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MARGARET G. BONDFIELD

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50c. A YEAR

Margaret G. Bondfield

DORA B. MONTEFIORE 655979

Miss Margaret G. Bondfield, the president of the Adult Suffrage society of England, has done more perhaps than any other woman in the great trade union movement of the country to demonstrate the capacity of women for administrative and organizing work.

At an early age Margaret Bondfield became a shop assistant and was soon in revolt against the conditions of employment in shops. She joined the Shop Assistants' Union in 1894, three years after its formation, and for some years was a regular contributor to its journal, "The Shop Assistant." In 1896 a volunteer was wanted for investigation work in shop life and Miss Bondfield undertook for two years a most arduous task. While working as an assistant, sometimes 15 hours a day, she compiled voluminous reports and obtained statistics which have been invaluable as a basis for reform in her trade.

After this work she was appointed assistant secretary of her trade union, to which she has given 10 years of splendid service. From trade unionism to the wider movement of Socialism was an inevitable evolution to her logical mind. She is an eloquent and persuasive speaker, gifted with a

beautiful voice and attractive personality.

During the labor party conference work in 1905, a small band of men and women well known throughout the labor and Socialist movements, held a meeting, the outcome of which was the formation of the Adult Suffrage society, of which Miss Bondfield was elected president. The work of the society has been entirely educational. Women in trades unions, co-operative societies and other working class organizations have been appealed to not to fight against the men of their class, but rather to obtain their co-operation to gain enfranchisement for all women on the basis of human rights. Although sensational methods of propaganda have never been pursued events show the work of the society goes steadily on and the cause of adult suffrage is fast gaining ground.

We have every reason to believe that the work of the society presided over by Miss Bondfield has largely contributed to these results.

Word just reaches us that Miss Bondfield, after serving faithfully and well as president of the Adult Suffrage society, has resigned for other work.—Ed.

The Woman

The average wage of the working woman is \$272.04 a year.

Chicago's Red Light district claimed 15,000 of the city's young girls last year.

The United States had 1,000,000 divorces in the past ten years. Two-thirds of these were granted upon the demand of the wife.

The women's federated clubs of America claim 5,000 branches, organized in forty-six states, with an aggregate membership of 800,000 women.

The lack of direct political influence constitutes a powerful reason why women's wages have been kept at a minimum.—Carroll D. Wright, Commissioner of Labor.

In Australia where women vote the child of a poor, widowed mother, instead of being taken from her and placed in an institution, is boarded with its mother, at the expense of the state.

The number of boys in the high schools of the country in 1905-6 was 305,308; of girls, 417,384. Yet there are those who say that the ballot for

women would but increase the ignorant vote.

According to an Ohio report for 1901, 6,920 women in the three largest cities earned \$4.83 a week, worked 57 1-2 hours, paid \$2.44 for

board and lodging and saved 14 cents, 1,606 persons depending on them for support.

A New York woman recently won a suit against a street railway company for injuries received in an accident. In addition her husband received \$400 for the loss of her time and service. A wife is pretty valuable "property" in the eyes of the law.

Wifehood and motherhood subject more women to invalidism and death each year than soldiers have been subjected to during the combined wars of 130 years. Since the mother bears the brunt of keeping the race alive, and the soldier only protects property, why not pension the mother and let the soldier "hoe his own row?"

In the majority of states a minor child has but one parent, its father, according to law. A bill has been introduced in the legislature of California to make both parents equal guardians of the child. In Massachusetts it took over half a century to secure this measure. In Colorado it was secured two years after the women were enfranchised.

Full suffrage was granted to the women of Wyoming in 1869. During the 20 years from 1870 to 1890, divorce in the United States increased about three times as fast as the population. In the group of western states, omitting Wyoming, it increased nearly four times as fast as the population. In Wyoming it increased only about half as fast as the population. Those who are looking for a cure for divorce would do well to consider woman's suffrage.

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What is the Woman Question?

LIDA PARCE, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO



The way to find out what the woman question is is to determine first the nature of woman, as an individual and member of society, and then to investigate her situation in society with a view of determining whether it corresponds to her nature, and is thus proper for her to remain in. If her situation is proper to her nature, then there is no woman question.

If her situation is wrong, but will right itself without effort on her part, then there is no sex struggle. But if her position in society is not fitted to her needs and requirements, then the question is, how to alter it so that it will be fitted to them. If the alteration requires effort on her part, then there is a sex struggle.

There has been much heated discussion of woman's separate abilities and disabilities, and as a result some palliatives have been applied to her legal disabilities, in the shape of statutes. And many people have the impression that nothing but frivolous and fragmentary reforms are required to set the position of woman in society quite right. But the question is not: Shall woman have the ballot, or shall she go in for higher education, or go into business. It is not whether woman shall work outside "the home," whether she shall be a joint guardian of her children and own her clothing and her wages. These are simply superficial fragments of the question.

The Greatest Question.

It is larger than any of these and embraces them all, and the answer to it depends upon the answer to another question, namely: Is woman a normal human being, or is she a sex appendage to the species? Is a woman's primary function that of securing nutrition, or that of child-bearing? This may sound like a simple question at first, but ask yourself how it has been answered always; then ask yourself if that answer is right.

In a recent novel by Professor Brander Mathews of Columbia University, he says of women: "They have lost their prime function. They will not, or they can not, get children." This sentiment is expressed without explanation or apology, and the book is taken very seriously by the reviewers. The author knows that every one will understand what he means, and he does not imagine that any one will question the assumption on which he proceeds. There is no doubt that society also assumes that

the "prime function" of woman is child-bearing.

Must Eat First.

Now let's see. Is it more important to a woman to eat, or to bear a child? Which must come first in her life? If child-bearing, then reproduction is her "prime function." But if nutrition comes before reproduction or any other thing in the natural order of her functions, then nutrition is her prime function. Biologically speaking, these organic operations which constitute life are the first function of the human animal. Nutrition is the second function; and to this point man and woman are precisely alike. But the third function is reproduction, and in this the first difference appears.

But since civilization began, society has been organized on the theory that woman and man are altogether different, that woman's "prime function" was reproduction. Religion, law, morality, social usage, economics, education, every department of life and thought have been formed on the inverted order of woman's functions. People think in the terms of this inversion, they feel in the moods of this inversion. On this inversion all society rests, and all its operations are adjusted to it.

Origin of the Theory.

This theory was established when the only basis of theories was the supposed will of the gods, when thought was imaginative and wholly egotistic. Selfish interest determined the people's conclusions as to what the gods willed. Woman had become deteriorated as compared with man, because she had borne the entire burden of productive industry. The care of the young is mostly a social and economic function. It is only to a very limited degree biological. But all its burdens were left to woman during the entire prehistoric period of development, and she had broken down under them. So when man conceived, in his imagination, that woman was utterly different from himself he was able, by reason of his superior physical condition, to establish society on the basis of that theory.

Government had come to be wholly masculine, and the laws embodied the masculine idea of woman's inverted functions. Religion was in the hands of men, and it gave the sanction of the gods to this theory which was so flattering to man by the comparison it made between him and woman. Men were socially free, and they ostracized woman from society. They were in control of education and they shut woman out from it. They were in control of economics and they

made woman the universal slave laborer of the race. Now, remember! They could do these things, not because women were the mothers and hence handicapped; for maternity is a normal function. It is not a disease, not a disability. It is only when maternity is forced and unduly numerous that it is a handicap, and it is only when an unjust portion of the care of the young is left to woman that she is burdened by it, out of proportion to her strength. But woman had fed and clothed both the young and the adult population almost alone—not for any biological reason, but for the psychological reason that man declined to help, excepting in so far as game formed a part of the food supply.

Now the history of these facts has become perfectly well known to students. And the facts relating to the biological functions are equally familiar even to the average reader who keeps up with scientific discussion. It is not strange that in earlier times, when science had not placed people in possession of these facts, men believed, in their ignorance, that they were the superior sex, and women a sort of adjunct to themselves, to be tolerated as the only means of propagating the species. But now that the facts are within the reach of all, it is difficult to discover a satisfactory and creditable reason why a supposedly learned man should make the above quoted melodramatic misstatement of them.

Woman's Historic Position.

We know what the historical position of woman in society is. And we know how false that position is. Now the question is: How can the life of woman be adjusted to the nature of her being; as a human animal and as a member of society? In answering this question, we must begin by taking into account woman's practical disabilities, and the manner in which they arose. The facts are historical and are in no wise subjects of emotion or mere opinion.

A Masculine Trinity.

The Christian religion worships a trinity that is wholly male—the father, son and holy ghost—and it adores a woman who is unlike, and hence a rebuke to other women, in that she is a virgin mother. Woman is excluded almost uniformly from a voice in the councils of the churches. In education, she is excluded from many of the higher institutions of learning; and some that admit her to their labors, discriminate against her in recognition of work done. Public opinion, keeping pace with these official actions, excludes her from, or only reluctantly admits her

to, the practice of liberal arts and professions. Social custom relegates her to a negative position in the relations of the sexes, decreeing that, though maternity is her "prime function," she shall not choose the father of her children, but shall be chosen by him. And since nutrition is classed as being a wholly minor and incidental function in her case, she yields up her economic identity in marriage to the man who chooses her, without receiving any guaranty whatever that her economic welfare will be provided for—her nutrition secured.

