society which exists in the minds of many men who are earnest Socialists, but who are unable to disassociate women from the home, and consider her as part of social processes.

How shall mothers be recompensed under Socialism? In my opinion mothers will not be recompensed at all. Socialism implies a free race—given a free race, motherhood will be voluntary, and I see no reason why it should interfere with any occupation which a woman may have. Are women to earn their own living by engaging in some occupation until they become marriageable, and then retire and become breeders? This is a most astonishing proposition, and one which will not bear analysis.

In the past women have been restricted to home duties. The home has remained primitive in the midst of a constantly developing society. Women's occupations being entirely confined to such work as could be performed in the home, her aspirations reached no further. She had to expend all her energy on her home and children. Accordingly she became a very prolific child bearer, though a very inefficient rearer of children. Had we this sort of women to deal with, the pensioning of mothers would be an eminently proper measure.

However, Socialism means economic freedom. We do not mean by this that unmarried women shall take part in economic processes, and that women who marry will be recompensed by the state for performing sex functions. We would finally develop into a kind of bee society with women capable of no function, but that of reproduction.

Now let us see what social evolution is doing. With the development of machinery has become a demand for cheaper labor. This demand has been supplied by women. This is forcing wages down to such a point that a majority of families in order to live are compelled to offer the services of both the men and women members. This has given birth to the day nursery, in some European cities maintained by the municipality, in American cities by private parties. Most of us look upon this as an evil. How terrible to separate mother and child! But mother and child are separated the greater part of the day when school is in session. The development of the modern kindergarten is separating mother and child when the child is at a very tender age. These conditions are the beginning of specialization in the training of children from babyhood. Motherhood does not include in all cases efficiency in training and caring for children; this requires specialization. As we recognize that all children have a right to an education, so we must ultimately arrive at the conclusion that from their birth, they should receive the best care that society can furnish, and this cannot always be supplied by their mothers.

Work associated with women has been the last to be specialized. That of spinning and weaving is about perfected. Cooking is just beginning to yield to the process

of specialization—machinery for making housework easier is being invented and improved almost daily. But with machinery for cleaning, with cooking a specialized industry, can anyone doubt that the home as we know it will have disappeared? The narrow individual home of the present day is in harmony with the primitive methods pursued by women in their housework, but complex machinery is not in harmony with homes inhabited by single families. Machinery is always connected with large establishments, and the home will be no exception.

Given such conditions as these, with what are now home industries socialized and specialized, with trained specialists in charge of children from their birth, what is to prevent a married woman with children from having an occupation? As under Socialism we know that the hours of labor will be very light, there is nothing to prevent women from nursing their children, and having some companionship with them. It will be better for both child and mother not to have this companionship constant.

These modifications of and changes in her condition will make the woman as necessary to social processes as to sex processes, and a fully developed woman would indignantly spurn payment and a life of leisure in return for motherhood. However, the writer of the article to which I referred above makes the mistake that is commonly made. He associates motherhood with care of the children. It is not motherhood that he desires recompense, but the duties which have hitherto attended motherhood. Specialization will solve this problem, and as motherhood will, therefore, be a sex function, we will not have to consider recompensing women in any other capacity than that of worker.

Cincinnati, Ohio.

At the National Purity congress in Baltimore, 1895, it was estimated that the number of prostitutes in the United States was 230,000, and that this implied at least 1,150,000 prostitute men, which is probably far under the truth.—Bliss Enc. Social Reform

Are you a working woman? What are you doing to better your condition? Whatever it is, you can't do it alone. You must educate your fellow workers, and you can do it best with Socialist literature written expressly for them to read. The P. W. is written for that purpose.

Mr. George Kibbe Turner in McClure's for April, 1907, estimates that \$20,000,000 a year is made by prostitution in Chicago.

Read every word of the Girard Mfg. ad. his month. It will help you.

There are in New York City between 40,000 and 50,000 prostitutes.

Photograph post cards of Appeal to Reason building, 5c.

Photo post cards of Fred D. Warren, 5c each.

Remember that leaflet campaign.

THE APPEAL 40 WKS. FREE

We will print and deliver to you at one address six sets of visiting cards, 50 to a set, different name on each set, for \$1.50. In addition, we will give with the six sets either of the following premiums. Appeal for 40 weeks; Progressive woman for six months; or choice of one of these books: The Fighting Editor by Geo. D. Brewer, A Little Sister of the Poor by Josephine Conger-Kaneko; Diaz the Dictator, or the Friar's Daughter, by C. L. Phifer. Everything latest style, first class, delivered, 50 cards 25c., without premium. Write for Samples, Address NONPAREIL STA. CO., 208 Osage, Girard, Kan.

ness her feelings and emotions aroused by numerous ignoble acts and all for the consideration of money, or whatever she has obtained for it.

Under modern economic conditions true marriages are a rarity—most people marry it of material interest and, with some variations, this will undoubtedly continue to be the case so long as woman has to depend upon her future husband for maintenance.

Like our friends, the suffragists, we work for woman's enfranchisement, in the hope that her closer contact with the outside world will give her a chance to develop her natural abilities. As far as the suffragettes we believe alike, but no sooner is it attained than our ways part—to them the ballot is the sole goal aspired for, to us it is only one of the means to the goal.

We must acknowledge that, if a man-made world is bad, a woman-made one may not be any better. We must always bear in mind the existing complementary qualities of both sexes which are absolutely necessary to bring about a perfect state of society.

If we agree that woman needs economic dependence as a basis of her future freedom, we have to acknowledge that not until the changes proposed by the Socialists are realized can we hope for her complete emancipation.

Socialism will not elevate some at the cost of oppressing others, as our friend from Oregon fears, but will afford to all the quality of opportunity, and thus make possible for each and every one an existence worthy of human beings.

The new social system will apportion a task to each and every one according to their ability and inclination, so long as they accomplish a certain amount of work necessary for individual maintenance.

There being no overproduction or masses of idle hands the hours of work will be short enough not to overtax anybody, and under these conditions woman will inevitably become a useful member of society on par with all.

Now, then, the point at issue raised by our Oregon friend is—our mistake of joining hands with the men. But don't our suffrage sisters argue continually that there is no man's or woman's world, but a human world? Don't they realize that Socialism is not only a certain phase of politics but presents a great economic theory based on science as well?

There are no two ways on the road of freedom and we can only reach the final goal by marching forward with all those who are bound thither. The sooner we awaken our womanhood, not only to the effect of her present degradation, but at the same time point out to her wherefrom she's to expect her real liberty, the sooner may we hope for its achievement.

For our friends to attempt to oppose our efforts is as objectless a task as to prevent the earth from revolving on its axis—woman's interests assign her the ranks of the truly democratic movement—the Socialist party.

Two Magazines for Price of One.

For \$1 we will send you The Progressive Woman and The International Socialist Review for one year. The P. W. is 50c, the Review is \$1. What woman could want a better bargain than that? Just the combination every household needs, too. Send for both to The Progressive Woman, Girard, Kan.

The Progressive Woman

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Editor and Publisher... Josephine Conger-Kaneko



THREE YEARS OLD THIS MONTH.

We have only been in the world three years, and yet—we have lived a lot. Beginning life in a Chicago flat, as the little Socialist Woman, a tiny seven-and-a-half-by-ten, eight-page affair, with no circulation to begin with, we have grown into a nine-by-twelve sixteen-page magazine, and contain more printed matter than any of the big popular magazines, aside from advertising. Our regular monthly editions are from twelve to fifteen thousand, and we send out very few free samples.

We have moved our headquarters to Girard, and have a big sunny editorial office in the Appeal to Reason building. The Appeal does all our printing, and appreciates the fact that we have never fallen behind a single month in our payments. In talking with Comrade Fred D. Warren a few days before he started to his last famous trial, about the success of The Progressive Woman, he said frankly, "Honestly, when you started the magazine, had you asked my opinion about it, I would have told you that you couldn't make it go."

