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O. H. ...

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Tame Sakai

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MRS. TAME SAKAI.

In 1904-5, during the Russo-Japanese war, the Socialists of Japan formed themselves into a body of protest, hired an old house in the busy part of Tokio in which a number of the most active lived and worked. Here they had their propaganda offices, and got out the paper Heimanshinbun. They also printed thousands of leaflets teaching Socialism and protesting against the war.

This little band called itself the Heimansha-bund. It was as busy as could be, and needed more help. It needed especially a woman's hand in the management of the household department. The one woman who had dared to associate herself with their work had been found useful in writing wrappers and folding leaflets. So they put a notice for the assistance of women comrades in the Heimanshinbun.

One of the hardest workers in the Heimanshabund was Toshihiko Sakai, an erstwhile newspaper man, and one of the most brilliant writers in Japan. Hundreds of miles away from Tokio, in the country districts, a young woman lived, who had long been an ardent admirer of the brilliant Sakai's writings. When she saw the call for a woman's help from the Heimanshabund, she got her things together and traveled all the way alone to the great, strange city to help these brave comrades, and to learn from them all the things that her hungry woman's soul craved to know.

She helped about the household affairs and lent valuable aid to the office work, because she was a student, a good writer, and a poet of more than ordinary ability. She often distributed leaflets in the parks and on the streets, and sometimes even made Socialist speeches in the streets cars. Once, when she had gone out for a little recreation and to enjoy the beautiful cherry blossoms in a Tokio park, a policeman followed her about, for they had come to know her, and often watched her. When she returned from her stroll she said to her comrades, "Oh I had a lovely time. I was not in the least lonely or afraid, for a good detective policeman kept my company and watched carefully that nothing should harm me."

Mr. Sakai was a young widower, and perhaps it was but natural that the two should finally marry, which they did.

The largest little girl in the picture on our front page is Magara Sakai, a daughter of Mr. Sakai's by his first wife. Magara expects to come to this country when she is a few years older, to attend college and to become a thorough student of Socialism. It is said of her that she is a "born Socialist."

Perfect culture should supply a complete theory of life, based upon a clear knowledge alike of its possibilities and of its limitations.—Thomas H. Huxley.

APPEAL TO REASON

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WOMAN'S NEEDS.

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Agnes Halpin Downing.

Yes, woman needs a great many things, but she has one supreme need, and that is the need of the simple truths of Socialism.

To be sure there are women to whom these truths cannot easily be brought—women who will not concern themselves with anything outside of the narrow circle of their own lives, as they see their lives. But happily such women are a minority. The majority of women have the great maternal instinct to do, and if need be, suffer for others so strong that if they once see the truth they will become the foremost fighters for the cause.

They will be for Socialism because they will see in it the greatest safeguard for their own and their children's future—they will be for Socialism because it is the only means that can assure humanity's future.

Woman has never failed in any great cause in the past, though it must be admitted much of her work has been as a sustainer of man rather than as an independent factor. But now that the time has come when she thinks more and feels less, she will gradually do more. Instead of one there will be two great human persons—"comrades dear and daring." Then woman as an adviser will come to have a real tangible value. Calphurnia's dream could not keep Caesar from the senate on that fateful March night. Caesar thought it a woman's whim, but if Calphurnia had been a Charlotte Gilman, he probably would have thought she had inside information and so taken her advice. One reasoning woman is worth a world of emotional ones, and women are all coming to reason.

Woman's clubs are a great advance over the sewing circles, and the trend of their work, conservative though it be, is forward. And it is the duty of Socialists everywhere to teach Socialism as a remedy for the evils which ever more and more women's clubs attack.

If you combat a pupil to the extent of arousing his antagonism, you destroy your own power to teach him anything. This is a pedagogical principle that applies alike whether you teach cube root or sociology, and one that we must remember. Hence we must establish sympathetic relations between ourselves and those we seek to teach.

It is admitted that it requires patience when one sees a body of women, ostensibly the most intelligent in the state, traveling hundreds of miles and wasting thousands of dollars to secure a forestry reserve bill. But when they find that the lumber barons will not let the bill pass, or that if passed the same mighty lords refuse to obey it, they are getting an *a, b, c* lesson in Socialism. They are finding that there is a power above the laws. Do not be too triumphant when you show them that it is similar with other laws. They go out to get an anti-child labor law and find they can get it only in states where there are few industries where children are employed. It is extremely difficult to see the day that

conflicts with big business interests, and still more difficult to have such a law obeyed. They secure juvenile courts because they have come to see that a child cannot be criminally responsible. Now they blame the parents of the child, but next year they will see the parents of the poor child were reared as the child is now raised, so they are not responsible. Their condition is responsible—the system of profits is responsible. It is responsible for the neglected child, the factory child, the saloon, the gambling den, and all the rest of the underworld. When women are made to see this, all the effort now spent in fighting these evils, will be concentrated on the cause of the evils.

In a recent number of "The Mother's Magazine" is an article in which the work of Mrs. Quincy A. Shaw in her charity nurseries is set forth. The writer tells how in the five day nurseries in Boston thousands of little children are cared for while their mothers are away at work. It describes a mother "a shabby woman with toil-stooped shoulders" who "hurried along through the dirty and foul-smelling streets of the tenement house district of Boston—cultured Boston—carrying a baby in her arms, while a child that was but little more than a baby clung to her faded calico skirts." The woman described as a type left her children at the charity nursery while, as she said: "I'm goin' over to South Boston to wash and do cleanin' all day." Then a father was introduced coming with his little ones. The poor man was "carrying the tin dinner pail of the day laborer." He told his story thus: "I've brought Billy and Bobby. I've got a job that I'm hopin' will last a week or two."

Here are mothers and fathers not only working, but described as stooped and disfigured with over-toil, doing the hardest of work, and their reward the bitter cup of charity for their children by day, and the "foul-smelling tenement house district" by night. The writer told this compassionately, but with never a thought of the awful injustice—never a gleam of the truth that these loving and industrious parents were wretched, deformed, hungry, cold, humiliated, and the lives of their children blighted, because they had been robbed. This paper, "The Mother's Magazine," sometimes tells of the thieves that two thousand years ago fell upon the traveler as he journeyed from Jerusalem to Jericho, but never a word about the thieves that fall on the workers today at the factory door and rob them of four-fifths of the wealth that their labor has brought into being. It is left for us Socialists to tell that.

Forward then to the task! Our sister woman, whether she be found in the mill, the mine, the factory, or the field, the home, shop, store or club, must be told. This knowledge of Socialism is her supreme need; and when she knows—woman, who before civilization began, fed the world, clothed the world and housed the world, will not fail to do her part that once again the whole world may be fed, clothed and housed.

WHY THE SOCIALIST WOMAN DEMANDS UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE

JOSEPHINE C. KANEKO.

When the the Socialist woman of this country agitates for votes for women, she is working for universal adult suffrage. She cannot, in the nature of things, demand, or accept a limited suffrage, and if there is a body of women in the United States that is now working, or promises in the future to work, for a limited suffrage, the Socialist woman cannot, and she will not, join forces with such a body.

She knows better than to put her foot into a trap of that sort. What she desires above all things is the emancipation of her own class from the industrial bondage under which it is at present laboring. This emancipation will not come by giving the women of the dominant class a vote to add to that of their brothers, that they may keep themselves dominant and the propertyless class subordinate. Even a woman can understand that.

But the Socialist woman is becoming intensely concerned about the right of working women to vote. She is concerned about this because she has learned through study and observation—and perhaps through humiliating personal experiences—that women never have been fairly represented in councils composed wholly of men. She has learned that our jurisprudence, the greatest gift of the Roman Empire to posterity, which though worked out with consummate skill at its beginning, and revised from time to time to meet the exigencies of social changes, has been always grossly unjust towards women. So much so in its earlier inception that a great writer has remarked that in it women were not regarded as persons, but as things. The marked advances that have been made in our laws in comparatively recent years have been gained slowly and tediously through the demands and efforts of women themselves. And many of these laws are merely nominal, the great masses of women suffering numerous wrongs and indignities through their non-enforcement, or the expense and difficulty—or disgrace, shame that it should be so—involved in having them enforced.

The Socialist woman has mastered this situation, and she is convinced that women should have the right to help make and execute the laws that govern them.