Now a normal animal must secure nutrition before anything else. Nature will look after those "prime" organic operations that constitute life, if the organism is fed. The question, then, is: how to so arrange life that woman's first physical necessity shall be her first undisputed social right, instead of her secondary.

Woman a Minor.

In law woman is held in a state of minority and tutelage. The fact that woman is not allowed to vote is justified by the legal fiction that she is always a minor. The fact that under the common law she can not sign contracts is referred to the same reason. I recently received a letter from a middle-aged woman who lives in the great and free state of Missouri. This woman has two sons, now grown to manhood. In their childhood she lived on a farm and raised poultry, and kept cows, which she fed and milked herself, though her husband also lived on the farm. She sold butter and eggs, chickens, ducks and turkeys, and with these products she paid the bills for food and clothing, at the crossroads store. When the children were older and needed better schooling she moved to town, learned the tailor's trade, and by working at it, kept a home for the boys and her husband, and kept the boys in school till they were graduated. When they left home and went to work she gave her husband liberty to support himself, and went into business to provide, at last, for her own old age. But she found that before she could begin to do business in the great state of Missouri a male guardian must be appointed over her, supposedly to control her acts and her property. In the other states of America woman is more or less held in this disgraceful and humiliating bondage. Her contractual powers are limited, because, as alleged by a recent supreme court decision, "she depends upon her brother."

She Is all His.

In marriage the law assumes that "Her identity is dissolved and absorbed into that of her husband." Imagine the experience! According to the common law he owns her bodily and acquires control of all that is

hers. Her children are not hers, but his. Her wages and the wages of her children belong to him. Even her clothing is his. If she is injured the damages must be collected by him, she being his property and not being an individual herself. "This complete legal subjection of the wife," says Sir Henry Maine, in *Ancient Law*, "runs through every department of rights, duties and remedies."

In order that woman may have a fair field in which to earn her living, the spirit of her subjection must be utterly eliminated from the law. She must be admitted to the full privileges and opportunities of citizenship, the medieval notion that her identity is "dissolved" under any circumstances, must be disavowed. The legal fiction that her identity can be "absorbed" by any one must be uprooted. All restrictions upon her contractual powers and her liberty of action must be removed. Those theological doctrines which exclude the feminine element from an equal place upon the throne of deity must be destroyed. And those false views of the normal physiological functions, which have been cultivated with erotic fury by the church for centuries, must be abated. Woman must be admitted to all the facilities for education on absolute equality with man. All artificial opposition of a social nature must be withdrawn from her in the choice of her means of making her living. She must be equally free with the man to choose her mate, and social life must be adjusted to the principle of her freedom and equality. Contempt for woman as the "inferior" sex, and adulation of man as the "superior sex" must alike disappear from both the feelings and the utterances of society. All these changes must occur before woman can take her normal place as a human being, whose first necessity is nutrition, and her first social right an equal chance with all to earn her living.

Revolution Necessary.

It is plain that no mere reform can reach the roots of the evil of sex subjection. Only revolution which will do away completely with the common law basis of institutions will do the work. Two things are essential to this revolution: The socialization of industry, which will give woman a free chance to work in a social capacity, and the ballot, which will enable her to remove those special and artificial disabilities which have been placed upon her by male legislation. And with all this there is the necessity of deep thought and study.

How to Study the Woman Question.

The sources of information on this subject are scientific and historical in their nature. For knowledge on the nature and functions of animal life go to biology; and when you read on the subject of sex read with a dis-

criminating mind. Many a scientific thinker loses his method when writing on this subject. His feelings are stronger than his reasoning powers or his intellectual rectitude. Havelock Ellis says truly that many a good scientific reputation is wrecked on this rock. So look out for unwarranted assumptions and for conclusions dictated by feeling rather than reason. Apply the principles of evolution impartially to woman, as to all other organic beings. Read Lester F. Ward's *Androcentric and Gynecocentric theories*, as presented in *Pure Sociology*. Read Havelock Ellis' "Man and Woman" and judge for yourself whether the traditional hypothesis of the "rib" is the correct theory of woman's origin. Read Morgan's "Ancient Society," and then read other original observers of primitive peoples to learn what is the relative position of man and woman in primitive society. And don't accept anybody's reasoning and conclusions but your own. Follow the development of society till you approach the period of civilization, and you will find there the origin of our most venerated institutions and social customs, including the subjection of woman. All the way through apply your biology. Ask yourself what the natural needs and abilities of both man and woman are. Inquire what conditions are necessary in order that these needs may be met in the best way, and these abilities fully cultivated. Examine the evidence to discover what effect the conditions of environment had on people and institutions. Revert to your evolutionary theory to see what the effect of such restrictions and compulsions as were in force would have upon organisms subjected to them. Read Spencer's *Principles of Psychology*, also Ward's "Psychic Factors of Civilization." Or, if you feel, somehow, that life is short, go to the indexes of these works and glean on points that you need in your investigations. Read Bebel's "Woman" and Engle's "Origin of the Family." Then read history. Apply your scientific knowledge to the life of past times and judge for yourself how far woman's degradation was inherent and how far it was forced upon her. Get as near as you can to the original sources of church history. Inquire into the justification for the doctrines of theology concerning women. Were the premises correct? Was the reasoning good? Were the conclusions justified? Observe the ways in which theological dicta were incorporated into the web and woof of life—how laws were made to conform to them. Read Henry Maine's "Ancient Law" and note what legal handicaps were placed upon woman. Apply your biology and psychology again. Draw your own conclusions as to the causes of woman's position and the means

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used to enforce it. Follow the fortunes of woman through the dark ages and try to measure, if you can, the immeasurable ignominy that was hers. Read the furious denunciations of the church against her—they formed the most voluminous writing of the times. All the way along, apply your evolutionary theory, your biology and psychology. If you can get at Grotius' work on jurisprudence, read and realize the meaning of his remarks on the subject of

the "superior" and the "inferior" sexes. Get Blackstone's points on the legal status of woman and see how they line up with her biological and psychological constitution. Follow her status in religion and economics down to the present time. You will see that there is no break in the derivation and history of institutions. And you will see that their bad blood can not be reformed out of them.

Investigate! Educate!

Ideal and emotional pleas for "jus-

tice" for women will have very little effect. Where real economic needs have forced women to demand some measure of redress they have received a very little. But neither men nor women have heretofore recognized the basis for the demands of woman to be free; in fact, that basis has been denied even when some small relief was given. Nor have they dreamed that freedom for woman is precisely the same thing as freedom for man. Investigate! Educate!

Enfranchisement of Womanhood

EUGENE V. DEBS

Karl Marx declared that the emancipation of the working class must be achieved by the working class itself. The same is true of the enfranchisement of womanhood. The disabilities imposed upon and accepted by woman in the past on account of her sex can be removed only by herself.

The Socialist movement is the first to recognize and proclaim the injustice of sex distinction in reference to the rights, privileges and opportunities of civic and social life, and the Socialist party is the first to pledge itself unqualifiedly to abrogate that relic of barbarism and place woman where she ought to be—on an equal plane with man.

There is no need to argue here the question of "woman's sphere" in bourgeois society, it being well understood to be limited by woman's meek submission to the will of her lord and master and by the conventional rules and regulations imposed upon her with or without her consent.

If she be rich she is ordained to be a doll, a plaything, a coquette, spending her time in vain and frivolous, if not harmful and immoral indulgences, wasting her life, dissipating her energies and ending her useless existence in mental childhood, leaving no trace of service to society, and no memory of duties nobly fulfilled to preserve her name.

If she be poor she is doomed to drudgery and is all but a social outcast.

But rich or poor, woman has been and is still treated as the inferior of man in all that is essential to her mental and moral development. She is denied the freedom and opportunity without which she can no more develop the latent qualities of her nature than a flower can bloom without the vitalizing influence of the atmosphere and sunlight.

This is particularly true of the working class woman, who even in her bondage is made to feel the added weight of her sex inferiority and to bear all the odium of being an economic menial, a political nonentity and a social exile.

But happily the days of woman's

sex servitude are almost ended. No longer does she tamely acquiesce in her inferiority and degradation. At last she realizes that she has been victimized, that she has been shut out of life's golden opportunities under the hypocritical pretense that she is the "weaker vessel;" and with the growing consciousness of her rightful place in the family, in the state and in society, she is making her influence felt, and in a corresponding degree the horizon of her sphere is expanding.

But even among Socialists there are traces—sadly out of place—of the miserable middle-age superstition that woman is but the shadow of man, that she should maintain the deferential attitude of being the beneficiary of a privilege granted, instead of a right conceded, and that her voice should be seldom heard in the party councils, or not at all.

It is true that this sentiment prevails to no great extent in the Socialist party and yet such is the perversity of ancient prejudice that while equality in the abstract is recognized, the true spirit of it is denied in unconscious discrimination.

Here, as elsewhere, the remedy lies with woman herself. She may not in justice to herself or the party acquiesce in any restriction whatsoever, least of all when dictated by a custom born of ignorance and hoary with age. She must insist upon the recognition due her as a human being in the Socialist movement, not merely in the perfunctory sense declared in the law, but in the spirit and essence of its emancipating philosophy.

There are too few women in the Socialist party organization, in proportion to its male members, and far too few who are active in the management and direction of its affairs.