Comrade Warren voiced the opinion of thousands of others, a very natural conclusion, owing to the then seeming indifference of women to politics of any kind, and to Socialism in particular. But the editors of The P. W. saw a cloud in the sky, no bigger than a man's hand; just a little psychological disturbance, that bespoke the awakening of woman, and her final uprising in a demand not only for political rights, but for economic freedom as well. The ground was ready, and there was only needed the sowers to come forth and sow.

The Progressive Woman has been diligently sowing. And so rapidly are women awakening that the "big" magazines have followed suit, and are filling their valuable space with long articles on the "woman question." But they stop short of the real issue. They say little about the fundamental cause of woman's position in society. They only dig at effects. The Progressive Woman still leads the way in pointing out the causes, and suggesting the remedy.

In three years we have reached many, many thousands of women. We have set them to thinking as they never thought before. But the ground will be so immeasurably better in the next few years that we shall then reach hundreds of thou-

sands of women—and after that will come the harvest.

The Progressive Woman thanks all of the readers who have been loyal and true—and among our best friends today are those who helped us in the wee small hours of our first life struggles—for without them all would have been lost. One of our editors and founders has passed on, and will not know of the struggles and successes of the future. But he believed in the final GREAT success of The Progressive Woman, and it is to this GREAT success that we will, by the help of loyal friends and comrades, wend our way in the fourth year of our life.

We want every local secretary in the United States to handle sub cards for The Progressive Woman. See that they carry them in YOUR local.

The social scale is no stronger than its weakest link. The weakest link in our social scale is the child-bearing woman and the infant. When we can get it into the minds of the majority of people that society is being destroyed through the neglect or oppression of the mother and infant, we have the best line of cleavage from which to propagate scientific Socialism. The pressure of capitalism on this very source of human life will destroy it root and branch, unless men and women wake up in time to destroy capitalism. And because of the woman's interest in this phase of human endeavor, it is she who must be awakened to the impending evils. While our men are bravely splitting hairs over the meaning of "capital," "economic determinism," the "Marxian theory," etc., let us get some women at work agitating in the kitchens of the poor for better food, better sanitary conditions, more rest for mothers, pure milk for infants, playgrounds for children, schools, hospitals, recreation parks, and all the common, necessary things that lie at the bottom of life, and with which women deal every day of their lives.

Picture of Debs and Socialist children of Girard, with five copies of this issue, 10c.

The Market for Souls.

Very few women have the courage to do what Elizabeth Goodnow, the author of "The Market for Souls," did—that is, go down in the red light district of a great city, rent a flat, and make friends with the girls who "walk the streets." Mrs. Goodnow says she wanted to get at the reasons why hundreds of thousands of young girls each year enter into the most horrible of lives. And she believed the best and only way to find out was to live among the girls themselves, make friends with them, win their confidence, and get their stories. This she did, and "The Market for Souls" is a series of life sketches portrayed simply as she found them. There is no preaching in the book, no apology, no excuse. As the girls give their own experiences to her, she gives them to the reader. And leaves it to the reader to judge for himself why the social evil exists, and how best to deal with it.

To the Socialist reader three things are apparent: The girls are invariably poor; they are ignorant; in nearly every case they support a man. To the Socialist, therefore, the remedies that suggest themselves are—the abolition of poverty, education, the recognition of woman's equality with man.

"The Market for Souls" is a sordid picture of the seething, putrid underworld; but a book, nevertheless, that should be placed in the hands of every complacent conservative for the purpose of arousing him to a realization of this great menace to modern society. Published by Mitchell Kennerley, New York.

Does every member of your local read The P. W.?

The Woman's Portion, by Franklin Wentworth, 10c.

Did you notice our premium offer this month? Might as well secure some of these household necessities free.

WILL YOU DO THIS?

BY EUGENE V. DEBS.

A few days ago I was in the office of The Progressive Woman and learned by chance that subscriptions were coming slowly and that the receipts of the office barely covered running expenses. Appreciating the value of this paper to the Socialist movement, especially what it has done to create interest and stimulate activity among women and children, our most enthusiastic propagandists, I felt as if something must be done to lift the paper out of its uncertain and insecure position and place it on a secure and permanent foundation, and to this end I venture to offer the following suggestion:

You who see this are interested in The Progressive Woman or you would not be reading it. Are you sufficiently interested to contribute fifty cents to convert its weakness into strength, that it may really do its work and fulfill its mission? If so send that amount to the editor as soon as you have finished reading this, and with **send the name and address of some bright working girl** who ought to have the paper.

You can make no possible investment that will pay better dividends to yourself.

Please don't put this off! Do it now!

If all who read this will promptly accept upon this suggestion Progressive Woman will at one stroke be placed upon a solid foundation, its strength will be doubled and it can then strike out boldly in all directions, arousing the hosts of women and children who simply await the call to join the great crusade for freedom and justice.

It is such a small thing for you; it is such a large thing for The Progressive Woman.

The Progressive Woman is your paper and you can in a single day, by concerted effort all over the land in this one small thing, raise it to commanding eminence in the revolutionary movement.

Do it, please do it, **on your own account**

The results will give you more real joy than any similar investment you have ever made.

Comrade Josephine Conger-Kaneko and her staff of associates and contributors are among the brainiest and pluckiest women in the world. I need not praise them. Their work, most of it done under adverse conditions and discouraging circumstances speaks for itself.

It is up to you!

"The Man and the Woman," by Helen Untermann, is an appeal to the men and women to try and understand each other through a study of the other's environment. It is an excellent suggestion. Price, 10¢ for 20c, or \$1.50 for 1,000.

From Our Readers.

We hope our little help may keep your canoe skimming over smooth, clear water awhile longer. My husband enjoys The Progressive Woman as much as myself. He thinks every man should be as much interested in it as his wife. I will send more subs as soon as possible, as I believe it is the best way to reach the women of our local.—Harriett Powell, Canton, Ohio.

The local here had a rousing meeting last Sunday evening; there was a great deal of enthusiasm over the victory in Milwaukee, and I thought as there was a good number of women present it was an opportune time to get in a word for our P. W. The enclosed list of 12 was the result.—Rose B. Moore, Spokane, Wash.

There is no paper in existence like The P. W., none to take its place. To let it go under means defeat for the woman's cause. We must do our utmost to help keep it up.—Mrs. S. E. Bowman, Los Angeles, Cal.

The Marriage Contract

LIDA PARCE

Another important matter that is determined by the terms of the marriage contract is the relation of parents to their children and the rights and duties which attach to these relations. And when we examine the laws on the subject we find that, in the main, they give to the father the rights to the child, the obligations, and to the mother, negation. And we are told that these regulations are nicely adjusted with regard to the public morality.

Turning to the same authority we have cited before, Tiffany's Person's and Domestic Relations," we will examine some of the specific laws by which the public morality is so thoughtfully secured:

"A child is legitimate at common law when it was born or begotten during the lawful wedlock of its parents, and very generally, by statute in this country, when its parents marry subsequent to its birth."—P. 213.

"At common law the father is under no obligation to maintain his illegitimate children. . . . It has been held that the mother, even in the absence of a statute, is bound to maintain her illegitimate child."—P. 228.

Tiffany tells us that a bastard is regarded as "nobody's child" by the law. He cannot inherit property, nor bequeath property, excepting to his own children. He further informs us that the purpose of these regulations is to prevent looseness of sexual relations. That is, the child is punished for the father's act, which society holds to be a "sin," in order to restrain the father from committing the act. If the father were punished that might restrain him, and he doesn't want to be restrained. But some one must be punished in the interest of "morality," and as the punishment of children is a perfectly safe enterprise, the matter is adjusted and the ends of "morality" secured in this artless way. But this is not all the punishment that is required. You notice above that the mother is "bound to maintain her illegitimate child." Thus the mother is punished by being made to bear all the burden that should certainly belong to the father equally with her. One might think that the pangs and inconveniences of motherhood would be sufficient punishment for motherhood. But in the eyes of man it is not so. The mother must bear the economic as well as the physiological burden, unless she has entered into a contract whereby the father of the child becomes the owner of her body, of her property, of her services and earnings, of her child and of the services and earnings of the child.