She has studied history and science from the utilitarian point of view. She has not taken them on merely as an ornament of culture. She hasn't much time for ornamental culture. Besides, she is too serious. And she has found it to be a scientific and an historic fact that any race or class in bondage must gain its freedom through its own efforts, and not through the generosity of the race, or class, above it. Freedom "bestowed" is but the beginning of a new bondage of some sort. The chains have not really been severed.

Political rights is not an exception to this rule. The Socialist woman has been told by a very dear advocate of

woman's emancipation, August Bebel, that "Women have as little to hope for from men as the workmen from the middle classes." This may sound like a contradiction to the general Socialist principle, since our platform says that under Socialism women shall have equal political power with men. But it is not a contradiction, since we will never have Socialism without the consent and aid of women. Men can never give Socialism to women.

It is sad almost to the point of being tragic, but it is a truth that the organized workmen do not always represent the interests of their working wives and sisters and daughters in their councils. The working women are not encouraged to organize to join the unions. They are not always given assistance in the matter of wages and hours. Their work is a thing apart. It is without dignity. It is, to sum it up, "women's work," "female" labor. And female labor isn't much, even to the workingman, because it hasn't a vote. For how can a woman, even though she be a trade unionist, be sure of her job if she hasn't a vote to cast for her boss on election day? So the working woman drags along, as many hours as she is required, for as little pay as she is given. The Socialist woman feels that she ought to have the ballot.

Another point, the Socialist woman has discovered, and this she holds in common, perhaps, with all thoughtful women. That is, the existence of a sex war. She has studied the relation of the sexes from the beginning of things. She has found the point at which woman's oppression began, and has followed its development to the present day, where, with evolving industrial methods she is being made into a new creature, is developing a sense of personal rights, and a resistance to the impulse of ownership which is still strong in man toward her. The Socialist woman has been shown by scientists and historians—Darwin, Spencer, Morgan, Mills, Buckle, and Karl Pearson and Lester Ward, of the present day, not to speak of Bebel and Engels—that there are certain antagonistic forces between men and women, which, if not functioned properly, will remain antagonistic forever. And she has decided, probably with the aid of Engels and Bebel, that the proper functioning of these forces is in full and perfect co-operation in all the affairs of life, and the unhampered exercise of the instinct of self-preservation in men and women alike. To set one above the other, to render one weaker and another stronger; to give one mastery over the other, whether sexually, industrially or politically, is to create an unevenness and instability in the social organism that means friction and inharmony, and sometimes the breaking down of the organism altogether.

So the Socialist woman wants the franchise. Not for a few women with

property qualifications. Not at all. But for all women of the proper age, irrespective of color or creed or previous condition of servitude.

Socialist women demand universal adult suffrage.

THE SADDEST TRAGEDY OF ALL.

FREDERICK HEATH, EDITOR SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD.

One of the saddest tragedies of life under the capitalist system concerns the women. To no small extent the milkmaid in the song spoke for her sex when she said "my face is my fortune." Well, what does capitalism, the system of society under which we are forced to live to-day, do for the comeliness of womankind? Of all things a woman is most sensitive of her good looks, and yet it is just here that capitalism strikes her its most cruel blow.

Passing by the woman of luxury and indolent ease and the few of the upper middle class who may employ themselves just enough to keep in good health, what do we find to be the lot of the average woman who has assumed the responsibilities of the housewife and thus escaped the still more luckless fate of the spinster? Faded at twenty-five and a hag at forty, when she should be just in the prime of her womanliness! Overworked, nerve-racked, run down with unrelenting drudgery, broken in spirit, forlorn—womankind is indeed capitalism's saddest tragedy.

In woman's plight natural laws are at work. Overtaxing invites nature's penalties, for nature renders no judgments with fixed juries of crooked judges. The overdriven, ill-kept grocer's horse moves on day by day toward the boneyard, while the carefully groomed, properly exercised carriage horse challenges our admiration by his glossy hide and proud, lusty, mettlesome bearing. With the human species it is the same, eternally and always.

You can draw your own picture of how different would be the fate of woman under the Socialist regime. Jane Addams has called housework a "belated industry." Invention has saved very few of the housewives steps. Under the Socialist impulse it would do many things in that direction. With the bread earner of the family getting his socially due share of the products of his toil the pinch of poverty, the pall of economic anxiety would be lifted from the myriads of little homes; joy would come back with work that was not overwearing, the home would be brighter, sunnier, happier and woman would keep her looks and her robust, radiant health and her vivacity, and womanly grandeur, just as nature intended she should.

So, of all people, women should be the most anxious for the abolition of the capitalist regime and the most impatient for the coming of the next higher phase of civilization—the Socialist commonwealth! And if she is indifferent to-day it is only because she has not yet been given the opportunity to properly understand what Socialism contemplates.

It is said that divorces may be had in Colorado for thirty cents. After awhile the form will be reduced to "23 and skidoo."

"FROM STATUS TO CONTRACT."

Lyda Parce Robinson.

In the time when patriarchal power was giving way to civil authority, each person had his life pretty much cut out for him by the circumstances of his birth. In fact, the range of his activity was exactly determined by the status to which he was born. By his birth he became a part of a family estate. It might be a great or an obscure estate, but such as it was, he lived within its limits all his days. If he was a male and a legitimate son, he would one day succeed to the headship of the family, or at least be in the line of succession. All younger male members of the family would then be in subordination to him, the slaves and dependents, subject to his unlimited authority, and all the females, old and young, the victims or beneficiaries of his power. All these persons presented a solid front to the world. They formed a self-contained and self-sufficient unit. If one member of this unit committed a "sin" against another member, justice was adjudged and executed within the limits of the family jurisdiction. If a member sinned against a member of another estate, the penalty was adjudged against the family of the offender, not against the individual. In case one member of the family was attacked or injured, it was the duty of all the other members to defend him to the death. Thus the family supplied nearly all the wants and absorbed nearly all the allegiance of the individual. His relationships and his duties were inexorably determined by the accident of his birth. The family was then in truth the unit of society. And it became the foundation of the state, not by embodying it intact, in the fabric of the latter, but by disintegrating it and using the materials of which it was formed in the new structure.

All progress has been away from that condition in which everything is determined by status, toward a condition in which relations are determined voluntarily by the individual, or, toward contractual relations.

As people gathered in cities, as specialized industry and commerce advanced, the functions of life fell more and more outside the jurisdiction of the family, and new relations sprung up which involved the immediate contact of individuals; and the development of law consisted in the forming of rules to regulate this individual intercourse.

Thus the individual came to be increasingly related to the state, and he steadily gained more power to enter into relations in which the family had no control. In time man came to be regarded as a unit in himself. The state took over, in an imperfect manner, the functions of protection and redress, and in return imposed certain duties upon the individual. In short, the individual, not the family, came to be the unit of society and the foundation of the state. All males are now held to be free, when arriving at a given age, and are clothed with full contractual powers. They become citizens, without restrictions, save those arising from some defect. Thus they have le-

gally made the complete progress from status to contract. And this progress toward contractual freedom is held to be the measure of civilization in which any people is living.

But when we examine the condition of the female, some perplexing anomalies present themselves. It is necessary to go back to primitive times in order to understand the derivation of all this "queerness." Man and woman alike were born in slavery to the family, but man, unless he was the son of a slave, had a prospect of freedom. His father could voluntarily free him, or the death of his father set him at liberty, and finally, the law set him free at a given age. But in the case of the female, an institution known as the Perpetual Tutelage of Woman was devised, to keep her from ever becoming free. The law absolutely provided that no woman should ever be emancipated. She was made a chattel to the family until such time as she was bestowed in marriage, when she became a chattel to her husband, during his life. If she survived him, she passed with the other property to her sons, or to a guardian appointed by law.

