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MAY WOOD SIMONS

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Aims and Purposes of Women Committee

MAY WOOD SIMONS

At the national convention of the Socialist party held in 1908 a committee on women was elected to formulate a plan for work among women, the work to be carried on directly under the supervision of the Socialist party, its object being to secure women members of the party and emphasize the necessity of obtaining the ballot for women.

This committee reported the following to the national convention:

"The national committee of the Socialist party has already provided for a special organizer and lecturer to work for equal civil and political rights in connection with the Socialist propaganda among women, and their organization in the Socialist party.

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

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

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

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

"First—That a special committee of five be elected to care for and manage the work of organization among women.

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

"Third—That this committee cooperate directly with the national head-

quarters and be under the supervision of the national party.

"Fourth—That this committee be elected by this national convention, its members to consist not necessarily of delegates to this convention.

"Fifth—That all other moneys needed to carry on the work of the woman's committee outside of the maintenance of the special organizers be raised by the committee.

"Sixth—that during the campaign of 1908 the women appointed as organizers be employed in states now possessing the franchise."

In accordance with the report of the committee, which was accepted by the convention, a permanent committee of five was elected by the convention to act as a national committee on work among women. This committee at present has as members Dr. Antionette Konikow, Meta Stern, Theresa Malkiel, Winnie Branstetter and May Wood-Simons.

This committee on Socialist work among women is working directly under the control and direction of the Socialist party.

Since the close of the convention women, who are already members of the Socialist party in the various locals of the country, have begun active work to accomplish the objects that were put before them by the convention. First, the securing of women members in the Socialist locals; second, the agitation for the franchise for women; third, the work of increasing the usefulness of the Socialist Sunday schools.

The work of securing women members for the party and increasing the attendance of women at the Socialist meetings has been begun systematically in great numbers of the locals.

The function of the national woman's committee is to advise and outline methods by which women may best be interested in Socialism and brought into the Socialist party, and to keep the need of agitation for suffrage for women before the locals.

As an advisory committee it has worked out a plan for work in the locals. It is advised that every local appoint a committee consisting of women who are already members of the local. If no women are at present members, let the secretary of the local act as a committee. Arrange a lecture or entertainment which it is believed would interest women and make an effort to get as many women as possible to be present, wives of Socialist members, teachers, clerks, trade union women, etc.

Secure the addresses of all the women present. Then make it a point to see them within a few days and invite them to attend the Socialist meetings. Have some literature to give them.

Follow this work up and finally urge

the women to become members of the local. This method works. It will bring women into the party. It has been tried and when carried on systematically shows results. When a woman member has been secured plan to keep her. Make her feel she is necessary to the local. Give her work to do. Make her a member of the committee. Set her to work to educate and secure more members. If she makes errors in the business meetings help her to correct them.

The national office now maintains a national organizer. As soon as possible every state should put a woman organizer to work and in each state a committee of women acting in conjunction with the state committee of the party should be elected.

The working women of the country are ready to learn of Socialism. If they are not brought in now it is because the locals have not done valuable work that should be done.

Recognizing the fact that a single line of work may tend to occupy the attention to the exclusion of equally important matters, the women carrying on this work emphasize the importance of each woman keeping in the closest touch with her local and the local, state and national organization, and all political issues that may arise and maintain her place as an active member of the Socialist organization. Further, all work being carried on is done in consultation with the party organization and for the purpose of increasing the strength and power of that organization.

STATE AND LOCAL SECRETARIES.

We want to call your attention to this issue of *The Progressive Woman* as peculiarly adapted to building up the Socialist party organization. It is exactly what you need in both your state and local work. We would recommend that state secretaries order large bundles, both for immediate use and to keep on hand for future needs. There is not a week in the year when there is not a place for just such material as this issue contains, in the routine of a state secretary's work. The same is true of local secretaries. You will have new members constantly coming in who are not clear on our organization, its methods and purposes, and who will find matters considerably simplified for them by the comprehensiveness of this Organization issue.

If you want bundles of this number, it will be well for you to order them as early as possible, though we shall try and have a large enough edition to supply stray orders all through the year. Now, comrades, don't neglect this work. We have gone to a great deal of pains to get the best possible material on this subject; we know that the movement needs it, and it only lies with you now to make use of it.