There is no reason why there should not be as many women as men in our locals and in our municipal, state and national conventions. Nor is there any valid reason why they should not be equally represented in the field as lecturers and organizers, and on our tickets as candidates.

All that stands in the way is cus-

tom, the ignorance implied in the child-like observance of conventional "properties," and this should be battered down with the ruthless iconoclasm the revolutionary spirit has for hoary shams.

Woman loses not one whit of her innate modesty in braving the frowns of fossils, whatever their standing or sex.

In proportion to her numbers woman has a remarkable work to her credit in the Socialist movement. Without her influence and activity the Socialist party would scarcely have an existence. All her zeal and enthusiasm are brought into play, all her patience, persistence and unconquerable fortitude are developed in the struggle for freedom, and she has already proved herself to be a powerful propagandist in the revolutionary movement.

If the Socialist women would realize their ambition to be free and fulfill their manifest destiny they must take their proper places in the movement and demand in all things the consideration due them as equal factors with men in the struggle for emancipation.

Little Finland still leads the way. Following the establishment in 1906 of the Universal Parliamentary Franchise, without distinction of sex, the first session of the second Finnish Diet, just closed, has also passed a bill enabling any person above 21 years of age and of either sex to vote at municipal elections. This franchise was hitherto extremely limited, being based on property qualifications and aristocratic privileges.—The Labor Leader.

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Is the American Family to Die?

JOSEPHINE CONGER-KANEKO



The assertion so often made by opponents of Socialism that Socialism will "break up the home" is very much like the cry of "thief! thief!" by the thief himself, who hopes to cover

his own misdeeds, or divert attention from them by the cry. That the home is rapidly changing its old time color, and even breaking up in many cases, right now, under "capitalism" every student of sociology knows. Probably no writer, however, has made this fact quite so clear to the popular mind as has Charles A. Ellwood in an article, entitled "Is the American Family to Die?" in the February number of *The Delineator*. Mr. Ellwood is professor of sociology at the University of Missouri—that state noted for its propensity for being "shown"—and he gives facts and figures which are none the less startling because of their prosaic nature.

We would like to give this article in full, but lack of space forbids.

"The instability of American family life has become so great," says the writer, "that we not only lead all civilized countries in the number of our divorces, but we have more divorces than all the rest of the Christian world put together." In 1904 we had 60,000, while France had 9,860, Germany (1901), 8,037, and England, 728. In England there is but one divorce to every 500 marriages; in Switzerland, which leads European countries in divorces, one to every 20. In Indiana in 1900, we had one divorce to every 5.7 marriages; in Maine, one to every six; in Vermont, one to every 10; in California, one to every seven. In some of the cities it is even worse. In Kansas City, Mo., in 1903, there was one divorce to every four marriages, and in San Francisco, one to every three marriages.

"Again, divorce is not an evil which the foreign-born and the negro have brought to us, for it essentially characterizes the native white—that is, the pre-eminently American element in the population."

The causes for divorce are given as adultery, desertion, neglect, habitual drunkenness, cruelty, imprisonment for crime. Ninety-seven per cent of all divorces granted are on these grounds. "Two-thirds of all divorces granted are upon demand of the wife. This suggests that the standards of morality of the male element are not what they should be. . . . Higher

standards of morality are necessary as civilization advances, and conduct which the wife overlooked in the husband a half century ago, or bore in silence, now becomes grounds for divorce." He also suggests the emancipation of woman as another cause for increasing divorce. . . . "Woman has now her almost equal rights with man, and has achieved her economic, intellectual and moral, as well as legal, independence of man."

In conclusion the writer thinks that a multiplicity of laws on the subject are ineffectual. "The real evil is not divorce, but the decay of the very virtues upon which the home rests."

These "virtues" are not clearly stated; but since the indirect causes given for divorce are woman's emancipation, and her growing repugnance to conduct which she "overlooked in a husband a half century ago, or bore in silence," we are prone to draw our own conclusions, both as to the "virtues" of the old-time home, and the cure for its present trouble.

Those who have followed the development of industry from early civilization have followed the development of the home. For these two have been inseparable up to the present day. Women, who were the first weavers, were originally enslaved to the household, and were owned and controlled by the patriarch of the family. All the foodstuff and all the clothing for the world was made by slave women in these "homes." This condition lasted for centuries. Later, the slave woman was freed, but the wife and daughters took her place at the loom and in the kitchen. These had no property rights of their own, they and all that they possessed belonging to the husband or father. In those days a woman had to marry, as housekeeping was the only vocation open to her. She was bound to the home, as much as ever a slave was bound to the galleys. And, like the slave, she had no rights under the law.

In the middle of the last century, when machinery had been invented and improved so as to render useless the hand loom of the woman, the "home" for the first time was threatened. She went out of it into the factory. Having fed and clothed her family so long, her husband and father were now unable to feed and clothe her. She and her work had been the foundation of the home: it had centered about her, and with her gone into the factory, it began to crumble.

If there were one million divorces in the United States in the past ten years, it is because several times this many women went into socialized in-

dustry, thus tearing up by the roots the very traditions upon which the home was originally built.

This socialized labor has necessitated a reorganization in the mind and needs of woman. To compete with millions of toilers in the open market has developed a spirited woman, one with an outlook upon life, not radically different from that of the man. For this essentially "new" woman there must open a new society, a new world. The complete emancipation of woman is in itself a revolution.

And the complete emancipation of woman must come before the home, which is so badly disorganized today, can evolve into a sound and permanent institution. Mr. Ellwood is overreaching considerably when he says that woman has achieved her "economic, intellectual and moral, as well as legal, independence of man." She hasn't achieved these yet. She is only in the process of achieving. When the full realization of all this freedom comes, then, and then only, will she stand as the equal of man—who shall also have achieved economic freedom from his kind—for not until man is responsible to the state alone can woman be free from him—and in this wise shall they know and love and respect each other as they have never done before.

In this wise shall the home be reorganized and built again "in the music and the dream," on the high plane of comradeship; with the slavery of the wife blotted out; with the tyranny of the husband gone. The real home in which will be inculcated the higher virtues and morals of a higher people; in which democracy, intelligence, love and beauty will develop.

All this must come, and can only come with the economic as well as the political freedom of woman.

Give your friend a copy of "Sorrows of Cupid," bound neatly in cloth for a Christmas present. Price, 50c.

Women were given full suffrage in Wyoming in 1869; Utah, 1895; Colorado, 1893; Idaho, 1896.

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Benetits of a Wider Suffrage

AGNES H. DOWNING

When we speak of the ballot for woman we scarcely realize how much it means, not alone to woman, but to humanity.

Voting is only expressing one's views on matters that concern the whole people. In some of the semi-civilized countries only one man, the ruler, has a right to speak in matters of public concern. It is tyranny and stagnation; there is no progress. In nations like, say Russia, where the ruling prince and a small body of nobles have the sole control of public affairs, they have even there some little improvement over the one-man-ruled nations, but it is still hateful, tyrannical, unprogressive. In countries like England and Germany, where the vote has been extended so as to include the greater part of the adult males, it is a vast improvement. There we see a large measure of protection of individual liberty; progress in science and the arts, and much advance in matters that tell for the collective good. Any extension of the right of suffrage has always had good results. And in passing let us remember that all the struggles for freedom that the world has known have been along this very line. The victory at Marathon was an epoch in human freedom because the more democratic Greeks won over the autocratic Persians. And the other fourteen of Creasy's fifteen decisive battles of the world marked in each and every case the securing of greater liberty. How? By giving civic rights to more persons.

The thing acts and reacts; it awakens wider views and hopes in the emancipated ones, and this again gives more intelligence and more varied talent to the questions to be solved.

Again, the larger the body, the less danger of its being corrupted. The politicians of today are all too successful in deceiving or controlling the men. And those politicians are very glad of a residence qualification or any other qualification that would decrease the number of voting citizens. The smaller the body, the easier the task of controlling. Far be it from them to double their own task, by giving the vote to women until they are forced to it by the growing intelligence of their districts.

To name but one phase of this great question, they refuse woman's petition to vote sometimes on the excuse of sparing the beloved wives and lovely daughters from being forced to associate with women who are outcasts! No one knows better than the men who give this pharisaical excuse, that the affront to good women is not in meeting at a polling place their unfortunate sisters; the

affront and threat for womanhood is in the existence of the institution of prostitution which politicians today protect and foster.

There is at present an international organization with branches in large cities and port towns, and with agents all about the world, enticing, alluring, stealing and kidnaping young girls and forcing them into lives of vice. The lawmakers know this, admit it, and feebly say, "It can't be helped." Yet those same solons have made systems of laws, and organized corps of detectives and police that can and do lodge hungry men in prison for stealing a loaf of bread. And the cunning, skilled burglar who cuts one bolt in a bank, will be followed to the world's end and brought back to answer for his crime.

Property is protected, but womanhood is left a prey to nameless outrages. The enforced detention of women in dens of vice is the most bitter and terrible slavery ever known to the human kind.

With the government of the world in the hands of men alone this evil is growing, and it is utopian to expect men alone to solve it. As workers must of themselves settle the labor question so must women in their own might settle the questions that so deeply concern womanhood.