Later Roman jurisprudence modified the application of this law to a very great degree. But when Rome fell the task of reforming institutions was assumed, in a large measure by the holy church. And the canon law reverted to the practices of early rather than later Roman law, in all matters pertaining to woman. Woman was re-manded by the church to her earlier state of perpetual tutelage. The canon law was adopted by the common people to a remarkable degree in all matters related to women, and so the primitive restrictions upon the female sex are embodied in the present jurisprudence of England and America to a degree that is absolutely amazing, when we compare the state of this department of law with the universal and complete changes that have been made in other departments. So that, after man had effected a complete change of base, from status to contract, woman was still held under the limitations of the primitive status. But while she was thus held, and contractual relations and privileges were withheld from her, she was still made liable to the state for obedience to the same laws that control the male in his enlarged and liberated and socialized state. This perpetual tutelage nowadays is, somewhat humorously, called "protection." The reasons for this protection are plain. It secures to the family or the husband all the product of the woman's toil, while she receives in return only enough of the necessities of life to keep her alive and working. In the past, when all, or nearly all, domestic needs were supplied by domestic manufacture, this was a matter of tremendous importance. And in the case of the married woman, her sex service is secured at all times. These have been very neat arrangements, through the centuries, and ideas of honesty and decency are still too primitive to mete out to them the scorn and the contempt and the obliteration which they de-

mand. The future will doubtless supply this deficiency.

In recent years various timid statutes have been enacted to free woman just a little bit, while still keeping her in tutelage. But a married woman is still absolutely the sexual property of her husband. In only nine states is she legally a guardian of her own children. They belong neither to her, nor to the state, but to her husband or any person to whom he may give them. In some states a woman owns her clothing, in others she does not. It is the same in regard to her wages. In fact, a woman becomes so degraded legally in marriage that it is a wonder that any woman who has an intelligent understanding of these things, and is able to earn her living by social production, ever marries at all. A married woman who is traveling must have a very nimble wit, and much knowledge, in order to keep track of her rapid changes in status, as she passes from one state to another, in journeying across the continent. She is not only living in a different stage of progress from the men of the society to which she belongs, but her stage of progress from status to contract is different in each of the states through which she passes.

And even if a woman has not committed the indiscretion that marriage is under these circumstances, she is still forcibly prevented from helping to frame the rules of the game in which she must work and play. This is so unsportsmanlike that every man should blush for it. And all these centuries man has been solemnly posing for the picture of justice and logic and fair play. It is impossible longer to take his posing seriously. It is to laugh. Also it is time for women to apply all their economic and all their social power to the wiping out of these absurd and injurious limitations upon their liberty.

ODE TO THE RED FLAG.

Air: "America."

MARY F. MERRILL.

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THREE QUESTIONS AND THEIR ANSWERS.

Corinne S. Brown.

Recent action taken by the New York City Board of Education appeals favorably to all who are interested in the progress of women's interests. Mrs. Lydia K. Commander, an intellectual and literary woman of that city, has been appointed lecturer for the public schools on "The Progress of Women." She has issued a circular letter asking for answers to three questions relating to the subject in hand.

These questions are significant and suggestive to all who will give them time and thought; the answers will vary with the economic knowledge of whoever attempts to reply.

The first question is: "What event in modern times has done most to hasten the progress of women?" Unquestionably the "event" is the application of motor power, steam, water, and electricity to machinery in production. This event, which a prominent woman of Chicago has called the second coming of Christ, has effected a revolution in human thought, action and relations, the importance of which is but just beginning to be appreciated.

Volumes have been written about its effect on the conditions of labor and the social life of men. Its effect on the status of women is now coming to the front. Like most valuable factors in the world's progress, women's work has been ignored or undervalued. In 1791 Mr. Hamilton, in a report to Congress, mentions the great volume of household manufacture being carried on, not only for distribution at home, but also for export. "Great quantities of coarse cloths, coatings, serges and flannels, linsey woolseys, hosiery of cotton and wool, thread, fustians, jeans and muslins, checked and striped cotton and linen goods, bedticks, coverlets and counterpanes, tow linens, sheetings, shirtings, towelings and table linens."

These were made in the home where the loom and spinning wheel were a necessary part of the house furniture. When machinery took all this out of the home women followed out of home into the world; into the factory to become a part of the world's productivity; into the schools and colleges to become better fitted for life's work; into the offices and the professions she poured from east, west, north and even south. The civil war aided her migration into the new life. She filled the vacant places left by the men who had joined the army. Her work for the first time received a money value, and she began to learn what she and her time were worth to the community at large.

Next she must learn that she does not yet receive the full value for what she does, and why. First, the man of the household, her father, brother, or husband, set the price of her work because they owned the tools; now the employer sets the price because he owns the machinery; and if she wants to receive the full value of her work she, with the rest of the workers, must own the machinery and tools.

The second question is not of so much importance, although of interest: "What do you consider the three or four most important achievements of women in the past twenty-five years?"

The answer to this largely depends on the various experiences of those who reply; sometimes the value of an achievement can be measured by the strength of the opposition it arouses. When the faculties of the colleges and universities throughout the country agree that co-education is a failure and advise segregation in education as necessary, those who understand economic determinism know women have been so successfully fitting themselves for the higher educational positions that the word has gone forth that the competition of woman must be eliminated. A success which arouses such opposition may be classed as an achievement. Woman's success in organization may be classed as an achievement. The W. C. T. U., which has an international existence, the Woman's Club movement, the fraternal orders and the growing trade union bodies among working women are evidences of this ability. And when their disabilities have made them class conscious and sex conscious this power of organization will prove an achievement indeed.

Woman's success along commercial lines may well come under this head. Not in deals with stocks and bonds, margins and shares, and all that mysterious maze of terms that bewilder and confuse the uninitiated, but in what is called straight, legitimate business. As managers of hotels, dramatic companies, department stores, institutions, as editors of periodicals, as buyers, as salesmen. Man has been at these posts ever since capitalism started; now woman is chasing him off the earth as bookkeeper, cashier, clerk, stenographer, and she has but begun.

Third, her growing prominence in the professions. In teaching she is so in the majority that G. Stanley Hall cries out against the over-feminization of the schools. A danger to be welcomed when we consider the low tone of most boards of education that are mainly made up of men. In medicine it is allowed that more women in proportion to those who qualify, succeed in earning a living by their profession than men. In considering her achievements, the fact must never be forgotten that it is but sixty years since the door was opened by which women could enter the world as an independent human being, and that as she has advanced she has had to prove her ability at every step and conquer the prejudices against her.

To the third question there is but one answer: "What is the greatest present obstacle to woman's progress?" HER DEPRIVATION OF POLITICAL EXPRESSION—the ballot, is the one thing she needs to give her the position of a full grown human being. At present she is only accorded treatment belonging to that position when she commits a crime; she may be fined, committed or hanged the same as a man. So long as she works and suffers in silence she is treated like a child, a slave, or a foreigner.

In conclusion the Socialist Woman urges all clubs and societies to discuss these three questions. The final nor complete word has been said, and great good comes of discussing fundamentals. CORINNE S. BROWN.

SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT WORLD-WIDE.

Ada May Kreckler in Chicago Tribune.

Although the average newspaper reader is more or less familiar with the spirited campaigns of the "suffragettes" in Great Britain, and with the speedy triumphs of the women of Finland, he has perhaps little idea of the almost universal movement on the part of womankind "for a voice, a vote and a share in the government."

It has been insisted that the experiment in woman's suffrage in Finland derives special importance from the fact that it is likely to be taken as a precedent by Russian reformers, among whom the political equality of the sexes has many advocates. And if woman suffrage were adopted in Russia the movement in favor of such concession would acquire vast momentum in Central and Western Europe, especially in Italy and France.

The Russian women have themselves espoused the cause of suffrage.

In Norway the women have achieved the parliamentary franchise under an income qualification; in London the municipal franchise has been granted; in Great Britain the general opinion is that the demands of the "suffragettes" will be granted within a few years. In Japan the cause has been embraced by women of the educated classes. In India it has advocates among cultured Parsee women.

Even in Persia the educated women are asking a vote for members of the recently established representative assembly. In the United States the conditions to overcome are harder and more complicated than in any other country.

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Edited by Mary R. Macarthur

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When the price of white paper goes up, some other things must ascend with it—or fall out of the race and die. A number of magazines are in just that plight today. The Public, a single-tax magazine, is debating as to whether it shall double its subscription price or stop work altogether. Even the Cosmopolitan, with its immense quantity of advertising, and with Hearst's capital backing it, finds it expedient to raise its price from 10c to 15c a copy.