The Socialist Party Organization

LENA MORROW LEWIS



There are some Socialists who vote the ticket, subscribe to the papers, now and then donate money and speak a good word for the cause, but there are other Socialists who do all this and something more. And this something more is the essential thing.

The establishment of the working class in political power can never be accomplished except by an intelligent, systematic, organized effort.

The source from whence any organism obtains its food supply is the largest determining factor in the life of the organism. Or in the language of the proverbs, "Whoever pays the piper may choose the tune." In order to maintain democratic control, the Socialist party is organized upon a dues-paying basis and to be an active, dues-paying member is the essential thing.

Generally over the country (i. e., in U. S.) the local dues are 25 cents, of which ten or fifteen cents is sent to the state office, and five cents is sent from the state office to the national office.

The national secretary-treasurer remits annually to the international headquarters \$180, so that membership in a local organization gives one economic representation in the local, state, national and international Socialist party.

The Socialist party organization is something more than an agitation bureau, more than the work of placing a ticket in the field to be voted on at a coming election, more than the electing of certain men to office.

It is the electing of a new class—the working class—to political power. It is the establishment of a real democracy growing out of the collective operation of the means of production and distribution.

The theory of government based on "social contract" has long since been exploded and experience is teaching us that class interests determine governmental action, and the class that has economic power will control the government.

Assuming that it is the purpose of the working class, through a political party, to capture the powers of government, we shall proceed to give some items and details as to its political activities. As a concrete illustration of our idea of democratic management, take our plan of conducting an election.

Our national convention is composed of delegates from the various states and territories and these have

been nominated and elected by a referendum vote of the state's membership. An assessment of 35 cents per member during the month of April, 1908, raised sufficient funds to pay all the railroad expenses of the 219 delegates to the national convention.

No one can be nominated on the Socialist ticket but a dues-paying member and a year's membership is necessary in order to be eligible. That party may protect itself from being invaded by people who are office-seekers, some states—among them Pennsylvania—have a rule that no name shall appear on our ticket that has been on any other within the past two years. After the nominations are made, then each candidate is required to sign his or her resignation as the candidate for said office, and this undated resignation is filed with the proper officials of the party. If the candidate is found pursuing unfair and improper methods to secure votes he is repudiated by the party and his resignation goes into effect if so desired by the membership. In addition to signing the resignation as candidate, one must also sign his or her resignation from the office if elected. This is undated and filed with the proper officers. The object of this is to give the rank and file power to recall an officer whenever he betrays his trust. The resignation having been obtained before his election, it is only a matter of putting it into effect, provided the situation demands it. In this way the rank and file "have a string on all candidates and officials." One commits political suicide if he betrays his trust while holding an office elected to by Socialists. Under a capitalist government it might not be possible to fully carry out the principles of the recall, but we can even now repudiate candidates and expel officials from the party membership so that they are forever debarred from running on our ticket again. Under a Socialist government the recall will have full swing.

Participation in the political affairs of present-day government is by no means the important work of the work of the organization. We will never know how to do things democratically only as we learn how.

The fundamentals of democracy in operation are the initiative, the referendum and the right of recall. From the Official Bulletin of the Socialist party of January, 1908, we quote the following from the national secretary's report: "The national constitution permits twenty locals (less than one per cent of the total) to initiate a referendum and requires all state organizations to constitutionally provide for the initiative, referendum

and imperative mandate. Great progress has been made in the extension and practical operation of the referendum system by the party divisions and viewed from all points, this is the salient, strong, promising and sustaining tendency in a movement the character of ours. That division is at once the most vigorous, philosophical and effective for all practical purposes in which the membership consciously and regularly exercises the administrative function."

Any action of the national secretary or national executive or national committee may be reversed by a referendum vote of the rank and file. Hence in the strictest sense of the word our officials and committeemen are the servants of the party and not the bosses.

As the child in the school room learns how to add and subtract and passes from that into fractions and on into the more intricate branches until equipped as a thorough mathematician he goes out into the world ready for the activities of life; so the Socialist party, with its round of apparently useless motions and activities, is the school in which its members are being trained and disciplined in the democratic management of affairs. Every time a referendum is taken, no matter how trivial the subject matter may be, the membership is learning how to do things collectively.

The agitation part of our movement developed a certain type of workers. It was and is of necessity the work of individual men and women. The discovery of economic and philosophical truths is the work of individual minds and the spread of the same is largely the work of individuals.