But more lately, Mr. Tiffany tells us: "In England, and in most of our states, statutes have been enacted making the father chargeable with the maintenance of his illegitimate children, for the purpose of relieving the parish or the county of the expense."

You see it worked out in practice that sometimes other men had to pay for the "sin" of the father, in the shape of taxes for the keep of the child. So to relieve themselves of this expense they made the father liable. Do not overlook the fact that it is not done for the purpose of recognizing the claims of the mother or the child. That would encourage "immorality"

and our revered law-makers wouldn't do that.

There is yet another punishment that the mother and child must undergo: social ostracism; a punishment that depends wholly upon women for its application and effectiveness.

But when you turn to the subject of the rights of legitimate children, you find that they are no better off, as a rule, in the matter of claims on the father for support. Indeed, they are not as well off, for the mother of an illegitimate child is held responsible for its support; but neither the father or the mother of a legitimate child is held so responsible in most states:

"Whether or not, at common law, a parent is under legal obligation to support and maintain his children, or whether it is merely a natural duty, binding in morals only, is a question upon which the authorities are conflicting. The later English cases hold that there is only a moral obligation.

. . . . In this country the rule is the same in many states. In a number of states it has been expressly held, . . . that a parent is under no legal obligation to support his children; and that he is not liable, therefore, for necessities furnished to them in the absence of an express contract to pay for them."—Pp. 231-232.

"There is no legal duty on the part of a parent to educate his children, however wealthy he may be."—P. 238.

"So long as a minor child lives with or is supported by his parents. . . . the father is entitled to its services and earnings. The right to a child's services is generally said to be based on the parent's duty to support the child, but the right is recognized even in those jurisdictions where it is denied that there is any legal duty to support."—Pp. 255-256.

"A parent has the right to correct and punish his minor children in a reasonable manner; . . . persons standing in loco parentis have the same right. A school teacher is within the rule. . . . Indeed, there seems no reason to doubt but that, even during the father's lifetime, except against his objection, the mother has a legal right to correct her children."—P. 243.

"At common law the father is entitled to the custody of his minor child. Generally, in this country, the courts of law, as well as those of equity, while acknowledging the general rule that the father, and on his death the mother, is entitled to the child's custody, modify the rule to a greater or less extent by adopting the equitable principle that this right must yield to considerations affecting the well-being of the child. . . . The best interests of the child are always to be considered, having due regard to the parental rights of the father. . . . This is true in contentions between father and mother after they have separated, as well as in contentions between the father and strangers."—Pp. 246, 251.

"Since the earnings of a minor, unemancipated child belong to the father, they may be reached by the father's creditors, and subjected to the payment of his claims, just like any other property. And the same is true of property purchased with the child's earnings. It was held in a late Texas case, for instance, that land bought by a mother with the wages given her by her son, who was not emancipated, was

subject to the claims of the father's creditors."—P. 258.

No one that only in exceptional states has the legitimate child any legal claim upon its father for support. He has no claim upon his father for education or, in fact, for anything whatever; while everywhere the father can legally appropriate the earnings of the child. But the illegitimate child has a claim upon the mother for support. The question arises: which is the better off under the law, the legitimate or the illegitimate child? It would seem that the illegitimate child has decidedly the better of it, for his father cannot appropriate his earnings, and he can claim his mother's support. It is only in the matter of social ostracism above referred to, that the legitimate child is better off. But through the power of social ostracism, women force each other to enter into this contract which involves the utter negation of the woman in her legal, her economic and even her maternal relation. Such is the "sacredness" of motherhood and childhood in a man-made state! Havelock Ellis says: "So long as maternity under certain conditions is practically counted as a criminal act, it cannot be said that the feminine element in life has yet been restored to due honor." (Man and Woman, p. 451.)

Such is the price that is exacted from the mother and the child to secure the public "morality." I do not consider that the brand of morality we get is worth the price we pay.

But how about the mother? The mother of the illegitimate child is the owner of her own body; there is no one who can violate her by force under protection of the law. She owns her own wages, she can choose her place of residence, she preserves her contractual power and she is not only a guardian but the guardian of her child. In marriage she sacrifices every one of these advantages; but she is "respectable"! She is "respectable" because women choose to regard her as being so.

For my part, I care not whether a woman is "respectable" by this standard. I do not respect the standard. And then I never was inquisitive about people's sex relations.

It is time for women to establish standards of "morality" and "respectability" and "legitimacy" which meet their views and maintain their dignity. Such an effort was made at one time. During the period of the renaissance the women of the noble and the wealthy families of Europe came in contact with education and culture and became members of the society that is spelled with a capital S. Under the influence of education these women developed a charm and individuality that had never been known before, except among the courtesans of ancient Greece. Women had never been "members of society" before, and they felt their oats. Their new position made them feel the need of a code of ethics or a standard of honorable conduct between the sexes. The result was the "Courts of Love," in which it was sought to establish rules of social conduct. It was a serious effort, but it fell a prey to the general frivolity of the times. It was an effort to establish a social standard in a competitive world. It was an effort to establish standards of social conduct by an element of society who were legally non-existent and economically dependent. Of course, it failed; and no effort to achieve ethical conduct between the sexes has since been made.

The men who made these laws have

been dead for several centuries and are, therefore, quite returned to dust. Probably these laws served their purposes. If so, one cannot too greatly rejoice that they are thoroughly dead. The laws they left as an index of their character cannot serve our purposes. But they do still serve as a justification of the criminal, the brutal and the egotistic. These latter are men and the law-makers are men, and men are so sex-conscious that there is no reason to expect that they will modify laws that give them any advantage over women no matter how despicable the advantage.

But women can completely nullify the effect of these laws by refusing to inflict the only punishment that women receive for non-submission; namely, social ostracism. Women who are economically dependent must as a rule, make war upon the woman who does not pay the legal price for "legitimate" motherhood. But the woman who is economically free can refuse to exact that penalty from her sisters. There are about six million women in America today who are so free.

In the interest of morality I suggest that the quality of "legitimacy" attach to the father instead of to the child. I suggest the principle that every father is legitimate, the mother of whose child wants the child, and who bears his share of the burdens of parenthood.

Women can make this principle the standard of "respectability" if they will. If this standard were enforced there would be no more millions of women in the tragic plight of *A Young Mother*, whose letter appeared in the May number of the *Woman*, or Mary, the pathetic figure in "The Vampire," in the April number. The number of sub-normal, defective and neglected children, destined to recruit the vicious classes or to swell the army of the unemployed, would disappear, and perhaps the number of the sturdy and the happy would be somewhat increased.

But only economic freedom can give woman the power to establish social standards. The social ownership of the means of production will give to every woman a chance to work for society and, as she will receive the full value of her work, she will not have to work herself to an early death in order to live a brief and wretched life. And she will be both sexually and economically FREE.

SIDE LIGHTS ON THE CONGRESS.

Kansas distinguished herself by having two regular women delegates and one woman alternate at the Congress.

The banquet was certainly a happy affair, with Carl D. Thompson as toastmaster, keeping the crowd in a merry mood the whole of the evening. Perhaps some of the best speeches were gotten off here.

The luncheon given by the Woman's Progressive League, at which Mrs. Montefiore, of London, spoke, was a great success. One hundred women were present, and several new members were taken into the league.

Mrs. Oscar Hulburd, one of the university neighborhood comrades, pleasantly entertained a number of the delegates one evening during the Congress. Speeches on Socialism and Suffrage were made by Marion Craig Wentworth, Lena Morrow Lewis, Mila Tupper Maynard, and others.