The Socialist Woman, without capital, without a bank account from advertisers, finds it essential also to raise its subscription price from 35 cents to 50 cents a year. It is a very small raise, to be sure, and will hardly be noticed by you, but will mean the difference between possible failure and sure success for the paper.

It was our hope at the beginning to keep the price down. But "scab" prices to readers will not pay for union prices to printers, and in order to pay the printers we must have an income to meet their demands. Too many Socialist papers die a-borning because they endeavor to cut on the subscription prices while paying out on the other hand full union rates. Capitalist papers can give these cut rates because they are in reality supported by capitalist advertisers.

To even things up for our workers, we will lower the bundle orders to one cent a copy, and leave the club rate as it is. That is, the paper in clubs of four or more, for one year, 25 cents. These bundle orders at one cent each will give the workers and the women's clubs a better chance at the paper. They will find it easy to circulate thousands each month at this rate.

If you think The Socialist Woman looks small in size, count the words in it. You will find it contains 16,500 words, which is way beyond any 50 cent magazine, and several thousand more than a number of dollar publications we know about. The paper is thin, that is why the magazine looks so small. Economic determination is responsible for this. One day when our

subscription list has reached 100,000, we will show you just how big The Socialist Woman really is. If you once saw the matter in its spread out in ten-point type on good heavy paper, you would hardly believe it possible to condense it as we are doing at present.

But if you are a good Socialist you understand that the main thing is to spread the truth as fast as we can, and by every possible means. A comrade who has been on the road speaking and organizing for several months writes: "The Socialist idea is growing at an astonishing rate. But I am afraid conditions are forcing the issue faster than the people can get ready for it. We are badly in need of organization, of speakers and literature everywhere."

The message, and some one to deliver it. That is the crying need in the Socialist movement today. We are getting the message printed, 16,500 words long, and cut up in short, readable articles at 1 cent per message. Every reader of this paper ought to be willing to devote at least 25 cents a week to the spreading of this message. That is \$1 for a hundred copies each month. Will you do it? Will you carry the message of Socialism to women? They need it—more than any other class of people.

There have been fears expressed now and then that the hard times would interfere with the circulation of Socialist papers. We are not so sure of that. It is hard times that makes Socialists, and if, as Mr. Dooley says, "Our peeryods iv hard times are broken now and thin be more hard times," we rather think the "more hard times" would make more Socialists, and therefore more workers for the party, and a larger circulation of Socialist literature. Hard times and "prosperous" times look about alike to most of us. In fact, they look so much alike that we finally decide in desperation to pass up the whole present system and work tooth and nail for a regime that will bring real prosperity to the man and woman who are the real creators of the wealth of the land. To do this we need literature and a lot of it, and we are not going to let our Socialist papers die out, lest our cause die with them. No, we do not believe the present hard times will materially hurt our Socialist papers. What they will do to some capitalist papers, we are not prepared to say.

Don't fail to read the report of the British Women's Socialist Bureau. You will find it not only interesting, but it will give you that sisterhood feeling toward our English cousins which we, as Socialists, ought to cultivate. Ours is an international movement, and the welfare of one is the welfare of all. Their victory is our inspiration, and our victory is but the promise of what the future holds for them. All the countries are watching each other to see which will declare for Socialism first. We are not an isolated people, working for a national right. We are members of an international movement, and for that reason watch with brotherly interest every move made by our comrades across the seas. Any intelligent news from our

British sisters is very welcome to us. But let us not let them out-do us in the matter of progress. We must gird on our armor and fight right along with them, grow as they grow, and win out with them, at the same time calling on the women of all countries to do likewise. It is a revolutionary process. After it is over with, things will be quite different from what they are now. Vive la Revolution!

A WOMAN.

KIICHI KANEKO.

A woman who sells herself at wholesale
Is called a wife.
A woman who sells her body at retail
Is called a prostitute.
A woman who covers herself in fine silk
And gives others orders to work
Is called a mistress.
A woman who puts on her apron
And works for somebody else's pleasure
Is called a servant.
A woman who studies at a college
And mutters a foreign language or two
Is called an educated woman.
A woman who has her own personality
And acts like "somebody"
Is called an unwomanly woman — a freak.

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"AS A MAN THINKETH."

Kate Richards O'Hare.

In the dull grey of a September twilight I stood on the porch of a pioneer's rude log cabin and watched the playful scuffling of two boys returning home from work in the fields. All day long they had cut and shocked corn, but with youth, health and the glories of a perfect September day, such hard work was joyful and at night they played along the homeward road with all the joyful abandon of boyhood.

The father, with the joy of youth crushed out by the long years of unending toil, had plodded home in advance of his boys, and sat, with tired limbs and drooping shoulders, on the little porch, awaiting the welcome call to supper.

From within the cabin came the clatter of dishes, and the quick, impatient step of a woman tired and nervous from a long day's work over the broiling stove in a hot, stuffy kitchen. Soon the clattering of dishes ceased, the quick steps were still, and I saw the farmer's wife standing beside me. Tall and spare, but with the remnants of girlish beauty, grace and refinement still clinging to the toil-worn form and hardened face, she was one of the most pitiable objects of life; a noble woman, warped, hardened and crushed by unending, coarse, unpaid toil. Catching her breath sharply as she came out of the kitchen into the beautiful autumn twilight, she glanced at her husband who had dropped down unwashed for a few moments before the evening meal, and then up the road to where the boys still played leapfrog in the dust. Inside the supper waited; out in the lot the cows lowed to be milked, the pigs grunted and complained because their corn had not arrived, and the calves bleated for their feed; besides the chickens were to be shut up for the night and the milk and dishes to be attended to before the tired mother might sleep. Angry at the delay, she scolded her husband for not being ready for supper, called harshly to the boys, and entered the cabin again. In a few minutes the supper was laid; the father was ready, but the boys, unmindful of anything but the sweetness of youth and the joy of life, still played in the dusty road. Noticing their absence the mother went to the door, and when she heard their gleeful voices intent in play, the toll-racked nerves and heat-tried temper gave way, and going out she drove them home, not lashing their bodies with a goad, but stinging their tender souls with her bitter words. Driving them before her, no longer sportive and joyful in their play, but crestfallen and cowering under the rain of invective, she cried: "Oh, you little wretches! You have been nothing but suffering and care and misery to me all your lives. I wish you were dead, that you had never been born, for then I would have escaped that much of the misery of life."

Ten days later I saw the family again, but this time I sat in the rough hewn pew of a tiny log church. About me were the faces of three-score men, women and children, toll-scarred and awed into breathless silence. The lit-

tle bell tolled a harsh, uneven strain, a lumber wagon rumbled up to the door, there was a scuffling of heavy feet, and four young men stumbled up the aisle bearing between them a tiny, home-made coffin. Behind it walked the farmer, his face drawn with a dumb look of agony, the little son frightened and pale, and the mother dressed in the cheap, rusty mourning with which the poor must show the world their sorrow.

I will not try to give you a picture of that funeral.

If you have ever seen a rural community gather to give back to mother earth one of her children, you know the scene. If you have not, then no words of mine could paint it for you in its dumb, barren sorrow.

As I stood beside the little coffin and looked down at the still face, my thoughts went back to the day I heard the mother say: "I wish you were dead," and I wondered if in the last moments he had remembered, too. If that memory had placed upon his face the look that will be a haunting memory to the mother all her life; the look, not of physical suffering, but of a heart crushed, a spirit broken. As I watched the bitter tears fall on his unresponsive face and heard the wail: "My boy! Oh, my baby boy!" the thought would come to me. To what extent were the bitter words, the uttered wish that he were dead, responsible for the fact that he lay there?

I do not know, I cannot tell. But I do know that in the delirium of fever he moaned over and over again: "Am I going to die, mother? Do you want me to die? If I die you won't need to work so hard, will you?" The fever may have come regardless of the mother's words, but the fever-racked brain would not have been tortured by the cruel memory of that bitter cry: "I wish you were dead—that you had never been born."

I may be wrong; it may only be a fancy, but I have always felt that if there had been only the memories of love and sweetness, the mental picture of the joy of living photographed on that little brain, that no horrible phantasies would have been called into being by the fever's scorching breath, and youth and health and strength would have conquered, and the little life would have been spared. That may be only a fancy, but this is a self-evident truth; the mother's sorrow and anguish would have been lessened a thousand-fold if she could have recalled her bitter words.