Organization, however, is not the work of great men. It is in this respect that organization differs radically from agitation. Whenever a movement rallies around a personality it invariably perishes when that personality is removed.

From the viewpoint of organization, therefore, that person does the best work who can completely sink out of sight his own personality and ever keep uppermost the work and the details of the movement. The man who inspires the people to work solely for the good of the organization and not because of their admiration for or devotion to him is the real and only efficient organizer. Organization is routine work, the building of a machine of which the individual members are the parts. The larger the number of people working harmoniously the better it is. One can only become a part of this great machine through the acquiring of

knowledge of its details and finding the place where he can work to the best advantage.

Many well meaning people do not discriminate between doing things for people and doing them **with** people. Workers with the paternal type of mind will always find it easier to go ahead and do everything themselves. If other people are inclined to shirk responsibility this kind of worker will encourage them by doing the work himself.

In contrast to this type is the one who has the faculty of getting everybody to do something, the fraternal spirit which develops a sense of responsibility in others so that the dropping out of one individual does not block the whole work of the organization. The doing of things **with** people, not **for** them.

The first steam engine put out by Stevenson was a crude, small affair in comparison to the latest Baldwin locomotive, so the present party organization, crude and inefficient as it is today, is the instrument which may some day develop into the mighty machine that will set in operation the dominancy of the working class.

In the concrete world of things the problem of disenfranchisement is getting to be larger every year. Space forbids an exhaustive discussion of this subject at this time, but suffice to say that if the capitalist class, through the work of the parties that reflect its material interests continues as it has in the past, it will only be a very few years until the majority of the working class of this country is disfranchised. If that time should come the question arises, how can the working class establish itself in political power, when it has been robbed of the means by which such procedure is accomplished?

With a well organized and disciplined membership located in every precinct and ward in the nation, we have the machine by which the workers may come into political power by whatever program may be advisable or necessary. Whether we capture the powers of government by the use of political methods now in operation, or are forced to inaugurate new methods, one thing is true, that the building up of a strong dues-paying membership is the all important thing and to be an active dues-paying member is the **essential thing**.

A Good Word.

I am very much impressed with the character of The Progressive Woman and appreciate the work it is doing. Indeed, I want to see it succeed to the last degree. With best wishes.—Fraternally yours, J. Mahlon Barnes, National Secretary.

John C. Chase, now employed in the routing department of the national office, was the first Socialist mayor elected in the United States.



OKLAHOMA STATE OFFICE

HOW SOCIALISTS MAKE LAWS.

J. Mahlon Barnes, National Secretary Socialist Party.

The Socialists of the world have ever stood for pure democracy. Embracing the initiative, the referendum, the recall, majority rule, the preferential ballot, and all related instruments or devices intended to carry out speedily and fully the mandate of the popular will.

That the position taken is not a matter of preachment, but is carried into practice is best demonstrated by the manner in which the affairs of the Socialist party of America are conducted. Here facts join faith in the actual administration.

The ease with which the last man or lay member comes to his final say upon any proposition or policy is reduced to figures as follows:

Any party local may initiate a national party referendum and it goes to a membership vote, if indorsed by nineteen other locals, twenty in all. Considering that there are more than three thousand party locals, it means that when one out of one hundred and fifty locals wants a question opened to a popular vote, it is submitted forthwith.

Taking a combination of circumstances by which a referendum is initiated by small locals, the membership of each being only equal to the number required to hold a charter, the fact is disclosed that according to present membership the desire of one man out of every 458 is effective for the purpose.

In the matter of election of officers,

the nomination of one local is sufficient to place the name of a candidate upon the ballot for any office within the gift of the party.

Referendums are submitted entirely free of guide lines. The constitution specifically prohibits advice or comment by any official.

Here then is an instance of democracy in action and unequaled by any other organization. Here appears no by-path to legislation; rather a highway to self-government leading to a solution of every question of common concern.

In the organic law and in all things, as they will, the last word is the voice of the majority and subject to revision or amendment only by the same court. The veto power against the majority is unthinkable in a true democracy.

THE QUALITIES OF A GOOD ORGANIZER.

Ardor, forethought, imagination and apprehensiveness. He or she who supposes that things will go well or indeed that they will go at all without careful preparation and constant urging is unfitted for an organizer. There must be a nice sense of proportion in a good organizer and she must possess tact and knowledge of the world. A thorough and constant perception of the end in view and a power of dealing with a mass of details and not becoming their slave. One may have a mastery of details, but not be skillful in putting them afterward in their right places. There is a lack of proportion in such an one.