It was the general opinion that the women delegates made a fine showing at the Congress. We hope there will be more of them next time.

Woman and the Social Problem, by May Walden, 5c

THE WOMEN IN IBSEN'S "MASTER BUILDER."

ANNA A. MALEY.



"Man's love is of man's life a thing apart; 'tis woman's whole existence." Whether offered as a reproach or a compliment, there is much of truth in Byron's words. Dramatists and authors, interpreters of life, marshal their hosts of women before us,

creatures of the affections and emotions. When the woman in the story presumes to have an ambition or an aspiration, she seeks to express it not through herself, but through some man whose woman she is or mayhap wishes to be. Hilda in *The Master Builder*, is such a woman, Lady Macbeth is another, and Maggie, so delightfully played by Maud Adams in "What Every Woman Knows," is a striking instance of the substance skillfully wheedling her lord into the belief that she is only the shadow.

The words put by Ibsen, the master interpreter, into the mouths of his women, serve to show how limited is the scope of their existence.

We must say a word about Solness, the master builder, since his life is, so to speak, the setting in which the lives of the women are exhibited. He is a man of men. The energy and genius of other men, the love of women, he forces into a channel to feed his ambitious power. He knows men, he knows life. He betrays men, but he cannot escape fellowship with them and he suffers the penalty of remaining a part of the life he has disfigured.

We turn from Solness to his wife, Aline. She has lost her twin boys, her "nine lovely dolls" and her husband's love. Her life seems to feed upon itself. She is jealous of Kaia, her husband's accountant, and of Hilda, who is just Hilda. Ibsen gives us this picture of Aline: "She looks thin and wasted with grief, but shows traces of bygone beauty. Dressed with good taste, wholly in black. Speaks somewhat slowly and in a plaintive voice."

Mrs. Solness (speaking of Kaia): "She must be quite an acquisition to you, Halvard, this Miss Fosli."

Solness: . . . "She is so nice and willing to do whatever one asks of her."

Mrs. Solness: "Yes, that must be very delightful."

Solness: "It is. Especially when one is not too much accustomed to that sort of thing."

Mrs. Solness (in a tone of gentle remonstrance): "Can you say that, Halvard? . . . (speaking of Kaia). Heavens! what deceitful eyes she has."

Solness: "She? That poor little creature?"

Mrs. Solness: "Oh, I can see what I can see, Halvard"— . . . (In conversation with Hilda and speaking about Solness) "He is so kind and gentle in reality. . . . You do not really know him yet, Miss Wangel."

Hilda: "Are you pleased at the thought of moving over to the new house?"

Mrs. Solness: "I ought to be pleased, for it is what Halvard wants—"

Hilda: "Oh, not just on that account, surely."

Mrs. Solness: "Yes, yes, Miss Wangel; for it is only my duty to submit myself to

him. But very often it is dreadfully difficult to force one's mind to obedience."

Hilda: "Yes, that must be difficult, indeed."

Mrs. Solness: "I can tell you it is—when one has so many faults as I have."

Solness is reaping the benefit and credit from the ability of a young workman in his employ, Ragnar. Kaia and Ragnar are betrothed. Solness seeks power over Kaia's affections that he may, through her, retain control over Ragnar's services.

Solness: . . . "Confess now—you want to get married!"

Kaia (softly): "Ragnar and I have been engaged for four or five years, and so—"

Solness: "And so you think it is time there was an end of it. Is not that so?"

Kaia: "Ragnar and Uncle say I must. So I suppose I shall have to give in."

Solness: "Kaia, don't you really care a little bit for Ragnar, too?"

Kaia: "I cared very much for Ragnar once—before I came here to you."

Solness: "But you don't now? Not in the least?"

Kaia (passionately, clasping her hands and holding them out toward him): "Oh, you know very well there is only one person I care for now! One, and only one, in all the world! I shall never care for anyone else."

Solness: "Yes, you say that. And yet you go away from me—leave me alone here with everything on my hands."

Kaia: "But could I not stay with you, even if Ragnar—?"

Solness: "No, no, that is quite impossible. If Ragnar leaves me and starts work on his own account, then, of course, he will need you himself."

Kaia: "Oh, I feel as if I could not be separated from you! It's quite, quite impossible!"

Hilda was a strong soul, full of great doubt that does not beset the little heart; full of aspiration that might have brought her squarely onto the world's stage had not men's codes decreed that the woman should not appear.

Hilda: "Not to be able to grasp at your own happiness—at your own life! Merely because some one you know happens to stand in the way!"

Solness: "One whom you have no right to set aside."

Hilda: "I wonder whether one really has not the right! And yet, and yet—oh! if one could only sleep the whole thing away! . . . All these ten years I have believed in you so utterly—so utterly!"

Solness: "You must go on believing in me!"

Hilda: "Then let me see you stand free and high up!"

Solness: "Oh, Hilda—it is not every day that I can do that."

Hilda (passionately): "I will have you do it! I will have it! (Imploringly.) Just once more, Mr. Solness! Do the impossible once again! . . . Now I see you again as I did when there was song in the air!"

Solness (looking at her with head bowed): "How have you become what you are, Hilda?"

Hilda: "How have you made me what I am?" . . . (Solness starts to ascend the tower. High, high up by the vane! That is where you will see him! . . . His will is to reach the top—so at the top you will see him. . . . He climbs and climbs. Higher and higher! Higher and higher. Higher! Look! Just look! I hear a

ng—a mighty song! (shouts in wild jubilation and glee). . . . Now he is waving his hat! Oh, wave, wave back to him! For now it is finished! The Master Builder (sings). . . . But he mounted right up to the top! And I heard harps in the air. Waves her shawl in the air and shrieks (with wild intensity.) My—my Master Builder!"

"Preserve the individual life—propagate a common life"—comes nature's imperative mandate from which annihilation is the only appeal. This great urge of life passes through every creature.

"Preserve your life to the best advantage avoid pain, gain ease and pleasure"—is the huge self-created by nature's first command. Those strong in brute strength answer to the call, and even the bodies of the weak they make the foundation to their temple of satisfactions.

The weak would also avoid the pain of life, but the strong take no chances. They understand their desire upon desire for life. They disarm their fellows and thunder forth—"Serve on our terms or die!" And they serve.

The role played by the woman slave in the program of the strong was at the first more important than that of the man slave. Through control of her, the man avoided the pains of labor. Through control of her he gained the pleasure of sexual gratification. The man's power over her was founded not only upon her own desire for life, but upon the mother's impulse to protect her young. Under his teaching she early learned to regard herself as a sexual vessel expressly designed for man's use. Under his law utter obedience to him was the condition of her life. And nature, the old Judas, supplemented man's intimidation with a bribe—prefacing the travail and the birth pangs by the joys of sexual love. Tradition, social usage, school, church, state—all the institutions of his making. He made her minister in his service. She is attracted from entering the wide fields of woman activity. She must feed, mother, rear and rear. Her work must be a steady response to the calls of his appetite. Meanwhile, he writes his own name in terms of miraculous and imperishable exploits. He holds conversation with a voluble ass. He says his brother with the jawbone of the same animal. According to his own story, the Lord raised him up and marks him for great favor in many fields. On the same authority, God smiles benignly upon female and only when "He maketh the barren woman to dwell in her house the joyful mother of children." The price of the children is the mother's agony. Yet no pledge is vouchsafed her by men that they will not again conspire to put her offspring out of the way with jawbones and other missiles.

Howbeit, she saved herself, she saved the race? The inexorable laws of life she obeyed, but in the process she became not a human being but a reflection of the needs of one phase of man's life. This he has made her. And Kaia, Aline and Hilda stand with the hosts of women in literature and in life—mighty testimony to the success of his method.