"Curses, like chickens, come home to roost," is a saying which crones are wont to quote with much shaking of heads, and strange to say, latter day science is proving the old adage true. Within the last fifteen years a mighty change has taken place; man in the evolutionary development has conquered the physical expression of both man and nature, and in seeking new worlds by conquest has reached out into the realms of mind. He has turned the searchlight of science on the subtle working of the brain, has dissected the soul and placed it under the mi-

croscope. Long centuries ago Christ said: "As a man thinketh in his heart so is he," but through all the years that have passed since then, that pregnant sentence has lain cold and dead, without meaning to the minds of man. Today the sunlight of science has touched it with revivifying power, and it stands forth revealed as one of the great truths of the universe.

It is not long since the physical of man was all that received the slightest consideration. The mind forces, if recognized at all, were considered only as the motive power to keep the physical wheels revolving, but as having no inherent, creative faculty. We are only now beginning to realize that the physical cannot be separated from the mental; that the physical is only a reflex of the mental, a visible expression of mind or thought forces. The possibility of these forces in the uplifting and emancipation of the race, economically, physically and mentally, are boundless.

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THE SOCIALIST WOMAN PUB. CO.,
619 E. 55th street, Chicago.

THE HORRIBLE CRIME OF CHILD LABOR IN AMERICA.

Josephine Conger-Kaneko.

“‘How long,’ they say, ‘how long, Oh, cruel nation

Will you stand, to move the world on a child's heart;

Stifle down with a malled heel its pal-pitation,

And tread onward to your throne amid the mart?’”

A little over one hundred years ago the first act was passed by the British Parliament to abate the evils of child labor.

The workhouses of London at that time were crowded with pauper children to the extent that their managers were paying a premium to the manufacturers to take them off their hands. These puny, half-starved children whom nobody owned, orphans, deserted infants, who had become a burden on the tax payers, were sent by the hundreds and thousands to supply the demand for cheap labor which was springing up in factories on every hand. They were housed in barracks, were driven long hours at hard tasks by their overseers, were fed the coarsest of food, and died by scores from disease—bone rot, curvature of the spine, consumption, and other infections produced by their manner of living.

It was this state of things that brought about the first law regulating in any way the labor of the child. This law was passed in 1802. And it was but the merest beginning. The evils of child labor were so many, so varied and so persistent, that to this day there is no adequate child labor law in the whole world. In 1833 it was estimated that in England there were 56,000 children between nine and thirteen in factories, many of whom worked sixteen hours a day. The English Woman's Journal of 1859 gives the following account of pauper children in London: “The boys and girls from the Metropolitan Workhouse are sent to a large ‘farm’ school a few miles from town. Many hundreds of children are there, from various unions. They are placed out at so much a head, fed by contract and taught by contract, the ‘so much’ being so little that the contracting parties do not hold themselves bound to attend to their welfare, as they would that of animals placed on like conditions under their care. Either from low living or bad ventilation, diseases of many kinds are prevalent among them. The girls at twelve years old are sent back to the ‘houses,’ perhaps the only home they ever knew. The ‘house’ cannot keep them; the rates must be kept down; the vestrymen must not become unpopular by expensive arrangements. The children must go somewhere. They have learned a little reading, very little writing, perhaps part of the multiplication table, a few questions from the Bible, and probably the catechism. They have gained no experience of the work that will be expected from them, still less have they been practiced in the self-control that might enable them to bear unreasonable demands on their helplessness and ignorance. They are ‘placed out’ as servants, with small trades people, laundresses and others of

the same class; the drudgery required of them is far beyond their strength and ability. They, that is a very large proportion of them, run away, but they must live, and how do they live? Go into the low streets, alleys and gin shops, in an evening, and you will find them, destroying and destroyed. Go, a few months later into the Magdalen ward of the workhouse, their first home, and there you find these almost children. Some, and those the happiest of all, have gone where more mercy will be shown their youth and friendlessness; others, wasted by disease, await their release; and some, whose lot is worst of all, alternate between suffering and vice, the sick ward and the street.”

Such was the condition of affairs under the early child labor laws of England. In the United States and in the twentieth century we do not, of course, expect to find so neglectful a disposition toward our young, and we have, as proof of our higher altruism, numerous and intricate laws for the protection of children against the greed of unscrupulous employers. Upon these laws we pin our faith, and when the question of child labor comes up, we point to these objects of our endeavor, and even add that we are willing to have more laws passed until the children of the working class are hedged about with every possible protection against the octopus of greed.

Many of us do not see that there is a leakage in the laws. That our good intentions miscarry to a criminal extent and that we might even compare our conditions with those of earlier English days, without a very serious detriment to the latter. A member of the National Child Labor Committee says in this connection that “The lack of adequate statistical inquiries makes it impossible to express in figures the extent of the evil of child labor. But wherever investigation is undertaken, wherever the surface is even scratched, we are shocked to find to what an extent the disease is eating away underneath, even in those states in which legislation on the subject is almost ideal. The laws are admirable, but the enforcement is defective.”

In 1903 there were 20,000 children under twelve years of age in the cotton mills of the South. These 20,000 children represent the purest of American blood. They are not the offspring of negroes, nor of foreigners whose one desire is to get a foothold in this new land, no matter what the immediate cost. The illiteracy of the Southern white is largely due to this feeding of the child into the mill, while it is still in its years of infancy. Fourteen years is a very early age at which to stop all educational processes and begin life as a wage earner. Yet there are 60,000 mill operatives under fourteen years of age in the South. And with the development of the cotton industry the evil will not diminish but will grow. Rhode Island, with a twelve-year labor limit up to 1907, left even this limit unenforced, and has become the most illiterate of the North-

ern states. Indeed, New England with its millions of spindles does not hold itself above the infringement of the child labor laws, nor can it, under the present industrial system. This fact is so recognized that the spinning frame is built for a child of from twelve to fourteen years of age; it is hard for an adult worker to do that particular work through having to stoop to the task. It is said that spinning frames made for East Indian trade show a marked difference in the matter of height, the East Indian having not as yet developed to the point of exploiting child labor.

Other industries of the East and North are as sadly destructive to the welfare of the child as are the cotton mills of the East and South. One line of child labor which has received less attention than have many of the others, is especially pernicious in its destruction of the youths engaged in it. This may be called the street trades, with the news boy in the lead. The very freedom and openness of the newsboy's life seems to hold him immune from the investigations and restrictions even of an inadequate law. Many of us have seen boys of seven, ten and fourteen sleeping in hallways, and on the open grating of a sidewalk, on frosty nights. We have pitied such a boy, but our pity has been offset by a recognition of his hardihood, of his remarkable endurance. It seldom occurs to us that he may be suffering from disease; that his mind and soul may be black with the filth of the street; that he is human and imbibes that which is most prevalent in his environment. The newsboy, as well as the messenger boy, on account of his availability, frequently is found in the “red light” district, and as a messenger boy for men and women of dissolute character, learns the worst side of a city's life. Mr. Sloan, the superintendent of the John Worthy School of Chicago, authorizes the statement that, “One-third of the newsboys who come to the John Worthy School have venereal disease, and that 10 per cent of the remaining newsboys at present in the bridewell, are, according to the physician's diagnosis, suffering from similar diseases.” I have seen little girls not over eleven years of age standing on the street corners of Chicago in cold winter weather, crying their papers with a voice so hoarse as to suggest a lung affection. Small boys of eight and even younger, hop on and off the moving street cars with their papers, all over the city.

With the fierce competition between the newsdealers of today, the few pennies the small newsboy can pick up cannot in any degree compensate him for the evils he encounters, and the manner of life he imbibes from his street trade. Too many of his kind fall beyond recovery, and their blight does not stay with themselves, but becomes merely a link in a chain of evils which projects itself for an indefinite length into the future, contaminating that part of the social organism with which it comes in contact.

According to the Twelfth Census Report, children from ten to fifteen years engaged in large numbers in gainful pursuits are as follows: Agricultural laborers, 1,064,700; domestic and personal service, 280,143; servants and waiters, 138,284; trade and transpor-

THE DEMAND FOR A DECENT LIFE.

tation, 122,507; messenger and errand boys, 42,046; woodworkers, 11,000; miners and quarrymen, 24,217; tobacco and cigar factory operatives, 11,462.