Many rights have been won for woman by organized demand. The demand for the ballot must be kept up persistently. At every meeting of state legislatures, at every session of the national congress, at every making or amending of city charters, let the petitions be heard. To dare and dare again, and ever to dare, is the spirit that wins. Much help will come and has come from men; but the greatest measure of freedom for woman must be won by woman herself.

To win this widest measure of freedom, women everywhere come into the Socialist party. The most intelligent, and the severest critics of this party, admit that it is a force that will sweep the world with its growing strength. Its great organization is already pledged to your cause. But you must make yourselves felt in its councils for the good you can do for progress, for humanity, and for what is at the base of both, the motherhood of the race.

Suffrage Movement Abroad

In 1850 Ontario gave women school suffrage. In 1867 New South Wales gave women municipal suffrage. In 1869 England gave municipal suffrage to single women and widows; Victoria gave it to all women. In 1871 West Australia gave municipal

suffrage to women. New Zealand gave them school suffrage in 1877. In 1880 South Australia gave women municipal suffrage. In 1881 municipal suffrage was granted to single women and widows of Scotland, and full parliamentary suffrage was given women in the Isle of Man. Municipal suffrage was given by Tasmania and Ontario in 1884, and by New Zealand and New Brunswick in 1886. Nova Scotia and Manitoba granted women municipal suffrage in 1887. In 1888 England gave women county suffrage, and British Columbia gave them municipal suffrage. In 1889 county suffrage was given to the women of Scotland, and municipal suffrage to single women and widows in the Province of Quebec. New Zealand gained full suffrage in 1893. Parish and district suffrage was given to English women in 1894. In 1895 full state suffrage was granted to women in South Australia. In 1898 the women of Ireland were given the right to vote for all officers except members of parliament. The same year France gave women engaged in commerce the right to vote for judges of the tribunals of commerce.

In 1900 West Australia granted full state suffrage to all women. In 1901 Norway gave taxpaying women municipal suffrage. In 1902 full national suffrage was given to all the women of federated Australia, and full state suffrage to the women of New South Wales. In 1903 full suffrage was granted the women of Tasmania. In 1905 Queensland gave women full state suffrage. In 1906 Finland gave them full national suffrage, and made them eligible to all offices, from parliament down. In 1907 Norway gave full parliamentary suffrage to women who already had municipal suffrage. Denmark gave women the right to vote for members of boards of public charities and to serve on such boards. Russia gave women of property a proxy vote in the election of members of the douma, and England made women eligible as mayors, aldermen and county and town councillors. In 1908 gave taxpaying women a vote for all officers except members of parliament, and Victoria gave full suffrage to women.

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Successor to The Socialist Woman.

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Editor, Josephine C. Kaneko.



Don't forget that the suffragist is abroad in the land—and that The Progressive Woman will be a valuable addition to her reading matter.

Ask your man friends to read "What Is the Woman Question" in this issue. It will bring a light into the hazy recesses of their minds. They have long wished for light on this subject.

Let this be your banner month for house-to-house canvassing with THE PROGRESSIVE WOMAN. Set aside at least one afternoon of each week for the purpose, and keep at it systematically and persistently. This is the only way to win.

Send us the names of all the suffragists you know in your neighborhood, if you cannot visit them personally. We will make an effort to reach them all with sample copies. They MUST BE REACHED in some way.

Get a bundle of this issue of The Progressive Woman and hand them to your neighbor suffragists. This issue ought to be in the hand of every woman suffragist of the land. Do not miss this grand opportunity to reach them.

Ask your local speakers and secretaries to sell The Progressive Woman at their meetings. Those who are doing it find this paper one of their best sellers. We furnish it to them at 2c a copy in bundles, and they sell it at 5c. This helps along with finances, besides carrying on a VERY NECESSARY propoganda in a field that has been too long neglected.

We are proud of New York City. It not only is the center of literary culture in the land, but it reads considerably more of The Progressive Woman than any other city, and three or four times as many as some of our fairly good states. The state of California comes next in circulation, and Chicago, with large num-

bers selling at the Lewis lectures, next. Some of our good states are Indiana, Oklahoma, Washington and Kansas. Thus The Progressive Woman readers are pretty well scattered throughout the union. But hadn't you better bring YOUR state up to the front rank? It isn't any trick to do it, once you really TRY.

Because many women, especially in small, isolated places, are conservative, and scared out of their lives at certain names, Socialism being one of them, we have changed the title of this magazine to The Progressive Woman. Thy will get their Socialism on the inside of it from now on.

It is quite possible for The Progressive Woman to carry its message of freedom to women in every nook and corner of the land. But it is only possible with YOUR help, you who are in the nooks and corners; it is for you to see that your neighbors do not escape.

How do you like our new cover page?

We are getting this issue out EARLY so that it may be used at the hundreds of suffrage meetings which are to take place under the auspices of the party on the 28th of February.

A comrade wrote recently asking quite seriously, "What IS the woman question, anyhow?" We might almost answer that it is the "burning question of the age." But read the article in this issue on it, and you will have a better explanation.

Does your neighbor take The Progressive Woman?

Sarah Koten, a young Russian girl working as a nurse in an institution in New York, was drugged and in this helpless condition had motherhood forced upon her by the doctor

at the head of the place. She tried to get justice in the courts of the city, but was defeated. Finally, in despair, she shot and killed the man who ruined her. She is soon to be tried for murder. Her lawyer says of her: "All her life of pitiful struggle in the New World shows heroism and goodness. This frail little woman made a terrible fight to come up to the top from the dregs of the East Side. She slaved for herself and for her old mother in Russia and a family of younger brothers and sisters. And, think of it, all the while she was studying the works of the great thinkers — studying Victor Hugo, Tolstoi and Turgineff."

Socialist women everywhere should join in the protest against the imprisonment in this country of the Mexican political refugees, Magon, Rivera and Villarreal, and the Russian refugee, Jan Pouden. America should not be permitted to act as a calaboose for countries so low in the scale of civilization as Mexico and Russia. Those who have followed the history of the Mexican refugees and of Mexico's tyranny know that it is as brutal as Russia toward freedom seeking men and women. Let not this country ally itself with these brutalities.

A LITTLE SISTER OF THE POOR is going out rapidly. Better send your order today, if you want to get in on the first edition.

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

One hundred years ago women could not vote anywhere, except to a very limited extent in Sweden, and a few other places in the old world. Today they have some form of suffrage in every civilized country, and in most of our own states.

THE PRAYER OF THE MODERN WOMAN

Josephine C. Kaneko.

Unbind our hands. We do not ask for favor in this fight
Of human souls for human needs. We ask for nought but right,
That we may throw the burden from our backs, and from our brains
The thrall of servitude. We are so weary of the pains
That crush our hearts and cramp our wills, reducing all desires
To childish whims, while our great hopes lie like smoldering fires
Within our brains, or burst distorted from some weak, unguarded point,
Leaving ruin and anguish in their track. With women slaves, the whole
world's out of joint—

For women are the mothers of the race. We cannot boast
Of natural rights, of liberty, while mothers of the host
Must know they're classed in common law with idiots and slaves,
Must stand aside with foreigners, with imbeciles and knaves.
The sturdy sons nursed at their breasts cannot be wholly free,
For what the mother is, the child will in a measure be.
You are not granting favor when you give us equal power;
The shame is, you've withheld from us so long our dower
Of earth's inheritance. We do not beg for alms, or charity.
We do not want our rights doled out; we want full liberty—
To grow, to be, to do our part, as Nature meant we should.
We want a perfect sister-as well as brotherhood.

The Evolution of a Socialist Woman

CLARA BROWN'S DIARY—No. 3.

Clara Brown is not the writer's real name, but that we cannot give for obvious reasons. We are permitted to print these extracts "because other women may be traveling the same road."—Ed.

March 1—It is no use to try and fix matters up. Everything is going wrong. At the Ladies' Aid yesterday Mrs. Elkins talked perfectly awful about the Socialists. We are preparing for a bazaar for the poor down in the factory district, and about all the members were there. She said Socialism and unionism were getting among those people, and would be the last straw in their ruination. Nobody takes to Socialism, she said, but the common and shiftless people, like the factory hands. And if they would save their money instead of spending it as fast as they got it, they wouldn't have to complain all the time.

March 4—I'm going away on a trip. Had a big row with Henry last night over what Mrs. Elkins said, and he said "damn Mrs. Elkins. It was her class of blood suckers that were grinding the lives out of the poor." I told him I had had enough of his impudence of late, and if he would just give me the money I would like to go away for a rest. So I am going.

March 12—Here I am in this great city of Chicago. Dear old Ruth. How natural she does seem. Hadn't seen her but once since our graduation year. She is nicely fixed up, and Tom seems prospering in his business.

March 16—My! How we are flying about. It takes one's breath away. But I am feeling better already. I don't believe people have time to get morbid in the city—even when their husbands are Socialists. A woman has so many opportunities here to busy herself and forget her troubles. We went shopping yesterday, and to the theater last night. Saw "The Man from Home." It's a tonic in itself. Wonder if Henry is lonesome just with Flossie, and old Mrs. Burns to cook for them. Hope they aren't cold of nights.

March 19—Ruth's sister May is a Socialist, I am sure! And Ruth seems to know all about Socialism. May is a school teacher, belongs to the teacher's union, and is strong for suffrage for women. Sometimes she makes speeches.