But a change is upon us. The master's decree—"choose between death and service at my terms"—shall pass into the records of dead tyranny, and that before a generation now living shall have passed out. The people's army is formed. Into its ranks, day by day, creep new soldiers, men and women. Their battle cry voices

the need of all ages—it is the burial hymn of slavery. It is the morning song of the good day when the world and its fruits shall be for men, women and children. Its words are homely and rude, but they go to the heart of life—let the people own their bread right! Open the fields of service that all who will may labor and enjoy!

Five assorted post card views of Girard, including Appeal building, 20c. coin.

THE WHITE SLAVE TRAFFIC.

J. C. K.



While in Chicago attending the National Socialist Congress, I had several talks with Clifford G. Roe, former assistant state's attorney, and leader in the movement for prosecuting panders in the white slave traffic, and John O'Shaunessy, attorney for Ella Gingles in the recent famous Gingles

case. Both of these men assured me that the white slave traffic is a stern reality, organize with all the system and paraphernalia necessary to carrying on a great money-making institution.

"Nothing but publicity will wipe it out, or reduce it," said Attorney Roe, "and at this is the duty of the women of this country to rise in a body and with the help of honest men, to drive this horrible menace out of our country. It certainly is a Socialist fight," he added, when I suggested the advisability of The Progressive Woman and the Socialist women's committees and clubs taking it up from the publicity standpoint.

And I feel, too, that it is at least a very important part of the Socialist fight, to run this traffic in young working girls—for the great majority are working girls—to the ground, and to make what effort we can to enlighten the public as to its responsibility toward these helpless girls of the working class.

Too long we have allowed a false modesty to hold our tongues and our press on this matter. Hiding our heads in the sand won't mitigate the horrors of the social evil, nor stop the cancer eating at the vitals of our nation. Remember, there is a demand for these girls. The whole traffic is a business one, based on the law of supply and demand, and the demand is from our men—our young men, mostly. It is high time then that the mothers both of boys and girls, put by all foolishness and come seriously asking. "What can we do that our children may be saved?"

With the next issue of The Progressive Woman will begin a series of stirring articles dealing with the White Slave Traffic, the methods by which it is carried on, its victims, the discovery by Attorney Roe of the wide-spread menace of it, the movement started by him for its suppression, and the work it is accomplishing today. Mr. Roe is helping in the preparation of these articles, giving his own experience in prosecuting cases, and promises all possible assistance in our work along that line. He has a corps of trained detectives constantly on the outlook for panders and other guilty

parties, and has already accomplished much in securing better laws for the city and state; regarding the traffic in women.

Now, for the benefit of an ignorant public these articles should, and MUST, be widely circulated. Especially should they circulate among working people, and in the farming districts, from whence most of the girls come. **Don't let this opportunity pass to stir up your town, city, and county district on this white slave traffic.** Every Socialist woman's society should take this matter seriously in hand, and this means that you are to get your locals to help you. Don't fold your hands and say, "Oh, this will all be settled under Socialism." To be sure it will. So will child and wage slavery. But we aren't waiting until we get Socialism to tell of the horrors of child and wage slavery; we are making a fight against them NOW, and so waking the public conscience against them.

So let us not neglect this slavery of women, worse, far, than any other slavery in the world.

"It is a Socialist fight."

Speak in advance for your bundle orders, so we will know how large an edition to get out. We want to supply the greatest demand. Prices will be 2c a copy in bundles of five or more; \$15 for 1,000.

FOREIGN NOTES.

BY NICHOLAS KLEIN

The French minister of labor has issued a decree prohibiting night work in women's workshops.

A bill is pending before the house of deputies of France giving women votes in municipal elections

Men's league for woman's suffrage in England has now fifteen branches and they hold two meetings a day throughout the empire.

The Italian chamber has granted women engaged in business the right to vote if 25 years old and they have the other qualifications. Women can also engage in professions and hold certain offices.

In India the Begum of Bhopal made a stirring speech urging the women to open free schools to educate their children.

The holy synod opposed a mixed marriage bill in the Russian duma and it has been withdrawn. Disorders are being provoked throughout the nation and Jews are being driven out in large numbers.

The Russian league for women's rights has opened headquarters in Moscow, Russia, and many educational associations have been pledged to aid them.

The women of South Africa have opened headquarters in Natal for the progress of woman's rights ideas.

There were twenty women candidates in the late French elections, and they carried on a big agitation.

In Denmark the organization of small farmers an organization of 40,000 members have passed a resolution in favor of women's suffrage.

In 1909, in St. Petersburg, Russia, 1,432 people committed suicide. Of these 932 were males and 500 females. They include 38 boys and 77 girls from 11 to 17 years of age.

In the administration of a state, neither a woman as a woman nor a man as a man has any special functions, but the gifts are equally diffused in both sexes.—Plato.

I go for all sharing the privileges of the government who assist in bearing its burdens, by no means excluding women.—Abraham Lincoln.

A Report on the White Slave Trade.

AGNES H. DOWNING.

One of the most telling revelations of the white slave traffic is contained in the report of the United States immigration commission.

It is not impassioned. There are no denunciations. One has no feeling that it is overdrawn. It does not purport to be a full report of all that was found; it is a partial report with an understanding that the worst things are omitted. And yet the things that are told make it hard for the time to keep bright one's faith in human kind. Indeed it is difficult to see how anyone who thinks of man as a person divinely endowed, can read such a report without the deepest depression. Those who see in man a creature on the upward journey from the slime, the cave, and the jungle, and who know that each stage is but the effect of definite causes, will feel spurred to action. Make the conditions right and we can serenely face the future; mankind will respond to the conditions.

At present the commission finds young innocent girls "betrayed into a slavery rigid in its strictness and barbarous in its nature."

The report deals entirely with foreign girls, though conditions which surround the still larger number of native American girls, who are victims of this infamy, are practically the same. It says (Senate Document 196, p. 16): "The hirelings of this traffic are stationed at certain points of entry where large numbers of immigrants are landed to do what is known in their parlance as 'cutting-out work.' In other words, these watchers for human prey scan the immigrants as they come down the gang-plank of a vessel which has just arrived and 'spot' the girls who are unaccompanied by fathers, mothers, brothers or relatives to protect them. The girl who has been spotted as a desirable and unprotected victim is properly approached by a man who speaks her language and is immediately offered employment at good wages with all expenses to the destination to be paid by the man. Most frequently laundry work is the bait held out, sometimes housework or employment in a candy shop or factory."

Other methods also are employed; in fact, there is a regular business and orders are sent abroad to procurers in the cities there, which are filled with quite as much business despatch as would orders for goods of any kind.

Once the girl has been captured the report says, p. 9: "The procurer may put his woman into a disorderly house, sharing profits with the keeper. He may sell her outright; he may act as an agent for another man; he may keep her, making arrangements for her hunting men. She must walk the streets and secure her patrons, to be exploited, not for her own sake, but for that of her owner. Often he does not tell her even her real name." Just why the girls can be thus controlled will be better understood by looking further. Page 22 says: "If she tries to leave her man and get legitimate work, usually he threatens her by saying that he will tell her employer what her life has been—a measure sufficient to cause the loss of her place. Sometimes he beats her. If she betrays him sometimes he kills her." Again, on

the same page: "An innocent girl often revolts bitterly against the life and refuses to submit until compulsion is used. Then for a considerable length of time the man finds it necessary to watch her carefully until at length she is 'broken in'—the technical expression. After that if she tries to escape, he may apply for aid to almost any other 'owner' in any city in the United States. . . . Not only do they wish to help one another, but they wish also to impress upon their own women the difficulties and danger of attempting to escape. In many cases" (the commission mildly adds) "it appears as if the police made little effort to assist the girls. . . . Instead of feeling safe with the police they are usually threatened with the police by their owners and sometimes they are arrested and punished on some false complaint." (So, sad to say, the police and local courts seem to be a kind of a reserve force to whom the owners appeal to make sure of holding the girls in slavery.) The report further tells us, pp. 22, 23: "Not only the keepers of disorderly houses, but even saloon keepers and the keepers of the 'hotels' patronized by people of this class, naturally side with the men. All the women know by the girl are either unwilling or powerless to help her." It is also true that often when girls are broken in health and spirits they no longer try to escape.