Prospective Parliament of Mankind--- The International Socialist Bureau

IDA CROUCH-HAZLETT

For I dipped into the future, far as eye could see,
Saw the vision of the world and all the wonder
that would be.

Till the war-drum throbbed no longer
And the battleflags were furled;
In the Parliament of Man,
The Federation of the World.

—Tennyson.

In the International Socialist bureau exists an institution prophetic of the future, and the dream of poets and sages for centuries, in the realization of universal brotherhood between nations and industries. The bureau is situated at Brussels, Belgium, and its membership is composed of secretaries from every Socialist organization in the world. The bureau acts mostly through correspondence, but holds sessions about once a year between international congresses.

The first time the bureau gave evidence of its great effect in an international demonstration was at the time of the Boer war. It was about to take action and issue a manifesto in favor of universal peace, when H. M. Hyndman of England, wrote the bureau to keep hands off so as not to compromise the British Socialists, who were opposing the war, and had been almost mobbed for the stand they took. The results sustained the predictions of the Socialists. The British government brought 300,000 Chinamen into Africa, under contract to work in the mines of the Transvaal, displacing Kaffir labor, the Zulus and the whites. When the Socialists had passed into parliament they hammered on this shameful peonage of the slaves herded into stockades like wild beasts, and destroyed it.

In the progress of the Russian revolution the bureau forms a means of communication between the revolutionists and the outside world; thus creating a great solidarity and unity between the various countries and nationalities.

The power of the bureau in the organization of the international working class was demonstrated in the late uprising of the masses in Spain against militarism and clericalism. It was decided by the Spanish Socialists to start a daily paper for the purpose of educating the masses for their future struggle. The International Bureau acts on the proposition and issues a call to the Socialists of all countries to remit funds to sustain the Spanish daily and put it in fighting condition, without its passing through the dreadful struggle for existence that other Socialist papers have to go through in their early stages; so that all its energies could be centered on the main purpose of its creation—the education and solidi-

fication of the masses which is very essential at the present time, as Spain is a sudden and new arrival on the industrial horizon, and a prospective competitor for the world's market, through the new shipbuilding and steel industries founded there by the British corporations.

Recently there were Socialist representatives of the Persian revolutionists who arrived at Brussels for the purpose of having the International Socialist bureau to get the Socialist representatives in the European parliaments to force their respective governments to demand of Russia that she withdraw all her troops and interests out of Persia—from the banks railroads, seaports, and control of customs, so as to allow that country the opportunity to work out the problems of the race in her own way.

Where the bureau showed a weakness in regard to organization, but was still prophetic of future achievements, was in the Balkan trouble.

Hyndman wanted the bureau to take action in regard to the Balkan states—Macedonia, Montenegro, Hungary, Bulgaria and others bordering on the Black sea. The fight was practically the subjugation of the Slavic races by the Teutonic. Austria was trying to make a wholesale grab of the territory adjacent to the Black sea. Hyndman, who is recognized by the capitalists to be one of the greatest Socialist statesmen and diplomats of the present day, as well as the greatest authority in international complications under capitalism, desired the bureau to draft a plan of action so that the Socialists in all the parliaments of Europe could act simultaneously on a well-defined and aggressive policy to prevent a European war, and stop land grabbing on the part of the larger nations against the smaller, with a view to universal empire. The bureau failed to act owing to the pseudo patriotism on the part of the Austrian delegates, and, therefore, there still exists a prospective European conflagration and jealousy between the nations, anent the problems arising over the near east situation.

Again, Hyndman desired a meeting of the Socialist bureau to discuss an impending anglo-German war so that the bureau could formulate plans for the Socialists of Germany and Britain and the countries bordering on the North sea, to bring before the various parliaments possessed of Socialist representatives an effective block to the trend towards the Prussianization of Europe. Hyndman's attempt was

unsuccessful, but there is only one way to stop the fierce leaping at each other's throats by Germany and England, for the conquest of the world's markets and the control of the high seas, and that is for the Socialists of Europe to take a united and aggressive stand, on a policy outlined and directed by the International Bureau.