Altogether, something like two million children are working for wages in this country. And each decade sees an immense increase in their numbers, in spite of legislation to the contrary. Furthermore, there can be no hope for American childhood of the working class so long as we insist upon a purely material prosperity, so long as industry is carried on for profits, so long, in fact, as we persist in placing property rights above human rights. So long as we build our social order upon these ideals, we are merely scratching the surface of things when we legislate against child labor, which is but one of the fruits of the present system.

FROM THE AUTHOR OF "THE BITTER CRY OF THE CHILDREN."

My Dear Comrade Kaneko—I have wanted to write you for such a long time past to say how much prosperity I wish you and how profoundly I sympathize with what you are doing to reach the women. Now, at half-past eleven at night, having just laid aside my work, I take the few minutes before "turning in" to gratify my desire. I really am ashamed not to have written the article you asked me for, but really I have been overwhelmed with work. You must pardon me, therefore, and accept a promise for the present. I really will send you an article as soon as I can. I have your claims ever in mind. As you know, I have been of the opinion that special attention ought to be given to propaganda among women for a long time past. I remember with pleasure our correspondence when you were on "The Appeal." Along the same lines I have sent Kerr an article for the International Review on the need of agitation among women, and a fuller recognition of women in the party life. I think you will agree with most of it. I enclose a dollar for four subscription cards. I hope things are going well with you and that you keep as enthusiastic as ever. The outlook for Socialism is better than ever it was, and I am looking forward to a big vote. It is my personal opinion that we ought to have a national woman's committee in connection with the party to carry on work among women. Keep plugging, good comrade, and never give up. Cordially, John Spargo, Yonkers, N. Y.

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Grace Moore.

To the superficial mind, the growing agitation for a more equitable distribution of the material necessities of life seems but an effort to promote social solidarity by the application of merely surface remedies. We are told that equality of opportunity and material prosperity will not really modify the present irregularities—that the cause lies deeper than this; that "man is first of all a spiritual being and must first be appealed to on the spiritual side."

A fine argument, this. It cannot be disputed that the inner spiritual man is the real man who must work out his own salvation—we know that life is a process of growth from center to circumference. We have learned that poverty, disease and death are results of inferior deficiencies and inharmonies.

It is, however, a one-sided application of the principle of growth from within outward, to assume that exterior conditions promotive of ease, comfort and contentment are all right for the dealer in stocks and bonds, but all wrong for the man with the hoe. There are not two spiritual laws—there is only one. There are not two orders of human beings—there is only one order. If it is good for one man to have fresh white bread with butter on it, is it good for the man across the way also, whether the man across the way realizes and demands it or not. We do not wait for a sick man or woman to tell us what they require as aids to the recovery of health and happiness. If it is a Turkish bath or a hot water bottle that they need, we provide them if possible.

Now a Turkish bath and a hot water bottle will do as much for the soul of the man sick in the slums as for the patient lying on a box mattress with silken canopy and down comforts over him. A warm, comfortable ride to and from his work, good nourishing food, happy smiles and a little entertainment for rest and diversion before retiring for the night, are as good for a house-builder or bricklayer as for the president or cashier of a bank.

The only reason that the signer of notes and cheques is made comfortable and the wielder of hammer or trowel is kept in discomfort, is that the system under which these individuals exist is one having respect and full compensation for one class of the world's workers and comparatively no honor or reward for another class, the latter class being the producers, the former class the consumers.

William Morris has defined Socialism as "the demand for a decent life." Socialism argues for the highest spirituality, because it argues the divine right of every human being to both produce and consume. It looks on greed and monopoly, poverty and crime, as social diseases, requiring to be cured by the application of social remedies. It does not excuse greed and monopoly, poverty and crime on the ground that to provide the comforts and the incentive to decent living would deprive the suffering masses of their opportunity for spiritual development. It does not as-

sume an attitude seeming to suggest that it is more blessed to receive than give, neither does it teach charity as a means of squaring accounts between the few who control and the many who are deprived. It pleads for a "decent life" for every subject of life. It grants to every human being the right to live as a human being, and it extends to him in his efforts to realize his ideal, every aid and comfort possible. It would not limit or patronize; it would expand and glorify. It would not impose on one portion of society that another portion might own and control beyond its power to utilize; but would have each and all live, as a boundless Providence intended that all should live.

Socialism has no creed or catechism, no forms or ceremonies, no church with its pictured windows and softly cushioned pews. It would substitute a "decent life" for the indecent one. It would provide homes, music, art, recreation and comradeship for all, and it would scatter the scent of flowers for the living, rather than offer to decaying corpses wreaths and harps and golden stairs. Its message is a message to the living, not to the dead. Its appeal is not that the suffering may be left to suffer, but that the living may be permitted to live.

Life, Experience, Growth: these three, but the greatest of these is Life. Life's opportunities, the blessings of experience, the possibilities of growth for all equally.

So shall the laws and the purpose of Life become known and in humanity find their expression and consummation.

For abundant self-perpetuating Life is the solution of all the problems of life.

Open the way to freedom and self-expression, that men and women may have fullness of Life—that Life may flow on as the rivers to the sea.

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WOMANHOOD SUFFRAGE IN ENGLAND.

The question of granting votes to women is every day growing in interest and importance in England. Since the time, two years ago, when Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman told a large deputation of women from all over England, that they must educate Parliament and public opinion, the various suffrage societies that have long been agitating for the political emancipation of women have risen to the occasion, and each in its way has made a special effort to increase its activities and rouse the country to a sense of its responsibilities towards women. England owes a special debt to its political women, because, whenever an election is pending, all parties, whether Conservatives, Liberals or Socialists, call upon their women to help them in the struggle, and the women respond nobly to the call. They are used at election time as canvassers from house to house, as unpaid helpers at the candidate's committee rooms, and as speakers, both outdoors and indoors, to set forth in persuasive tones the desirability as a member of Parliament of the candidate whose cause they espouse. It therefore appears to be a more than ordinary political anomaly that these members of the community who are developed enough to tell others who they should vote for are not themselves allowed to vote! But, as we know, great political reforms are seldom won on their merits, but because they are held to give an advantage to one side or another; and much suffering, agitation, and oftentimes violence and death have to be encountered before the right cause wins. We women, as the mothers of the race, still hope that men may be induced by reason and not by violence, to do us justice. We feel that as the givers of life we should use every method of persuasion before we resort to means which may lead to the destruction of life; and so we continue what seems our endless propaganda and agitation, if not patiently, at least hopefully.

Immediately after the Prime Minister gave his advice to women to continue to educate Parliament and the nation, the celebrated siege of Mrs. Montefiore's house in Hammersmith began. She had already refused for two years to pay income tax on the plea that "Taxation without representation was tyranny," and as a result of her refusal, her furniture had twice been sold at public auction. She then, in 1906, not only refused to pay income tax, as she had no voice in saying how the tax was to be spent, but she barred and barricaded her house against the bailiff and his men during six weeks, and only yielded when they came with violence, broke open the doors, and in the name of the King, took her furniture away and sold it. This example of open rebellion is likely to be followed by other women, who now in 1908 announce that they intend to refuse to pay their taxes till the vote is given them. The militant women next concentrated their attention on Parliament, which was then sitting, and as visitors, both men and women are admitted as far as the lobby, a number of women assembled there, and asked to be received as a deputation. Their

request being refused, some of them got on a seat in the lobby and addressed the public assembled there; as a result ten women were arrested, and on being charged the next day before the magistrate, were bound over to keep the peace for six months, or in default to go to prison for two months. They all elected to go to prison, and that week the walls of London were placarded with enormous posters, telling how Mrs. Howe Martyn, Mrs. Cobden Sanderson, Mrs. Montefiore, Mrs. Pettick Lawrence, Mrs. Baldock, Miss Billington, Miss Gawthorpe, Miss Keny, Miss Fenwick Miller, Miss Adela and Miss Sybil Pankhurst were in Holloway prison, wearing the convict dress, doing hard labor, and suffering all the hardships and horrors of confinement in an English prison for the sole offense of having asked out loud in the lobby of the House of Commons for votes for women. Several working women from the East End had previously been in prison for trying to interview Mr. Asquith on the same subject, and since the inauguration of the forward suffrage policy, over two hundred women have suffered imprisonment for demonstrating in the cause of votes for women!