It remains for the public to do something. The motive for the business, the commission is agreed, is profit. The report emphasizes this point, and on p. 31 says: "Briefly stated, the distribution of the profits . . . is directly to the procurer, importer, purchaser, owner or disorderly housekeeper, the receivers of fines and license fees, sometimes the police, and indirectly to the landlords, boarding-house keepers, restaurant keepers, the police, saloon keepers, physicians, and keepers of many other establishments." And again, "All concerned in the exploitation of immigrant women under the system above described seem to share the profits except the immigrant girl herself. Although she earns the money at the cost of her body and soul, she is rarely able to retain anything." It also seems that all who profit either directly or indirectly by this work use their power and influence to continue it.

The report also says: "It is probably no exaggeration to say that if means can be devised of stripping the profits from it, the traffic will cease."

If we remove the profits none will be found so wretched as to engaged in the white slave trade.

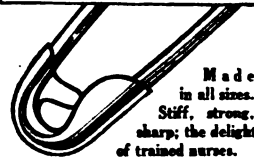
Little four-year-old Marian was walking one day with her mother when she saw a dachshund for the first time. Like all dogs of that class, his body was long and his legs very short. Marian gazed at him with wide-open brown eyes for a moment, then said excitedly: "Oh, mother, mother, look at that queer doggy with legs at each corner, of him! Was his legs long once, mother, and did they get wored down by him using them so much?"

Picture of Debs and Girard children with 5 copies this issue, 10c.

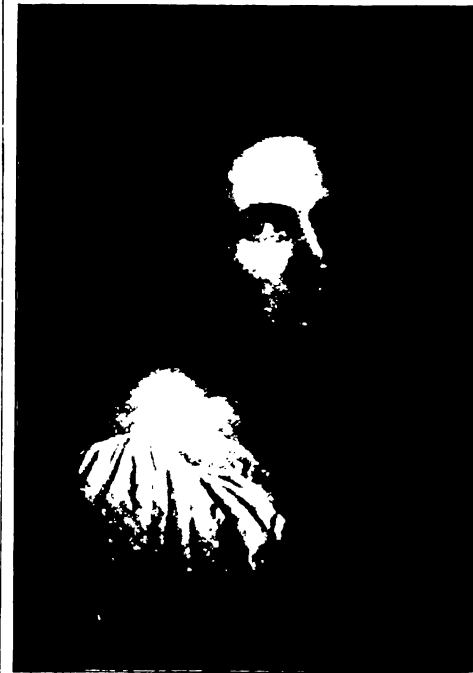
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Marion Craig Wentworth, delegate from Massachusetts.

Little Edith, aged two, was seated at the table together with the rest of the family for dinner. Her uncle, who was seated by her, on failing to begin the meal with the others, Edith asked him why he didn't begin. He said, "I am waiting for my appetite." Presently the cook came in bearing a pie of gigantic proportions. Edith exclaimed rather excitedly, "Uncle! Uncle! here comes you appetite."

Send for free sample of the Capsheaf safety pin. Advertised elsewhere in this issue.

It is a very cheap wit that finds it so droll that a woman should vote. If she wants, the passions, the vices, are allowed a full vote, through the hands of a half-brutal, intemperate population, I think it but fair that the virtues, the aspirations, should be allowed a full voice as an offset, through the purest of the people.—Ralph Waldo Emerson

Report From California

The state election of the Woman's Socialist Union of California has just been held. The officers for the coming year are: President, Miss Ethel Whitehead, Pasadena.

First vice president, Mrs. Ethel B. Sanford, Santa Cruz.

Second vice president, Mrs. Nora White Simpson, San Diego.

Recording secretary, Mrs. Sue Peters, Ocean Park.

Corresponding secretary, Mrs. Georgia Kotsch, Los Angeles.

Treasurer, Mrs. Mary E. Garbutt, Los Angeles.

Heads of Departments.

Propaganda of Socialism, Mrs. Mary L. R. Clifford, Berkeley.

Education of children, Mrs. Lottie Park, San Francisco.

Combatting white slave traffic, Mrs. Agnes H. Downing, Los Angeles.

Securing data as to present social and industrial condition of women and children, Mrs. J. W. Loomis, Elmhurst.

The past year has been one of activity and growth in the work among women in this state.

Miss Whitehead has made two speaking and organizing tours north besides visiting many towns nearby Los Angeles.

A state conference is being arranged to take place in Oakland or San Francisco in August.

The report recently furnished the state executive committee by the Woman's Socialist Union of Elmhurst is full of suggestion and inspiration for other organizations of Socialist women:

"Organized January 29, 1909, with five members. Elected a secretary and treasurer. Decided to meet every Thursday afternoon.

"February 28th met with the party local and discussed woman suffrage. Decided to take up a course of study.

"May 2d helped the local get up a large propaganda meeting at which Miss Whitehead lectured. Furnished a free supper at prettily decorated tables to about 250.

"In June invited friends to a social afternoon; elected a president, donated \$1 to the Chicago Daily.

In August gave an entertainment at the home of a member, charging 15c. Cleared \$6.50.

"In September gave a minstrel show, served ice cream and cake. Cleared \$6.

November, supper and propaganda meeting, Miss Whitehead, speaker.

"New Year's Eve gave a dance, selling refreshments, confetti and home-made candy. Cleared \$36.75.

"In January decided to serve refreshments at a social afternoon every second Thursday in the month, inviting prospective members.

"In February gave a country fair for which articles were contributed for sale. Cleared over \$70.

"March 1st there was a membership of 19 and \$101.75 in treasury after paying a \$10 debt for the local."

Fraternally,
 GEORGIA KOTSCH,
 Cor. Sec'y Cal. W. S. U.

Photograph post cards of Fred D. Warren, 5c.

If prayer and womanly influence are doing so much for God by indirect methods, how shall it be when that electric force is brought to bear through the battery of the ballot box?—Frances E. Willard.

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FOR THE CHILDREN

The Factory Child.

BY HARRIET MONROE.

Why do the wheels go whirling round,
 Mother, mother?
 Oh, mother, are they giants bound,
 And will they growl forever?
 Yes, fiery giants underground,
 Daughter, little daughter,
 Forever turn the wheels around,
 And rumble, grumble ever.
 Why do I pick the threads all day,
 Mother, mother?
 While sunshine children are at play,
 And must I work forever?
 Yes, factory-child; the live long day,
 Daughter, little daughter,
 Your hands must pick the threads away
 And feel the sunshine never.
 Why do the birds sing in the sun,
 Mother, mother?
 If all day long I run and run—
 Run with the wheels forever?
 The birds may sing till day is done,
 Daughter, little daughter,
 But with the wheels your feet must run—
 Run with the wheels forever.
 Why do I feel so tired each night,
 Mother, mother?
 The wheels are always buzzing bright;
 Do they grow sleepy never?
 Oh, baby thing, so soft and white,
 Daughter, little daughter,
 The big wheels grind us in their might,
 And they will grind forever,
 And is the white thread never spun,
 Mother, mother?
 And is the white cloth never done—
 For you and me done never?
 Oh, yes, our thread will all be spun.
 Daughter, little daughter,
 When we lie down out in the sun,
 And work no more forever,
 And when will come that happy day,
 Mother, mother?
 Oh, shall we laugh and sing and play
 Out in the sun forever?
 Nay, factory-child, we'll rest all day,
 Daughter, little daughter,
 Where green grass grows and roses gay,
 There in the sun forever.

—Century.

THE CORN TELLS ITS STORY.

MARIAM SIMONS.

(Mariam is the daughter of May Wood and A. M. Simons, editors of the Chicago Daily Socialist, and is eight years old.)

Long ago, when my mother was a child some men came to the field and cut the corn. They saved some corn for seed and then saved my mother. After a few months they planted the seed again. They planted my mother, a seed of yellow corn.