A few years ago when there was trouble brewing between France and Germany over land grabbing in Morocco the French and German Socialists were able to reach a common agreement through the office of the bureau; and Bebel of Germany in the Reichstag served notice on the capitalists of both countries that any attempt at war over Morocco would be met with the active opposition of the Socialists, and a general strike inaugurated. It was known to the ruling class of both countries that Bebel spoke with the full understanding and sanction of Jaures in the French chambers of deputies; and the capitalist rulers know when Jaures makes a threat it means something.

Brussels, from the proletarian standpoint, is the capitol of the world, located in Belgium, the "paradise of capitalism."

The International Bureau is gradually working out a well-defined and definite policy which is practically the outcropping of the old International as organized by Marx and Engels, and is a nucleus for the international parliament which is to settle the problems that exist between the various races and nationalities.

Thus it is the workers, the Socialists, who are laying the basis for international harmony, peace and universal good will. How different is that from The Hague tribunal which was conceived in the brain of the hanging czar, Nicholas the Bloody, when the representatives of the various capitalist governments are appropriating funds to build Dreadnoughts and increase their armies so as to be better equipped to slaughter each other.

Then the common sense of most shall hold a fretful realm in awe;
And the kindly earth shall slumber lapped in universal law.

The national office has handled the following moneys in the past five years:

| | |
|---------------------------|-------------|
| 1904 (campaign year)..... | \$32,743.00 |
| 1905 | 17,527.00 |
| 1906 | 31,708.96 |
| 1907 | 34,216.40 |
| 1908 (campaign year)..... | 95,503.60 |

Texas takes the lead in subs to The P. W. for September.



The National Office in Action

AN OBSERVER

Perhaps the one thing that the majority of the party members are the most hazy about, the one part of the organized Socialist movement that they have the least knowledge about, is the every-day workings of the national office.

All of us are very apt in these days of hustle to think that our own affairs are the most important and should have the first consideration, and that the national office is organized and equipped to instantly take care of any proposition which any party local or member may put up to it.

Well, such is the case to a certain extent.

There are forty-two state organizations dealing with the national office. There are 3,100 local organizations with a total membership of about 43,000, any one or all of whom may have some dealings with the national office in the course of a year. The morning's mail comes in and the office force is at once in action. There comes orders from several state secretaries for dues stamps and other supplies, all to be filled immediately. Away goes the orders to the shipping department, but the filling of the orders is not all there is to it. They must be recorded, the letters containing the orders must be answered and filed in their proper folders.

Accuracy in filing and recording must be maintained even at the expense of speed if need be, for it is often the case that a secretary will write in for a statement of the num-

ber of stamps, etc., he has purchased during a year or half year, and everything must be in shape to turn to immediately or the national office will be considered disorganized or incompetent.

There may be letters from half a hundred locals in unorganized states asking for supplies or information about a state organization, or when a speaker or organizer can be sent to them. A hundred and one questions are handled every day. One local wants to know when Debs can be secured for a meeting; another writes suggesting that So and So, who is an excellent Socialist and a budding orator, be assigned work as a national organizer. A half dozen individuals may be heard from in one mail who feel called upon to take the stump in behalf of Socialism. All must be answered.

Many of the men who have been used from time to time as national organizers, but who cannot be used at present because it is an off year with no political campaign to liven things up and because of lack of finances, write asking for an immediate assignment. All these have to be informed of the condition of the party treasury, and the reasons why they cannot be sent out.

Then comes the routing of the twelve or fourteen men and women who have been more or less regularly employed all spring and summer. Several are being sent westward, some are kept in the eastern states; some are placed where it appears to

be most necessary for them to work, or where the most active demand is made for their services. Others are sent into territory where the organization is weak and where the national office has to urge and urge that speakers or organizers be taken on even under terms which compels the national organization to stand three or four dollars per day expense.

All this has to be thought out and handled in the most economical manner possible. Five hundred locals may be communicated with in reference to one speaker when dates are solicited. The applications come in and they are scattered over a wide territory. The routing department must consider not only the special dates almost always asked for, but must pour over maps and railroad time-tables to ascertain how the dates may be filled with the lowest number of miles to be traveled and at the least expense. No less than six different communications must be written in connection with every date made for a speaker, and this must all be done like clock-work, for any slip in the cogs means that the speaker is held up somewhere far from the seat of operations, waiting instructions and calling down maledictions upon the head of the national secretary.