As the movement increased in intensity, the original agitators have broken up into various groups, and the forward policy is being carried on by the Women's Freedom League, in which Miss Billington (now Mrs. Billington Greig) is an organizer. The Adult Suffrage Society, in which Mrs. Knight, Mrs. Montefiore and Mrs. Pearson are working actively to organize the working women of the East End of London, who are among the women standing most in need of the vote, and the Women's Social and Political Union, in which Mrs. Pankhurst and her daughters are active. Through these various organizations the public are constantly kept reminded that the woman's question is still unsettled. Sometimes women appear at the police courts, where a fellow woman is being tried by man-made laws, and make a public protest at such a state of things. Sometimes public meetings, at which members of the Liberal government are speakers, are interrupted or broken up. Sometimes women appear walking about the streets as "sandwich men," that is to say, bearing back and front a board announcing a suffrage meeting, or advertising the fact that suffragists are on the warpath. Some of the speakers for suffrage are having their speeches made into records by the gramophone, and these speeches are given at meetings in various country towns. Men are forming leagues for helping women to get the vote, and the question is being debated in every house and in every home throughout England.

So much for the general question. As to methods of policy there is much difference of opinion. It must be remembered that the basis of men's franchise in England is a very complicated and unsatisfactory one, and is more or less based on a property qualification. In order to vote, a man must be on the "register," and a crowd of revising barristers and their hangers-on are kept going once a year to decide who

shall, or shall not, be put on the "register." This, of course, gives rise to plenty of political trickery, and many workmen get knocked off the register because in times of unemployment they have been forced to seek relief from the rates for their families. The present Liberal government is pledged to some measures of franchise reform which will place the basis of voting on a more satisfactory and democratic footing. But no government ever touches franchise reform until nearing the end of its term of office. Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman, and all the Radical members of Parliament, have expressed themselves in favor of adult suffrage, or votes for every adult man and woman; the presumption is therefore that when the time comes, and the Liberals are forced to fulfil their pledges about manhood suffrage, they will have, as a result of our present agitation, to consider the women's claims. That is what we are working for—votes for all women, and it is for that object that we are organizing the working women. The Conservative women only wish for women householders to be enfranchised, and leaders of that party have openly announced that they desire the enfranchisement of a few propertied women in order to prevent the obtaining of adult suffrage. There is little doubt, therefore, that if the Liberals cannot be forced to consider our democratic claims, the Conservatives will, at the next election, make a bid for power by promising household franchise to their women supporters. The organized Liberal women still continue to weaken their case by working to return Liberal members to Parliament, while a Liberal government is refusing to give any pledge on the question of enfranchising women. As long as this weakness on the part of a section of women continues, it is very difficult to force the hand of the government; and Mr. Asquith, a powerful member of the cabinet, is known to be absolutely opposed to our claims. But in spite of all the complications and difficulties of immediate policy, the bed rock fact remains that women everywhere are taking a very much keener interest in the question, and that working women are learning to realize that the vote must, in the future, be the lever which will raise them from their present down-trodden and often hopeless condition, and give them a real chance of fighting side by side with their men comrades for a fairer share of social, economic and political freedom.

The manifesto, published last November by the Social Democratic party on universal adult suffrage, has helped forward that demand amazingly. The *Times* newspaper gave it a leading article, and it was favorably commented on by the daily papers. A demonstration is being planned by the Adult Suffrage Society for the opening of Parliament on January 29th, and national demonstrations will be held later on to urge the ministers to make it a government measure.

THE BRITISH WOMEN'S SOCIALIST BUREAU.

The Women's Socialist Bureau of Great Britain was inaugurated in October, 1907, at Chandos Hall—the Social Democratic center for London—as

an outcome of the Socialist Women's Conference at Stuttgart, held the same year. The inaugural meeting was convened by the committee of the S. D. F. Women's Circles, and delegates were sent from the Fabian Society, the Adult Suffrage Society and the Clarion Scouts.

The resolution carried at Stuttgart recommends the forming of an International Women's Socialist Bureau, with its headquarters in Germany, and with "*Gleichheit*" for its organ. Every country present at the conference was urged to form a national bureau, so as to keep Socialist women in every country in touch with each other's doings, and to record progress. At the inaugural meeting of the British Section, Clara Hendin was appointed minute secretary, and Dora M. Montefiore reporter.

Four delegates' meetings have already been held, and Clara Zetkin, the leader of the German Socialist women, has sent warm congratulations on the formation of the bureau, and has promised us help in our work. At our January meeting the reporter communicated to the delegates the welcome news that the women of Denmark had gained the municipal franchise; and that in December last Comrade Bergbjerg, the leader in the Danish Folketing of the Social Democratic party, had introduced a bill to give the Danish women the political franchise, and had made on that occasion one of the most eloquent and brilliant speeches ever heard in the Danish Parliament.

The executive discussed the terms of the "Unemployed Bill" to be introduced this session by the Labor party into the English Parliament, and passed resolutions calling upon the framers of the measure to lay more stress upon the claims of women, both as members of the authorities dealing with the unemployed, and as distressed persons seeking work.

It was unanimously agreed that as we heard no news of "*Gleichheit*" being made, as was promised, the organ for international communication among Socialist women, we should approach the proprietors of "The Socialist Woman," published in Chicago, U. S. A., asking for the use of one page for the publication of our report and news. In return we should ask to have the agency in England, on our guaranteeing to take a certain number.

DORA B. MONTEFIORE.

SPECIAL NOTES.

Although we have raised the price of The Socialist Woman from 35c to 50c a year, the rates for CLUBS of four or more will be always 25 CENTS each. And for bundle orders we have REDUCED the price from 2c a copy to ONE CENT each. This has been done especially for our workers as well as for those who want to distribute copies for the propaganda purposes. So do not fail to send your order for bundles every month. Send 10c, 25c, 50c or anything you can afford, and let us endeavor to free the slave of the slave. Send in your order TO-DAY.

LETTER BOX.

Dear Comrades—We enjoy reading every article in The Socialist Woman, and will hold up your hands while you continue to put out a paper which strikes a blow at the slavery of the working class and especially of woman, which is so ancient, so dense and so prevalent as to require the limelight of truth and justice thrown on it from a paper published for the sole object of letting the world see our abject condition, and the remedy proposed.—Mary P. Roe, Organizer Woman's Socialist Union, Omaha, Neb.

Dear Comrade—Judging from one sample copy of your magazine, we can truly say it is good and will fill a long-felt want. Such reading is especially needed by men and women of to-day. Inclosed find 70 cents, for which please send me two copies of The Socialist Woman for one year. Fraternally, Mrs. J. W. Preckett, Kincaid, Kan.

Dear Comrades—I send four names for The Socialist Woman. I wish it were 400 instead. Your work in publishing an organ for women is unique and should succeed. Sincerely, Mary E. Garbutt, Los Angeles, Cal.

Comrades—Am glad to send The Socialist Woman the inclosed 18 subs. as a New Year's gift. We want to keep the S. W. alive. Fraternally, Winnie E. Branstetter, Norman, Okla.

Socialist Woman—I saw notice of your paper in the Appeal to Reason. I think it a fine idea to publish a Socialist paper for women, because there are many non-Socialist women who wouldn't care for the Appeal, but might be attracted by a paper for women. Send me the paper for a year. Yours for Socialism, Mrs. Helen J. Winsor, Berkeley, Cal.

Comrades—Send me a bundle of the Suffrage number. It is too good to let pass. Every woman in the land should have one. Fraternally, Mrs. Chas. A. Wied, Erick, Okla.

Dear Comrades—I have received a copy of The Socialist Woman. I am very much pleased with it, and am sorry I didn't learn of such a paper sooner. I have long felt that the Socialist women should have some organ through which to express themselves, and become known to each other. I inclose \$1 for subscription and cards. Yours for Socialism, Mrs. C. F. Thompson, Bellingham, Cal.

Comrades—We must commend you for your estimable little paper, The Socialist Woman. We read many papers and magazines, but never found any that would reach the mind of the average woman as well as The Socialist Woman. Will do all we can toward spreading this paper. Yours for Socialism, Regina Steinberger, Pauline Newman, Augusta Grossman, New York City.