March 20—May took us out to a luncheon with her. A stone cottage in the suburbs. Such a swell place. Hard-wood floors, handsome rugs, library, mission table with polished top—honiton-trimmed doilies under each plate and every dish. No cloth. Silver, cut glass, white French china. Fourteen women guests. . . . And of all things—the hostess, a jolly, bright, dumpy little woman—was a

Socialist! Said so, straight out. Asked me if I was interested in Socialism. Dear me! I stammered "No-o." I guess she thought I was from the backwoods somewhere, the way she looked at me. Not in a disagreeable manner, but just kind of "took me in." Then I said, with my face burning, that my husband was interested. "And hasn't he gotten you interested?—just like these men. They leave their families to be converted by outsiders almost every time." One woman said the movement toward woman suffrage was a good thing, but that mere voting wasn't the end. That women needed economic freedom even worse than men. At least five women there were Socialists; two attended the meetings and donated money, but their husbands didn't care for it. One said her husband refused outright to let her take any part in the movement. Most all were interested in trade unions, suffrage, or something "radical." How differently they talk from our Aid society women. Really more interesting, I think.

March 21—May took me with her slumming yesterday afternoon. She is gathering statistics as to reasons why poor children play truant for her union. It was snowing and cold, and the places we visited were awful. And there were such stretches of them. Whole districts of most wretched "homes" where the poor live. May says they are hard-working people, too. She says that is what makes Socialists. Well, I guess it is. It nearly made one of me. May says under Socialism all this awful poverty will be done away with. She said Socialism meant the ownership by all the people of the means of life—the mills, mines, factories, and so on. I didn't know THAT was Socialism. I haven't gotten up courage yet to tell them that Henry is a Socialist.

March 24—Tom took us to hear a Socialist lecture last night. I was astonished to see our hostess of the luncheon party act as chairman. How well she did it. And the speech was good, too. I could hardly keep the tears back, as the speaker described the lives of the children in the southern factories and the mines. I can believe what he said, because I have seen the poor children of this city, and I know nothing can be worse than that. His arguments were all logical. I even saw why Henry doesn't care for the church any more. The preacher never talks about those poor people, except to repeat once in awhile "the poor ye have always with you," as if we couldn't do anything to help it. Maybe if he under-

stood Socialism he would talk it from his pulpit. Still, I am not a Socialist. Only life seems different to me. More worth while, somehow, and with really great things for women to do. I wish Henry was here.

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The Mother

HERESA MALKIEL

"Whose is the love that, gleaming
through the world,
Wards off the poisonous arrow of its
scorn?
Beneath whose looks does the reviv-
ing soul,
Riper in truth and virtues, daring
grow?"



The words woman and mother are so linked together that one is almost synonymous of the other. The world over, and from time immemorial, it has been proclaimed that the

destiny of woman is motherhood.

Without a protest, without a thought that it is not more her sole destiny to become a mother than it is man's sole destiny to become a father has woman accepted her allotted task. She clung to it faithfully and tenaciously, until the economic developments of the world have begun to root her out of that sphere.

Heavy as that burden weighed upon woman, she might have borne it better had not man deprived her of everything else on account of it. Her sense of judgment, her interest in the outside world, her very liberty were sacrificed for it. Every move towards freedom was nipped in the bud.

"Back to the cradle!" was the universal cry. So long and so often has this cry been heard that woman herself came to accept it as nature's law.

When woman's rebellion became threatening this bitter pill was sugar-coated: "The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world." "You and you alone are the educators of the future generation," she is told today.

The contradiction in which men involve themselves through this utterance is obvious. They assign woman her sphere and entrust her with the great task of educating their children without granting her the right to educate herself. She is to make the children worthy members of society, good citizens, without having learned the needs of society herself. How can she know the requirements of a good citizen when she has no right to citizenship? How can slaves be expected to rear free men? In short, the mother is charged with duties which, under the present state of society, she is unable to fulfill.

Men, and the average woman alike, are horrified at the idea that woman is to leave her narrow sphere and go out into the world to learn and take an interest in everything that con-

cerns life. Never thinking that just because she is a mother she has the double obligation of taking part in the world's work.

It was often pointed out that great men usually had excellent mothers. The qualities of the mother are therefore to be considered when we talk of the merits of the sons. And yet there seems to be a determination among the male half of society to limit the number of superior women as much as possible by curbing their very desire of elevation.

The influence of a mother often decides the whole trend of the child's life. But under the present condition of society she has control and access to her child's friendship only so long as that child is within the boundaries of the nursery; but no sooner does it go into the world where she cannot, and does not follow it, than her influence ceases. The child makes great strides forward, while she remains confined to, and interested in, the petty side of life only.

Before long she finds herself in the position that the child, instead of seeking her counsel, will retort, "Oh, what do you know about these things!" Her lips become sealed; she knows that, bitter as the words are, there is truth in them. The child, so much younger in years, is yet richer in knowledge and experience of the world's work.

As a rule the father is too busy, the mother too ignorant to instruct it how to start out on the wide path of life and whatever it acquires, whether good or bad, it acquires of itself, you might say, blindfolded.

How much better would those acquisitions be if they could be accomplished under the intelligent guidance and tender care of a free mother.

The mother's task, which in reality is the most difficult one, is usually undertaken without any preparation for it. Not a thought is given to the fact that she will have to deal with human beings, each of whom is born with certain characteristics, a certain individuality of its own; that it is not sufficient for a woman to bear children and attend to their physical needs while they are small; there is a much greater and more difficult task before her to shape their character, their future destiny.

In order to be able to teach, she herself must learn daily; she would know that in her enfranchisement is involved much more than the mere advantage of casting a ballot. The ballot is only one of the means of taking an interest in the broader side of life, of becoming humanized. She would realize that if she cooks, mends and washes for twelve hours a day

she must also take some time for the spiritual needs of her children.

How often do we, advocates of these progressive ideas, meet with the reply: "Oh, bother going to a lecture, as if I have time for it." Alas, poor mothers, you stunt your children's minds for the sake of their bodies. Your own souls become dried and stagnant in the routine of every-day drudgery, while those who profess to be your slaves and are really your masters are willing to keep you there until eternity.

It is true, women, that your political freedom is not going to obliterate all your wrongs, but it will give you a chance to seek further relief. It will strengthen your limbs so that you may follow the male in his lofty climb to human freedom. It will enable you to raise a protest against the child slavery of today. At present, when your children are sacrificed upon the altar of greed, you remain helpless spectators.

Do you not realize the mockery of the words: "Honor to woman; to her it is given!" Is there honor in being a sham goddess, who has no judgment regarding the most commonplace things? You, the archangel of the human race, cannot decide for yourself what is right and wrong; those whom you are supposed to guard will do it for you. You, the educators of the future generations, have no word as to how its education shall be conducted.

Whether you are in the kitchen at the washtub, in a hut, or in a palace, think of it all, mothers, and with all the fire of a mother's love protest against it. "She who would be free herself must strike the blow." And strike you must, for the sake of the very babes you have borne under your heart. Only with your redemption will come theirs.

A GOOD LETTER.

You are doing a great work well. Every number of *The Progressive Woman* can be used by local comrades — anywhere — everywhere — with sincere pride and no apology. Thousands of us are grateful for your efficiency. — Cordially your comrade, Geo. R. Kirkpatrick, Organizer *The Intercollegiate Socialist Society*.

SORROWS OF CUPID.

BY KATE RICHARDS O'HARE.

There isn't a pamphlet in the Socialist literature so beneficial as propaganda matter among women as this little book. We urge you to read it. Every chapter is a gem. Price 25c. *The Progressive Woman* Pub. Co., Girard, Kan.

Woman's Ballot

M. CAREY THOMAS, OF BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

In the year 1903 there were in the United States, according to the report of the commissioner of education, 6,474 women studying in women's colleges and 24,863 women studying in co-educational colleges. If the annual rate of increase has continued the same during the past three years, there are in college at present 38,268 women students. Although there are in the United States nearly 1,800,000 less women than men, women already constitute considerably over one-third of the entire student body, and are steadily gaining on men. This means that in another generation or two, one-half of all the people who have been to college in the United States will be women; and, just as surely as the seasons of the year succeed one another, or the law of gravitation works, just so surely will this great body of educated women wish to use their trained intelligence in making the towns, cities and states of their native country better places for themselves and their children to live in; just so surely will the men with whom they have worked side by side in college classes, claim and receive their aid in political as well as in home life. The logic of events does not lie. It is unthinkable that women who have learned to act for themselves in college and have become awakened there to civic duties should not care for the ballot to enforce their wishes. The same is true of every woman's club and every individual woman who tries to obtain laws to save little children from working cruel hours in cotton mills, or to open summer gardens for homeless little waifs on the streets of a great city. These women, too, are being irresistibly driven to desire equal suffrage for the sake of the wrongs they try to right.

In the early seventies my mother was profoundly stirred by the terrible fate of poor girls in Baltimore, arrested, perhaps on false charges, confined over night in police stations, and subjected to the brutalities of policemen and men prisoners. She begged in vain through many months for women matrons. One day, when she was being driven fruitlessly about from one politician to another, she had to stop at a polling booth to let her ignorant negro coachman, who could neither read nor write, vote for these very men whom she had implored in vain. She often told me that from that very moment of bitter humiliation, in which she, a woman who could not vote, held the reins for the ignorant man who could, she never again doubted that women must vote to protect the interests of other women. Sooner or later

every sensitive woman finds herself face to face with conditions like these that degrade her womanhood.