Then I was born with my brothers and sisters. I was near the top of the ear. After a few days we had a dreadful thunder storm. My brothers and sisters were frightened, as I, too, was myself. When it stopped we all tried to peek out of the husk cradle our mother had provided for us. But, of course, we could not do it. After awhile a little girl came out to gather some of the green corn around us. We wondered if she would pick us, but she did not.

Not long after that the farmer came out and said: "This corn is just ripe enough to be ground. My son is going to the village and will pass the mill. He might as well take this corn." After a time his son came. He took us to the mill where we were ground very fine—too fine, we thought. It hurt to be ground.

After awhile we were back in the house. Then the farmer's wife made corn cake out of us.

Voicing would increase the intelligence of women, and be a powerful stimulus to female education. It would enable women to protect their own industrial, social moral and educational rights. Women's vote would be to the vices in our great cities what the lightning is to the oak. I believe that this reform is coming, and that it will come to stay.—Joseph Cook.

Send for sample copies of our leaflets.

Children's Socialist Primer, 15c.

"THOU SHALT NOT KILL."

A Story for the Larger Children.

ELLEN WETHERELL.

Chapter. I.

Deep in the heart of a great New England forest a day is breaking. The aslant October sun, scintillating through the fringes of the lofty pines and hemlocks, rests in long, still bars of pale gold athwart their huge trunks and the resinous carpet beneath. A stray beam, stealing like a bashful lover, through myriad loops of green, lies in a dream of ecstasy upon the bosom of a sequestered pool.

In the outside world it is ten o'clock. In these cloister recesses it is barely dawn. From afar, the sure, quick drop of a hickory nut, the breaking of a crisp twig, or sudden fall of a cone, reveals depths upon depths of mysterious silent life.

Where the undergrowth presses thick, and dead grey branches lap and interlap with clinging moss and strong wild grass, where hollow logs, gently pushed by Father Time into sunken holes amid ferns and brakes of myriad shapes, many happy creatures have their habitation. It is here the timid grey rabbit, reflecting the soft light of the wood in its round eyes, hops careless and free. Here the little quail nestles safe with its wooing mate. It is here the brown partridge leads forth its young, its mother heart at one with the Eternal Love. From tree-top to tree-top, close to the sapphire sky, the grey squirrel chatters, leaping and running; here woodpeckers repeat their incessant tap, tap, while the owl hoots and too-hoots with the solemnity of the illimitable silence. As yet no profane hand has been laid upon this sacred grove of the Lord; harmony and peace reign supreme.

Ten o'clock in the outside world; barely sunrise in this solemn recess. Now, adown a thickly carpeted aisle a beautiful creature comes; its color is grey, its legs are long and slender, its haunches are well rounded, its breast is full and curved, large and full are its eyes, brown in color, heavenly in expression, grace is in every movement of its body, its glance is that of confiding affection. Nimbly it lifts its delicate feet; the speed of a racer is in its sinewy thighs, quick as a bar of the sun's gold flashes from its flank. Ah! What a beautiful creature as with proud head erect, with budding horns shining white against the pearl of its forehead, it pauses on its way. It sees the shimmer of the limpid spring, it feels its wants with a keen joy. It knows the pool is there, and waits its coming. Anticipation beams from its eyes radiant joy from all its being. It leaps forward through the radiant air. Again it pauses to pluck the buds and bloom purpling bush and brake. It stops to peel a bit of bark from a young oak, and canters on. The limpid pool is shining before it, on its bosom the lover's dream unspent. The beautiful creature lifts higher its head, it inhales the wondrous air with delight; rabbit and quail pass fearless before it. It is a divine creature, the gift of God to His wondrous creation, and I believe could the pretty thing have voiced its gratitude in human speech, it would have been like unto this:

"How happy, how happy am I! How grateful for this cool October morning, for the yellow sunlight that steals so gently

through the trees; thankful for my breakfast of red buds, for my free life here in this dim old forest, glad to be among these happy little birds, to feel the cool air on my body, glad for the fresh, cool water of the spring which the great Creator has placed here for my need. So thankful am I that my legs are nimble and I can run and leap, that my eyes are bright and can see the blue sky and beautiful green of the wood, that my ears can hear the bird notes, and the splash and run of the little brooks. So thankful to be alive this glad, glad morning!"

And I believe could the pretty creature have spoken in human words, it would have told this story also. It would have told of its wise mother, and how she bade it never leave the great forest; that outside in the world, strange creatures dwelt, creatures who loved to hunt the deer to kill and eat, creatures called men, and oftentimes "Children of God," creatures who claim that they loved God and all His works, yet who love to hunt the deer and rabbit and partridge, and many more beautiful living things to kill and feast upon. I believe the little creature would have talked long and lovingly of its mother, of her tender care for her young, her kindly admonitions, and as it leaped and ran with joy in thought of her and its beautiful home among the forest trees, it would have cried out in every throb of sinewy muscle, in every poise of its graceful head, in every glance of its divine eyes

"You, you who love your life, love mine also; you, who regard your world, regard mine also; you, who have two lives, one on earth, one eternal in heaven—think of mine, mine only one, and leave it undisturbed, to God and me."

And I believe all the little creatures of the great wood, the rabbit and squirrel, the partridge and timid quail, the little birds, and fish of the lakes, would, with flutter of wing, with leap and splash, have echoed the cry of the beautiful deer.

The limpid pool is shining ahead. The water, clear as crystal, an elixir of life to the thirsty one. Now the neck of the pretty creature curves to the brink, anticipation is in its eye; it gazes upon its image reflected in the flow, and, like Narcissus, is enamoured of its beauty. It drinks deep with its eyes, and suddenly starts; with head erect and fawn throat swelling, it listens; its keen sense of hearing is touched by a strange sound, a subdued, suppressed crackling, coming from distant shade.

"Does it portend harm?" it asks. "Is not this my home, this wood of my mother? Am I not safe in this sylvan retreat?"

Ah! it is a death meditation, a requiem for a life departing! Instantly the bullet speeds, the red blood spouts; there is a frenzied leap into the air. The beautiful brown eyes—the affectionate eyes, swim and roll; the exquisite head sinks forward, the slender limbs tremble violently and bend out, and lo! where the morning sunbeams lie dreaming on the bosom of the cooling waters, the beautiful body of the deer lay dead.

(To be continued.)

The Progressive Woman, 50c a year; 25c in clubs of four or more.

Send for a copy of The Woman's Portion, by Franklin Wentworth, 10c.

Read the announcement concerning the White Slave Trade, and get ready to help destroy it.

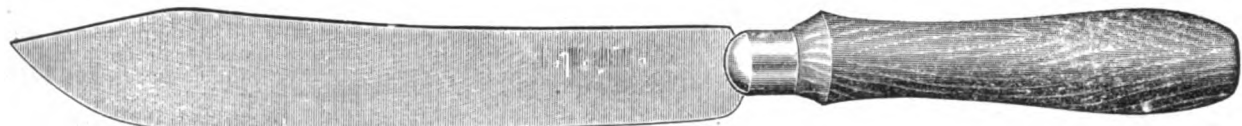
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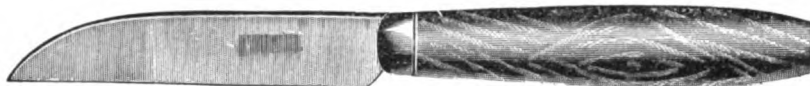
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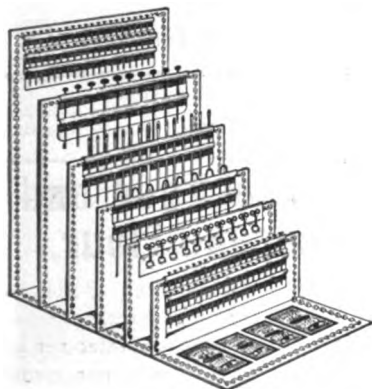


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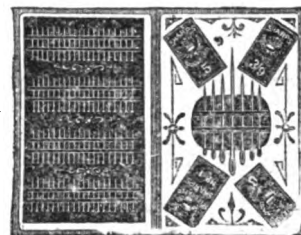
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Stories from the Lips of Wee Tots.