Dear Comrade—I am getting so many Socialist *man* papers that I haven't time to read much else. But I have taken time to read The Socialist Woman long enough to form an estimate of your mental vision, as it were. I have been casting about some time for something in Socialist literature that would appeal effectively to some of my friends of the opposite sex. Most women have grown so accustomed to letting

the men do the studying and agitating in the field of politics that it is now quite difficult to get them to investigate far enough politically-ward to see that Socialist politics is "the kind that is different," and that Socialism means incalculably more to them than to men. I am sending you four names to start with. Your comrade, L. A. Simons, Lebanon, Ore.

Comrades—Your paper is destined to carry great influence wherever it visits. Am more than glad to see so many ladies coming to our rescue. I present your paper to the four names below. Fraternally yours, H. B. Kerr, Hobsonville, Ore.

Dear Comrades—I inclose \$1 for a bundle of the Suffrage edition. It is certainly a credit to the S. W. to get out such a live paper as this February number. Yours for the Revolution, A. G. Swanson, San Diego, Cal.

The Socialist Woman—I saw your ad. in the Appeal, and though I am a man, I want to help your paper by subscribing. Send me the paper one year. Respectfully, A. L. Rose, Oregon City, Ore.

Comrades—I am one of your subscribers, and find The S. W. very good, especially the last number, on Woman Suffrage. I will try to help all I can in getting more subs. Fraternally yours, Clara Pelter, West Hoboken, N. J.

Dear Comrade—This is the first opportunity I have had to tell you how much I have enjoyed reading chance copies of The S. W. that have come my way. Put me on the list and send some sample copies; I may be able to do some work for you here, and feel sure that I can send many subs. when I get out on the road again. The numbers I have seen are splendid, and I am sure the paper will fill a place in our propaganda that has long been void. I am so often at a loss to know what to give women just getting interested, or those I think should be interested. Yours fraternally, Kate Richards O'Hare, Okla.

Comrades—I do admire your paper so much, and it makes me glad to see the way the S. women are waking up all over the country. I inclose 60c for sub. and bundle of Suffrage number. Yours fraternally, M. A. Clarke, Finley, Wash.

"WHERE IS YOUR WIFE?" LEAFLETS.

Calls for the leaflet entitled "Where Is Your Wife?" by Kiichi Kaneko, have been so urgent and constant that we finally have decided to print thousands of them and fill the demands. It is really a good propaganda sheet, especially for Socialist men. We will mail them to you at the rate of 50 for 10c, 100 for 20c, as long as they last. Send your order to-day.

MARCH DATES FOR GARRICK LECTURES.

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- 1 The Great Man Theory—A Refutation of Carlyle.
- 8 The Success and Failure of August Comte.
- 15 Lessons of the Paris Commune.
- 22 The Problem of the Ages—What Is Truth?
- 29 "Free Will" or "Necessity?" What Is Freedom?

The National Movement

Chicago, Ill.—The Woman's Socialist League holds its meetings the first and third Tuesdays of every month at 312 Atheneum Building, 26 Van Buren street. At the last meeting Corinne Brown was elected to serve as chairman until the annual election in March. An appropriation of \$5 was made for 300 copies of the Suffrage edition of the Socialist Woman and 50 copies of May Walden's "Socialism and the Home," for distribution.

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Whereas, Our only hope for obtaining universal suffrage lies in the activity of the Socialist Party; and

Whereas, The agitation for universal suffrage has not been carried on by the party as it should be; therefore be it

Resolved, That we recommend that all branches of the Socialist Party carry on an active campaign for obtaining universal suffrage until our object be achieved; and further be it

Resolved, That we ask the co-operation of all men and women, in organizations or out, to work with us to obtain universal suffrage.

Regular meetings of the league will be held as usual on the first and third Tuesday evenings of the month at 312 Atheneum Building, 26 Van Buren street. All women interested in Socialism and universal suffrage cordially welcomed.

ANNAH FINSTERBACH, Sec'y.

New York City.—At a recent mass meeting in New York City the Social Democratic Woman's Society presented the following resolution, which was adopted by a unanimous vote:

"Whereas, The Socialist Party is the political expression of the working class in the United States, be it

"Resolved, By this mass meeting of men and women of New York, that we call upon the National Committee of the Socialist Party to start an energetic fight for equal suffrage for men and women 21 years of age; to put women organizers in the field with same end in view, and to distribute leaflets and literature dealing with this subject."

Buffalo, N. Y.—The Ladies' Branch met recently at the home of Mrs. A. Klenke. The following officers were elected for a term of six months: Organizer, Mrs. A. Klenke; Secretary, Miss Yetta Miller; Financial Secretary, Mrs. Henry Klein; Literature Agent, Mrs. Otto Horn. The branch voted \$5.00 to the organizer fund of Local Erie County, and \$5.00 to the Erie County Committee. A committee consisting of Mrs. Otto Horn, Mrs. Frank Vallee and Mrs. A. Klenke was elected to assist in the arrangements for a fair for the benefit of the county campaign fund and the Buffalo Herald. One new member was admitted.

Trenton, N. J.—Helen Massey sends the following: To fulfill my promise to the Socialist Sunday School workers of Cincinnati, Ohio, Oak Park, Ill., and New York City, I send the following to let them know how the Socialist Sunday School work in Trenton, N. J.,

is progressing. As secretary of the S. S. Committee of this local, through this means I desire personally and on behalf of our local S. S. workers and promoters to thank them for their gracious encouragement, valuable suggestions and information concerning their plans and work accomplished through experience in their respective Sunday Schools. The teachers' plan of work is very similar to the methods employed in correspondence schools, the teachers originating the studies for their respective classes. The cradle class is itself a "problem of possibilities." Besides the Sunday school work another important work has been started in the form of a circulating library to promote the study of Socialism, which will be of inestimable value to our progress in this city. Owing to the old-fashioned conception of a Sunday school, we have been searching our minds for a better name than Socialist Sunday school. Would be glad to have names submitted by the readers of The Socialist Woman, which we will vote upon, the one receiving the highest vote will be adopted for the life school. Miss Anna Maley recently gave us her very interesting lecture on "A Sermon to the Churches," which was listened to with attentive appreciation. Helen Massey, Secretary, 48 Commerce street, Trenton, N. J.

Oakland, Cal.—The Woman's Socialist Club holds regular Tuesday meetings at Hamilton Hall, Jefferson street. Following the regular discussion there is instruction in singing by a teacher of unquestioned ability. The club was recently addressed by Mrs. Mary E. Garbutt on "The Spiritual Side of Socialism."

Los Angeles, Cal.—Dear Comrades: At a social evening of the Woman's Socialist Union, held recently at the home of Mrs. Levin, plans for the inauguration of a Socialist Sunday School or Lyceum were discussed. The great need in this branch of Socialist work in this country seems to be the preparation of a series of lessons adapted to the understanding of children and very young people. A delegate was elected to meet with a committee from Branch Los Angeles with a reference to relief for the unemployed in the city. It may interest you to know that, as representatives of the Socialist women of Los Angeles, Comrade Inez Decker and I called yesterday upon Mrs. Pettibone. Mr. and Mrs. Pettibone are staying at the Hotel Tourraine, while Mr. Pettibone is testing the recuperative powers of Southern California. Mrs. Clarence Darrow was just leaving, but sat down for a pleasant talk about the people and events of such absorbing interest to us all. Our call resolved itself into an informal visit of an hour and a half, filled with discussion of incidents of the historical imprisonment, the famous trial and the great victory—a victory, alas! which has cost the Pettibones dearly. But there was not a note of complaint. The Pettibones are not that kind. Mrs. P. is a handsome woman of charming manner and strong mental poise. One can see that she could have been nothing but a strength and a comfort during the weary prison months. Mr. Pettibone is improving, but he is terribly emaciated. It goes

to one's heart to think of the martyrdom he has suffered—and there is no redress. Showing us a diamond ring which his witnesses presented him, he looked at it whimsically and said, "If they had given me a spade I'd know what to do with it." An old friend who entered as we were about to leave shook hands with Mr. Pettibone, took one look at him and sank upon the divan and burst into tears. We did not wonder, for we had been shown a picture of him before the kidnaping.—Georgia Kotsch.

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