Experience proves that women as well as men need the ballot to protect them in their special interests and in their power to gain a livelihood. Our new reform school board of Philadelphia contains not one woman among its twenty-five members to represent the interests of women. No woman teacher receives the same salary as men teachers for the same work, and no women, however successful, are appointed to the best paid and most influential positions in the schools. Yet more than one-half of the children in the schools of Philadelphia are girls; more than nine-tenths of all the teachers are women; and it is the mothers and not the fathers who care most profoundly for the education of their children. What is true of Philadelphia is true, in the main, of the public schools of every town and city in forty-one of the United States. But it is not true in our four equal suffrage states, nor in any part of the great equal suffrage Australian commonwealth.

I confidently believe that equal suffrage is coming far more swiftly than most of us suspect. Educated, public-spirited women will soon refuse to be subjected to such humiliating conditions. Educated men will recoil in their turn from the sheer unreason of the position that the opinions and wishes of their wives and mothers are to be consulted upon every other question except the laws and government under which they and their husbands and children must live and die.—From an address at National Suffrage Convention, Feb. 9, 1906.

The Woman

Kansas has had municipal woman suffrage for 22 years.

Gertrude Barnum is writing a series of articles entitled "Talks With the Girl Who Works" for the New York Call.

In Wyoming, where women have voted since 1869, there are fewer illiterate children than in any other state—only 72 in the entire state.

In Colorado, Wyoming and Utah, where women vote, women school teachers are paid the same salaries as men, for the same kind of work. This is not true of any other states.

According to prison statistics of the U. S. Census for 1904, women form but a small per cent of the criminal class of our country. Alabama had in her prisons and penitentiaries

1,796 men and 94 women; Arizona, 293 men and one woman; Arkansas, 769 men, 23 women; California, 2,359 men, 24 women; Colorado, 848 men, 16 women; Connecticut, 460 men, 14 women; Delaware, 155 men, 5 women; Kansas, 2,279 men, 31 women; Massachusetts, 1,824 men, 39 women; Missouri, 2,091 men, 72 women; New York, 5,392 men, 313 women; Utah, 171 men, 2 women; Wyoming, 189 men, 3 women. And so on down the line. It is sometimes argued that to give women the ballot would tend to increase the criminal vote; quite the contrary seems the truth. In the states where women already vote the per cent of woman to man criminals seems not to have increased. For instance, in Wyoming, where women have voted in all elections since 1869 the criminal returns were 189 men, 3 women.

"I should regard an occupational interest for women as of value mainly in bringing men and women into the same intellectual world."—Professor Thomas, of the University of Chicago.

Chicago women are carrying on an active campaign for a municipal suffrage clause in the new city charter. This movement is supported by over a hundred women's clubs in the city. In connection with this the New York "Independent" says: "If there are any men in Chicago who are better entitled to vote than the women at the head of this, such women as Ellen M. Henrotin, Jane Addams, Caroline M. Hill, Ella S. Stewart and Mary McDowell, for example, we should like to know their names."

Sure! The social sphere is an exclusive one, by its very nature. Its interests and its laws are personal and exclusive. The economic sphere is inclusive and democratic, by the very laws of its being. The social sphere is woman's, the economic sphere is man's. And unless history is an awful liar, it is the church that has been most active, and always active, and implacably determined that women shall be and remain in the social sphere, and that the economic sphere shall be reserved for man alone. Its campaign for keeping women corralled within the social sphere never ends.

PERFUME

Your clothes while ironing them with my new preparation of IRONING WAX. It distributes the perfume evenly thru the clothes. Send for sample, 15c or two for 25c. Stamps not accepted. Agents wanted everywhere. Lincoln A. Virden, Mount Pleasant, Iowa.

Mary Wollstonecraft---Pioneer Suffragist

The pioneer has always been the salt of the earth. He who first turned aside from the calf path of conventionality and established order has made possible the climb from savagery to modern civilization.

When women had been held for many, many centuries in a state of almost inhuman restrictions because of their sex, held by all the laws sacred to custom and precedence, a young English woman stepped out of the beaten path, and said it was all wrong. She had been reading the philosophy of Rousseau, and the doctrine of abstract rights, which was in every thinker's mouth, but which did not include women, awoke in her a spirit of protest, and brought forth a book—the first of its kind.

When Mary Wollstonecraft wrote "Vindication of the Rights of Woman" in 1792, it was considered not a very nice thing for a woman to write even a "nice" book. Any form of literary, or other work, which necessitated the comradeship of the brain, was bad form for really nice women, in Mary's day. But to write the Vindication was to bring down the scorn and condemnation of a horror-stricken public. A public that had not known such indelicacy in all its civilized existence.

It denounced her as a social outcast. None less than Horace Walpole called her "a hyena in petticoats, a philosophising serpent." And yet her teaching was conservative, compared to much we hear now-a-days regarding woman and her rights.

Mary Wollstonecraft's early home life was a hard, bitter experience. Her father drank, spent his money for selfish pleasures, and beat his wife. That lady, worn out with hardships, died early and left six young children to the tender mercies of a drunken brute. At sixteen Mary met Fanny Blood, a young girl her own age, and one whose family life was about the same as Mary's. Fanny was already achieving some success in literary work, and Mary, taking a passionate fancy to her, determined to make a literary career for herself.

At nineteen she became a lady's maid. Later she developed into a governess, and for nine years taught either in a private school, or in a family. All the time she had dependent upon her most of her brothers and sisters. This and earlier experiences convinced her that there was little reason to believe with Rousseau that woman's sole duty was to please. Bound to support, not only herself, but others, among them those of the male persuasion, from her very girl-

hood, and hindered upon every hand by the unwise and unkind restrictions which were thrown about women of the time, it is little wonder that she finally evolved her vindication.

After having issued a pamphlet on "Thoughts on the Education of Daughters," for which she received ten guineas—about \$50—Mary went to London, became a contributor to the Analytical Review, and acted as translator for the editor. She lived poorly for some time in a mean street, and with few comforts. This because she had to send much of her earnings to dependents. But great folks found her, Tallyrand and others, and the artist, Opie, painted her portrait for the national gallery. And a beautiful portrait it is. Southy said of her that her face was the best, infinitely the best, of all the lions or literati he had seen in London.

Soon after her production of the Vindication she went to France, and here met the tragedy of her life, in the person of Captain Gilbert Imley. This young American she loved with all the passion of her nature, a love which for a time was reciprocated. In France, at that time, it was a difficult matter to arrange a legal ceremony, making them man and wife, and Mary had evolved an idea, through observation and study, that a ceremony of any kind was unessential to true marriage. She discarded the ceremony, and went to live with Imley as his wife. Wonderously happy was she for some time. Of this happiness one may read in her published letters. Also of the misery that followed, when she discovered coolness and even infidelity in the man she had trusted. A daughter, Fanny, was born to the pair. Separation followed, and later a marriage with Godwin, a clever writer, and a defender of "pure reason." To them was born Mary Godwin, who became the wife of Shelley. From this bed of travail she never rose, for death claimed her some ten days later. At the height of her power she was cut off, but she left the one book which has carried her fame through the century that followed. There were many others, and they were not condemned, but they died, while that which was condemned lived.

In the introduction to "Vindication of the Rights of Woman," Mary Wollstonecraft says: "My own sex, I hope, will excuse me if I treat them like rational creatures instead of flattering their fascinating graces, and viewing them as if they were in a state of perpetual childhood, unable to stand alone." Later on she says: "Educate women like men," says Rousseau, 'and the more they resem-

ble our sex the less power they will have over us.' This is the very point I am at. I do not wish them to have power over men, but over themselves."

Education was the strong point in Mary's philosophy. Everything depended upon that. Women were slaves, sickly, puny, incompetent, contradictory, because of what they were taught. She believed also in woman's economic independence. But we who live one hundred years later know that these things—proper teaching, and economic independence, could come only with the invention and development of machinery. Mary was one whose vision outran her time. She saw what could be accomplished only after a long century of material struggle. But she was a great soul, for all that, and her Vindication should be in the library of every liberty-loving man and woman.

HOUSEHOLD PARROTS

Bernard Shaw

No doubt there are Philistine parrots who agree with their owners that it is better to be in a cage than out, so long as there is plenty of hempseed and Indian corn there. There may even be idealist parrots who persuade themselves that the mission of a parrot is to minister to the happiness of a private family by whistling and saying "Pretty Polly," and that it is in the sacrifice of its liberty to this altruistic pursuit that a true parrot finds the supreme satisfaction of its soul. I will not go so far as to affirm that there are theological parrots who are convinced that imprisonment is the will of God because it is unpleasant; but I am confident that there are rationalist parrots who can demonstrate that it would be a cruel kindness to let a parrot out to fall a prey to cats, or at least to forget its accomplishments and coarsen its naturally delicate fibres in an unprotected struggle for existence. Still, the only parrot a free-souled person can sympathize with is the one that insists on being let out as the first condition of its making itself agreeable. A selfish bird, you may say: one that puts its own gratification before that of the family which is so fond of it—before even the greatest happiness of the greatest number: one that, in aping the independent spirit of a man, has unparroted itself and become a creature that has neither the home-loving nature of a bird nor the strength and enterprise of a mastiff. All the same, you respect that parrot in spite of your conclusive reasoning; and if it persists, you will have either to let it out or kill it.