Mrs Schultz had died and left a family of little tots. One little girl, five years of age, while playing house one day with a friend of hers, Mamie Schmidt, said: "My mama has gone to heaven." "No, she hasn't," retorted the Schmidt tot, "she went to the graveyard." After a moment of silence wee Shultz said: "Yes, I **kn**owed it. I wonder why papa told me such a fib because he knows I seen them plant her there myself!"

Grace Potter was enjoying the presents of her sixth birthday. There being a nice story-book among the presents she asked her mother to read to her from it. Her mother explained she had no time; that she must cook the Sunday dinner. "Who cooked the Sunday dinner for you when you was a little girl like me?" asked the little girl. "My mother," was the reply. "Who cooked it when her mama was no bigger than me?" "I presume her mother did." "What is 'presume,' mama?" "I think she did."

With a deep sigh Grace said: "I am so sorry for my poor children cause their mother can't tell them what is in this nice story-book. Those old, old dinners dear me."

The National Woman's Committee is getting ready to circulate an enormous amount of leaflets. It is your duty to help them.

Have a bundle of The Progressive Woman on hand for that Socialist picnic.

A Great Combination

WE have made special arrangements with the following magazines, by which we can offer them in combination with this paper at a remarkably low price. Each magazine may be sent to separate address.

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PUBLICATION	SUBSCRIBER	ADDRESS

The Odorless Cooking Oil Girard Has Made Famous

Nutol

For four years Girard has been the mecca for the finest of cooking oil. Our stockholders have spent thousands of dollars educating people to try this delightful vegetable product in preference to hog fat of the uncertain qualities found on the market. As with everything else, cheaper substitutes were forthcoming, but those who use Nutol are never fooled but once into trying something "cheaper." Jo. W. Allison, president of a cotton oil company of Texas very pointedly covers this feature in a recent trade circular when he says:

Cottonseed Oil, the best domestic cooking fat in the world, has never taken the place in the households of the country which it deserves, simply because no sooner had some manufacturer, careful of his products, made a name and a place for them in the market than some other less scrupulous one would offer a cheaper product not so good and often entirely unfit for use, and thus create a prejudice against all Cottonseed Oil that destroyed not only his trade, but also that of the manufacturer of the better oil.—Jo. W. Allison, President Ennis Cotton Oil Co.

If you wish a cheaper oil, you can get it; we can get it for you, too; but please remember: It isn't NUTOL. No one sells Nutol below our price. If you want the best oil made, USE NUTOL, and, as you value the good will and continued patronage of your customers, or the tastes of your family, DON'T BE TEMPTED for the sake of a few cents reduction on price, to sell or use an inferior article.

All cooking fats have been steadily advancing during the past six months. Those who, through our advertising have been induced to try Nutol, have saved thereby fully forty per cent

from what they would have paid in that time if buying lard. See where this company has already paid big dividends to its patrons in this one saving item alone. Nor can any form of adulteration be found in our products. Their purity challenges comparison.

Prices during May will not fluctuate much from a straight dollar-a-gallon basis. That is 13 1-3 cents per pound. Lard is 20 cents or \$1.80 per gallon. If Nutol were same price, it would still be cheaper, for it runs the kitchen one-third longer than same quantity of lard. These are points we have been advancing, and they are claims which hold their ground undisputed. It's not the question of the cheapest, but THE BEST, and at the same time a saving over lard.

Cheaper oils CAN be had. We recently shipped several barrels to a soap factory, which many a consumer would still have been glad to get in preference to lard, but it was not up to the standard our trade requires.

PRICES FOR NUTOL

Case 6 1 gallon cans (58 lbs.) **\$6.00**
 Five Gallon cans (47 lbs.) **4.85**

And next month may be 15 per cent higher

The barrel of Nutol came some time ago, and I think I shall be able to sell it to a great many of my customers. It is not only a substitute for lard, but it is far superior to lard in every way.—F. C. Koppen, Wahluke, Wash.

NUTRETO CEREAL FOOD DRINK



The original product on which this company was started. Put up in 22-oz. cartons, and 3-lb. screw top cans. Every carton has a rebate coupon, each can two; save them, and see what they will get you from time to time

Case No. 2—12 22-oz. pkgs.
 18 lbs. \$2.10
 Case No. 4—12 3-lb cans.,.
 45 lbs. 4.50
 Case No. 4 1-2—4 3-lb cans,
 15 lbs. 1.55
 6-oz. sample free with other goods—by mail 10
 (Above prices on board cars Girard)
 "Old Reliable" dollar pkg. 4
 25-cent pkgs., by express,
 prepaid to any office in the
 United States for..... 1.00.

Ceroblend

A coffee—cereal blend for those who wish the coffee flavor without the coffee poison. Steadily gaining in popularity. Always well spoken of.

3-lb can 60 cents; case of 4 cans \$2.10
 1-lb bag 20 cents; case of 14 2.20
 6-oz. sample 5 cents; by mail, postpaid 10

TRY OUR

Peanut Butter and Salted Peanuts

BUTTER, furnished in pails, 5-lb. 80c; 10 lbs., \$1.50; 15-lb. fibre pail, \$1.95.
 SALTED PEANUTS, 15c lb.; 10 lbs. \$1.35.

50c pair "Girard" Suspenders "for dad," 40c; down to a nobby pair for the "kid" for 10c.

AND HERE IS HOW OUR CUSTOMERS TALK BACK TO US:

My wife and I both are greatly delighted and well pleased with the shipment of goods, and everything came in first-class condition. Thank you for the extras sent, which were greatly enjoyed by my wife and two little ones. We are planning to buy all our fall and winter goods of you. E. C. Clark, Bert-hold, North Dakota.

All prices above are free on board cars, Girard. See that your shipments run 100 lbs. or over

REMEMBER, We Pay You Dividends on What You Spend With Us.

New Girard Manufacturing Co., Girard, Kan.

Primel Cereal Food and Pancake Flour



"Wha' fo' dat appetizin' smell?
 Seems lak it mus' be sump'n swell.
 Sho' 'tis. It's dat new food, PRIMEL."
 25 square meals for 25 cents.

Pronounced Prime—el (prime elements) as it contains a greater per cent-age of the prime elements which go to body building than any known product to-day. Highly condensed, a food, not simply a "filler." Two ounces will make a good satisfying meal for one person, a meal that will carry him comfortably till time is due to be hungry again. Smooth, palatable, delicious, with "an individuality all its own." As a pancake flour, it is par excellence. Mix one part Primel to one part flour, make batter the usual way, you will be surprised and delighted. Surprised that you do not have to eat a "whole stack" before hun-

ger is satisfied; delighted how perfectly the cravings for a square meal are met with Primel pancakes.

No danger from weevil.—Primel does not get an opportunity to linger on the shelves long at a time. It is not subject to develop insect life, since in its production, all germs are effectually killed by two distinct processes, one peculiarly our own. There is less danger from this menace than with usual flour, so dismiss for all time that fear.

Case A—24 cartons, 18-oz. net, weight gross 30 lbs..... \$2.00
 Case B—12 cartons, 52-oz. net, weight gross 42 lbs..... 2.50
 1-2 barrel, 100 lbs. bulk..... 4.25
 Full barrel 200 lbs. bulk..... 8.25
 (Barrel lots take lowest freight rate of anything in our list, especially to coast and distant terminal points.)

Above rates are the lowest you can get unless you are a dealer or ca-trade for shares some way and become a stockholder. These two classes for various reasons, have discounts; one buys large quantity, the other has his money in the business.