It is natural too for many of the speakers to feel that they have been given the very worst territory in the country, and that they are being buried in some lonely, backward part of the country, when they should be

talking every night to eager and enthusiastic thousands in some other section.

The speakers must be almost daily informed of changes in dates, changes made necessary because a local cannot, or thinks it cannot, arrange a meeting on a Thursday because it wanted a Saturday. Five locals may have wanted Saturday of that week, but they know nothing about that; they only know that they want a Saturday and that they should have it.

A speaker needs literature and he orders it sent to him, perhaps, where it is a physical impossibility for it to reach him at the point designated by the time he is there. It is sent to some other place where it will reach him, but his "kick" reaches the national office before the literature reaches him. More letters are necessary to explain to him why he received the literature where he did and not where he thought he should receive it.

Another mail brings in letters from some who have just got an inkling of what Socialism means. They ask questions enough to puzzle the proverbial Philadelphia lawyer. All must be answered. Then comes perhaps letters from some college students who are to debate the question of Socialism and want a speech written for them, or all kinds of information sent them. These must be attended to. Another mail brings word from some man or woman who has never been heard of before, who guarantees to swing a majority of the people over to the Socialist party if they are only given a chance to make a tour of the country. These have to be informed of the requirements of a Socialist lecturer or organizer, or requested to try themselves out in their own state or locality before aspiring to a national tour.

The mass of such matter as the foregoing disposed of means only a small fraction of the business taken care of.

Every strike of any moment or political move of consequence is reflected in a flood of correspondence. The Russian, the Mexican, the political refugees of all nations get a patient hearing. Reports of all kinds and from all manner of places come piling in, such as the uprising in Spain, the woman's Suffrage battle in England, the miners' fight in Alaska, the suppression of Socialist papers in Japan, the United States government yoke in Porto Rico, the military conditions in the Philippines, the plantation strikes in Hawaii, the labor situation in Panama and the land laws of the Eskimo. As required, all are acknowledged and filed for future reference.

Then there are referendum votes. Some one makes a motion that the constitution be amended, or that the platform be changed in its wording, or that the preferential system be

used in voting within the party organization.

These all have to be reported to the party at large, and when the required seconds to the motions are received the ballots must be printed in double quick time and shipped out to the organizations. When the vote is closed the tabulation is made and the whole matter reported upon.

The weekly and monthly bulletins must be gotten out at a certain time and mailed out on a certain date. Everything may all be shaped up and the number of pages required for the bulletin designated and decided upon, when in comes a national executive or national committee motion which must be added, and a few pages of comment on the motion thrown in for good measure. The stencils must be cut and the mimeograph machine run over-time.

Just when everything seems cleaned up and everyone thinks the way is clear for the regular routine, in comes twenty or thirty closely-written pages of matter dealing with some controversy in some state organization. The next mail perhaps brings the other side of the story. All must be reported to the membership. Quick judgment must be used, prompt action must be taken. If a mistake is made woe unto the national secretary and the national office.

Each side to a controversy uses the national office as a clearing house, and both believing perhaps that the national office is prejudiced against them and taking sides with the others. Letters by the ream and telegrams by the score come pouring in. Every party to the controversy must have his say and the bulletin must record it all.

And so the wheels of the machinery of democracy ever turn and turn. And who does this work?

The national secretary, with one stenographer, one bookkeeper, one girl in the shipping department, one girl in charge of filing letters, recording changes in addresses of locals and individuals and running the mimeograph machine and one man in the routing department.

These six people conduct the affairs of the national office, as busy a little bunch of people as can be found anywhere, all lending a hand where a hand is necessary to get out the work and get it out on schedule time.

Dues-Paying Members in Socialist Party in the U. S.

| | |
|------------|--------|
| 1903 | 15,975 |
| 1904 | 20,763 |
| 1905 | 23,327 |
| 1906 | 26,784 |
| 1907 | 29,270 |
| 1908 | 41,751 |

The present Socialist party was organized in July, 1901, in the city of Indianapolis, Ind., and since then has maintained a national headquarters first in St. Louis and then Omaha and now Chicago.

LESSON OUTLINES FOR STUDY CLUBS.

For these study clubs John Spargo's "Common Sense of Socialism" has been adopted. The outlines are taken from that book:

**LESSON V.
Time—Place.**

Business.

Reading of Lesson: The Root of the Evil.