Woman Suffrage a Means to An End

MAY McDONALD STRICKLAND

Woman suffrage did not interest me so long as it meant merely "voting" and that "because man does."

Neither did I come to the study of social conditions through my interest in "women's rights," nor into the Socialist party because it granted woman the privilege of voting.

Reared on a farm in a family of boys; one of the first chosen for a game of ball at school; working through the summer in the harvest field side by side with my brothers; attending college where men and women matched intellects in the class room, what did I know of woman's handicap in the race of life?

Many were the battles royal fought with the "other half of the house" over "women voting." Oddly enough, he for them and I against.

Not until I took up the study of sociology and entered social settlement work did I begin to know that something besides "laziness," "love of drink" and "ungodliness" caused the suffering and misery of the human family.

Even then it became a "human" rather than a "sex" problem. I began to understand that industrial conditions were at the bottom of the trouble, affecting both man and woman. I found that the Socialist party stood for a change of these conditions offering economic freedom to the race.

I heard their appeal to the working people: "Use the political freedom you now have to gain your economic freedom. Vote for yourselves." Then it began to dawn upon me that a large per cent of the people to whom this appeal was made had no political freedom, could not vote for themselves. And there I capitulated. I was at last in the camp of woman suffrage!

Hence I am working for woman suffrage, not for the sake of "voting," but because I need that weapon to gain my economic freedom.

The Socialist party stands for the equality of the sexes, economically as well as politically. Therefore, the best way to advance the cause of woman suffrage is to work for the Socialist party. It is the only party that offers woman economic freedom.

The vote of woman will be retrogressive until she has a vision of her economic freedom. Must we then wait until all women have this vision before they receive the ballot? Did man have this vision and know just how to vote before he was granted the franchise? Review the late election returns!

By using the ballot man is learning its power and how to wield it. Woman must learn the same way. Let us ask for the ballot and learn how

to use it even though we gain this knowledge by blunders and failures.

But let us not forget that the gaining of the franchise is a means to an end. The way to reach the goal and not the goal itself. Let us not lose sight of our economic freedom while asking for our political freedom. Interest every one in woman suffrage;

educate the women themselves in Socialism so that they will know how to cast their ballot when they have the opportunity.

Not until woman stands by the side of man, not dependent upon him, but his equal; neither his slave nor doll, but his comrade; not the house keeper for him, but the home-builder with him, will the human race have an opportunity to come to its highest development.

Club Women: Our Need of Them

MARTHA A. PORTER

It has been said that Frances Willard, through her ability to organize the women of the world into little bands and unions, known as the W. C. T. U., has done more towards educating them into public spiritedness than all other agitation combined. Be that as it may, of one thing we are sure, and that is, that club work among women has developed at a rapid pace since her time, and about all of it has been educational. We find in many of these organizations the very best women the world has produced.

True, the club women are not often Socialists, but may theirs not be a good field in which to do some telling work. My own experience makes me feel that it is. My first experience as a Socialist worker with them began some six years ago when the National Suffrage organization met in this city—New Orleans. Our local got up a nice little article of greeting in which of course was incorporated some of the Socialist principles, especially the suffrage plank in the platform. I was one of a committee chosen to present the article and followed up the sessions from Tuesday morning until Friday afternoon, before given a chance for a hearing, after which it was slightly commented on by Mrs. Catt, who presided. But it went down on the minutes, and the article was published in the "Woman's Journal."

Since that time I have been a member and regular attendant at the semi-monthly meetings of the Era club, and have never failed to get in my little wedge for Socialism whenever there was an opportunity. At first they tried to cry my attempts down, saying that politics was barred from the organization. But that was a part I remembered to forget, and continued the agitation.

Not long since Comrade Mrs. Mills, who is also an Era club member, secured a hearing for one of my articles, in which I declared that it was time for all earnest, thinking women to align themselves with the Socialist party, since it was the only party that dared espouse the cause of woman.

After Mrs. Mills had read this article, I was asked by Miss Kate Gordon to debate the question with her at a future meeting of the club. That was just what we most desired, and the debate came off recently. I tried to make the very best use of my time. Miss Gordon said she did not object to the principles of Socialism, and was only negative in that we could not afford to align ourselves with any man's party until we had our vote.

The session was considered a most interesting one, and nearly all congratulated me on my effort, thereby making me feel that the barriers so long set up against any consideration of Socialism are giving way. Some of the members are taking Socialist literature. The great difficulty lies here: their time is so completely taken up looking after the effects of the system, such as juvenile court work, prison reform work, factory inspection, and so on, that they have little time in which to study into the real causes of the evils, and the removal of the same. But they are good, systematic workers; they are learning the results of the present system, and we need them. Let us endeavor to find some way of reaching them with the deeper truths about things.

A GOOD LETTER

I have sent The Progressive Woman to several people who are not Socialists, and know little of the subject, and on making inquiries of them about it I have been surprised to see how much of an effect it has had. They tell me they read it with a great deal of interest and I have good reason to believe they do not say so merely out of courtesy. One, a girl about twenty-two, has now taken to attending the Socialist lectures in her neighborhood. She says she never had any idea that there was so much in the subject.—Mary S. Oppenheimer, secretary 20th ward branch, S. P., New York City.

BABIES OF YESTERDAY*Daisy M. Barteau*

Babies of yesterday,
Men of tomorrow,
Why all the day long
Toil ye in sorrow?
Out in the meadows
The young lambs are straying;
Where is your childhood
Of laughter and playing?

Laughter we know not;
Tears are our portion;
Over infancy falling,
O where is the health
On your cheeks should be glow-
Playfulness show not
Nor childish emotion.
Joyless and silent,
Fearing disaster,
Winter and summer
We toil for the Master.

Babies of yesterday,
Hollow-eyed, staring,
Early, too early,
Life's burdens you're bearing.
Where is the music
Of footsteps light springing,
Of voices in happiness
Shouting and singing?

The music we heed
Is the Master's voice sounding;
On ear and on brain
ITS thunder is pounding;
Never IT ceaseth;
Faster and faster
Our fingers must follow
The song of the Master.

Babies of yesterday,
Haggard, appalling,
With shadows of age
ing?
We slaves, I must weep
For your sorrows O'erflowing.

Pity we heed not;
Know naught of enslaving;
Rest, only rest,
Is the boon that we're craving.
If sleep seize our eyelids,
Foreboding disaster,
We're mangled and torn
In the jaws of the Master.

Babies of yesterday,
Dumb in your anguish,
In hunger and poverty
Still must ye languish?
What of the future,
O Men of tomorrow?
What is the fruit
Of your labor and sorrow?

The future lies hidden;
We labor unknowing
How bitter the fruit
'Neath our thin fingers growing.
Stained with our lifeblood,
Darker and vaster,
Loometh the fabric
We weave for the Master.

CHARLES ZUEBLIN ON CIVILIZATION TODAY.

The following is an extract from Prof. Zueblin's lecture delivered recently before the Ethical Culture Society of New York:

"The present waste of life is appalling. It is the crime of civilization that there are so many men dyeing their hair in search of employment, because the sign of age would be a hindrance to them. The number of absolutely worn-out men at 35 and 40 is one of the shameful accompaniments of 20th century progress. What care are we taking to prevent this awful falling by the wayside, while we sweep on toward fuller life—for some people?"

"We have learned to live in a climate that is very hot in summer and very cold in winter. We have heat in winter, and ice in summer. But think of the millions who never have either ice or heat, who are never warm in winter or comfortable in summer. Here is a city of nearly 5,000,000, with a concentration of wealth never before known in history. Yet untold numbers are in want, squalor and discomfort.

"You will say 'These people are shiftless, have no ideals.' Perhaps; but how about the children whom we permit to be born in dirt? We have no right to permit any child to be born in squalid surroundings. The future society will see to it that every child is well-born.

"While our favored youth are increasing in size and vigor, what of the ruthless destruction of life half way down the social ladder? Over half the human life that starts to be, never gets beyond the fifth year. We are familiar with the awful destruction of life that goes on in the animal world; but are we always to be manacled to the traditions of the jungle and the sea?"

"We are missing the best of life, largely because of our brute selfishness to others. The hazards of the present ruthless competitive system crush us all down. No man can live a full nor-

mal life in a city like New York, in the midst of thousands who are just hanging on to the ragged edge.

"Why should women, with so intense a maternal instinct that they will lay down their lives to give their offspring life, be dependent for their right to maternity upon the chance of getting a man to support them? If a woman is granted by nature a yearning and a capacity for bearing children, why should she not have them? We should work for a system of society in which children will not be made dependent for their right-to-be, upon the chance earnings of the father.

"But the best spiritual interests of the child can only be served in the home, where father and mother live together in mutual love. Why there should not be organized a system of society in which everyone should have abundant security and leisure, I can not understand."

MONSTER WOMAN SUFFRAGE PETITION

Under the auspices of the National American Woman Suffrage association, a monster petition to congress is now being circulated throughout the country. It asks that a constitutional amendment be submitted to the different states removing the political disabilities of sex as those of color were once removed in a former one. The name of every Socialist woman in the land should appear on this petition. Let it be known that you are in sympathy with the movement to give women political freedom. Petition blanks will be furnished you from this office, or you may secure them by writing to the Woman Suffrage Petition Headquarters, 29 E. 29th St., New York, N. Y.

The Voice of Prophecy **ON THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION**

A new book by Comrade Edens, nobly written and scripturally founded. It is truly "The Midnight Cry" of the Socialist Movement and affords indisputable evidence that "The Social Revolution" will prove to be the long-looked-for war of "Armageddon;" that it will occur 1909-1919, A. D.; that it will overthrow capitalism by the power of truth, and establish Socialism as the Kingdom of God on Earth.

Rev. E. E. Carr, editor of the Christian Socialist, says of it: "To those who accept the Bible as the Word of God, 'The Voice of Prophecy,' a 50-page pamphlet by H. K. Edens, Russellville, Ala., will come with striking suggestion and strong appeal. It is the best thing of this kind that has yet reached our office. And whether one believes literally in the book of Revelation or not, this pamphlet will prove immensely interesting. 'There are more strange things in Heaven and Earth, Horatio, than are dreamt of in thy philosophy,' and this pamphlet represents a phase of Socialist agitation that is sure to have great influence in the most orthodox quarters."

The Voice of Prophecy contains 56 pages, brimful of Bible thunder. No Socialist or Christian can afford to be without it, for it is pre-eminently The volume of the Hour which is striking upon the dial of the Ages.

Price, 25 cents; five copies for \$1; thirteen copies, \$2.50. Stamps not accepted. Send all orders to

H. K. EDENS, Russellville, Alabama

The National Movement.

New York City—The Socialist Women's society is growing by leaps and bounds. During December four new branches have been organized. One branch consists of young working girls, who, after having heard a general talk on Socialism by Mrs. Stern, have launched forth into a series of talks on "The Principles of Socialism," by Miss Jessie Hughan. The second branch consists of women living in the Harlem section of New York City. They started their meetings with a fine talk by Dr. Konikow on "Is Socialism a Dream?" The third branch consists of German women who for years have been keeping up a separate club of their own. They were persuaded to affiliate and German lectures will now be provided for them. The fourth is a group of women in the Yorkville section of New York, whose first educational meeting will consist of a thorough discussion of all the fine substance contained in the splendid preamble to the constitution of the Socialist Woman's society, which runs as follows:

"The secret of all oppression," says August Bebel, "is the economic dependence of the oppressed."

Through all of human society we find a group upon whose backs the world's burden is laid. The working classes of all lands constitute this group. They submit, and must submit, to their oppression because they are economically dependent. They are economically dependent because they do not own the tools and materials with which they must work. They eat their bread by the grace of those who own the tools and materials. They have their lives upon terms laid down by the masters of the world, and this is the heart and the essence of slavery.

Through his political rights and industrial experience the workingman succeeds in protecting himself in some measure against the encroachments of the master class upon his rights.

The woman of the working class has no political power and but little industrial training. Lacking these weapons of defense, she suffers abject defeat in the battle for existence.

The working class man is oppressed because a master stands between him and the means of producing his bread supply. The wife of this same workingman is one step further removed from the sources of her life—she is dependent upon her husband, or, as has aptly been said, she is the slave of a slave.

By a thousand brands her slavery has marked her, but none so deeply as her meek acceptance of her condition—her failure to recognize her essential human dignity, and to insist upon her rightful place, in the human scheme.

To stimulate among women an interest in the study of the nature and causes of economic dependence and its attendant oppression; to quicken in them a desire for the removal of that oppression and to crystallize this desire into action shall be the aim of the Socialist Women's Society.

The executive committee also finds its work no sinecure. At every meeting there are problems of program and policy to be worked out. The decision was made, for instance, to use the petition blanks gotten out by the National American Woman Suffrage organization in their work for a national woman suffrage demand. For, it was argued, co-operation in

such a cause was logical and necessary, and besides, offered a splendid field for Socialist propaganda.

Thus the new society feels it has justified its existence of barely six months, and its hopes and ambitions are high for the future.—Aneta C. Block, N. Y.

Evanston, Ill.—The women's committee of the Ridgeville branch, Evanston, was organized Dec. 3, 1908. The following officers were elected: Chairman, Mrs. Jessie M. Brown; assistant chairman, Mrs. Ida Linday; secretary, Mrs. Ruth Harrison. On Dec. 19 an evening meeting was held at the home of Mrs. Ida Linday, to which the men were invited.

Peter Miller and F. McCluskey addressed the meeting. Mrs. McCluskey read some interesting selections. Refreshments were served and plans were made for future effective work for the Socialist party.—Ruth Harrison, secretary.

Chicago Socialist Women Held Suffrage Meeting.

Through the kindness of the 21st ward branch of the Socialist party in Chicago, and Arthur M. Lewis, lecturer at the Garrick theater, the Socialist women of the city were enabled to hold one of the greatest demonstrations in favor of the ballot for women that Chicago has ever known.

The meeting was held on the 31st of January, with Gertrude Breslau Hunt as the leading speaker. Her subject was The Woman Question, and from beginning to end she held her audience in rapt attention. The men present showed that they endorsed her views by rising to their feet and cheering. Mrs. Nellie Zeh talked on organization, and Mary A. Livingston on "The Socialist Sunday School." Mrs. Corinne Brown, prominent in club work, suffrage work and Socialist agitation, acted as chairman. Ellen Magow gave a reading, "We as Women," songs were rendered by the Misses Levitin, and a splendid violin solo by Florence Jessup.

The Garrick, one of the largest theaters in the city, was crowded with men and women interested in the new awakening of women. Application cards in envelopes were handed out at the door to every woman, as was other literature pertaining to women. Altogether, the meeting was a great success—and calls for more.

How to Form a Study Club

It is easy enough to come together to form a club. But after it is formed—what then?

Two officers are essential—a president and secretary. But equally essential is the class leader. The latter should be selected according to ability, which means the time to prepare the lessons,

a mind already fairly well stored, and the ability to understand and explain with readiness.

The class leader takes up the lesson for a week ahead, or two weeks ahead, as she has the time, familiarizes herself with the text that forms the lesson proper, and digs up as many references as she can. She writes out a list of questions on the subject, and when the club night comes, takes these along with her. After the business meeting, she opens with a little talk on the lesson, then, referring to her questions, calls on each member present to answer one or more of them. It is best to take the members in turn. This calls out their ideas, and makes it easier for them to talk, than if they were left alone, with the whole subject matter confused in their brains. After a round or two of questions—which may be discussed as they are raised, by the entire body—there is a little time for general discussion. The leader, who has probably looked into more reference books than any of the others, is able to explain any queries that may come up, bearing on the subject. To draw out the interest of the members it is well to select two or three phases of the lesson to be taken up the next week, and ask for papers on them. During the course of three or four months each member should have written at least one paper to read before the club. It is surprising to see how rapidly thought develops under this treatment. And, indeed, this is a very good way to prepare for lecturing and teaching children's Sunday schools or lyceums.

LITTLE MAN.

CHARLES LINCOLN PHIFER.

Oh, how he filled our hearts and home,

Our merry little boy of four!
Whenever I would come from work
He used to meet me at the door.

And I can see the dancing eyes,
The golden hair, the cheeks of tan,
And hear the laughing challenge ring,
"Papa, come find your Little Man!"

"Papa, come find your Little Man!"
And I would search till, in surprise,
Behind the door I'd find the prize,
And hear the sweet, delighted cries
Of papa's Little Man.

But now our hearts and home are void,

His merry laugh we hear no more;
Yet in the Festal Hall of Dreams
He calls me still—yes, o'er and o'er.

Behind the door of things unseen
He hides so surely that I can
Not find him, yet that voice still calls,
"Papa, come find your Little Man."

"Papa, come find your Little Man!"
And though I unsuccessful grope,
I am not wild or misanthrope,
But sometime still I fondly hope
To find my Little Man.

“A Little Sister of the Poor”

BY JOSEPHINE CONGER KANEKO

All Who Have Hearts Must Read this Story
Price 25 cents a Copy

A LITTLE SISTER OF THE POOR has been off the press about two weeks, at this writing. It is selling fast—so fast, indeed, that we would remind you, if you WANT A COPY OF THE FIRST EDITION, you had better get your order in PRETTY QUICK.

A LITTLE SISTER OF THE POOR is a story of the working girls of Chicago's West Side. It tells of the unhappy lives of the daughters of the poor, how

“The wolf of poverty follows them on
Through the busy streets of the town, . . .
While close beside the wolves of lust
Are coming to drag them down.”

Of their struggles against these conditions. Of the high spirit, innate goodness and real beauty that is in many of them, and about which the world at large knows so little—and cares less.

Those fathers and mothers of country districts who have young daughters in the cities working for a small wage should read this story of A LITTLE SISTER OF THE POOR. It will show them what THEIR daughter is up against. And how essential it is to throw protection about her and her kind.

Mary E. Marcy, author of “Out of the Dump” and associate editor of the International Socialist Review, upon receiving a copy of A LITTLE SISTER OF THE POOR, writes to the author:

“Thank you so much for your little book. It came only yesterday and out of a half dozen here for review I took yours home with me, because it looked most interesting. My guess was good, for I read it through without stopping—and had to use my handkerchief more than once. It is so HUMAN all the way through.”

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