Paper: Why Some Are Poor and Some Rich.

Discussion.

**LESSON VI.
Time—Place.**

Business.

Reading of lesson: From Competition to Monopoly.

Paper: How Monopoly Develops Under Capitalism.

Discussion.

**LESSON VII.
Time—Place.**

Business.

Reading of Lesson: What Socialism Is and What It Is Not.

Paper: How Socialism Would Affect Home Life.

Discussion.

**LESSON VIII.
Time—Place.**

Business.

Reading of Lesson: Objections to Socialism Considered.

Paper: What Socialism Would Do for Women.

Discussion.

A million organized men and women—9,000,000 men and women voting the ticket. At least that many more of age that would if they could and millions of young boys and girls budding into thorough revolutionists, all this means encouragement and with organization as the watch word we can all take up the march and sing "We're going to win, we're going to win."

We would suggest that the Socialist locals keep a supply of the Organization issue of this paper and give a copy to every new member when he or she joins the party. It will be a splendid educator in party organization.

**HARDY OUTDOORS WILL BLOOM IN HOUSE
Flower Bulbs ALL BLOOMING SIZE**

TULIPS—8 grand colors, 12c; 6 gorgeous reds, 14c; 6 named white pink or yellow, 12c; giant scarlet, 3c each.

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Managing Editor.....Kilchi Kaneko
Editor.....Josephine C. Kaneko



NOW LISTEN.

If you want to get in some first-class propaganda work this winter send 50c for a year's subscription to *The Progressive Woman*. Or, better, send \$1 for four subscriptions to be sent to others who need awakening.

Here is the reason why—Every issue of *The P. W.* during the coming year will be worth the price of the whole year. Every issue is going to be gotten up with a great deal of care and pains; every issue will be a number to be proud of, and it will **MAKE SOCIALISTS**.

That is what you want most to do—to **MAKE SOCIALISTS**; not simply to rend the air with your enthusiasm, ten to one creating antagonism by your undisciplined behavior. But you want to put solid, attractive, convincing argument into the hands of the people. *The P. W.* is going to hand you some of the very best material, prepared by workers wise through experience, and all you have to do is to get it before the people.

You have the Organization number. It speaks for itself. For November there will be a *Teachers' edition* with

contributions by the very best writers on educational matters. We have said before, and we cannot say it too often, that the final success of the Socialist movement lies with the children of today. With the **CHILDREN** of today; the little tots about your knees, about whom, in your superior wisdom you think so little. The Socialist movement of today is big, not because of so many old people of yesterday joining it, but because **SO MANY CHILDREN OF YESTERDAY** are now members. And the movement of the future depends just upon the manner in which we go after our young today. So it is very necessary to go after the teachers and the women who deal exclusively with children.

Do you catch the point about the *Teachers' edition* for November? Then make the most of it while you have the chance.

For December there is to be a real *Children's number*. A number full of things for the little folks themselves, with some valuable hints to the grown-ups, who don't seem to know much about children and their needs. I am not going to say more about this *Children's number*, except to add that it is one of our pets, and we are going to try and make it the **VERY BEST YET**.

Along in mid-winter there will be a literary and dramatic number. Not many folks know the power our Socialist literary lights, and dramatists. The other day a young Socialist whose sister is a teacher, said: "My sister as'ed me why it was that no **SMART** people joined the Socialist movement." Like most folks she doesn't know that many of the best magazine writers of today are Socialists, and that that is why the magazines are getting more of a socialistic tinge to their articles. In the mid-winter number we will tell about all these writers and artists and dramatists—these "smart" people—who are doing a lot to create Socialist sentiment. The fact is, the Socialist movement is simply honey-combed with the best literary and dramatic talent of the age.

There will be a *Commune number* in March, and a *May Day number*, and—well, the extra good ones will be coming right along all next year.

And you'll be proud of 'em. You'll want your neighbors to read 'em. So right now is the time to get in and not miss a single copy. And you, man reader—you ain't right sure what these women folks are going to do with your dear Socialist movement; but you are getting curious, and—and—well, you've simply got to admit that the little old *Progressive Woman* is just about coming up with the best of them, and—and—you're going down in your jeans and fish out that \$, and send a club of four around to your friends because—well, because you're so proud of the

"dinged little paper" you just want 'em to see it.

To be sure.

And you will be wanting to hand around extra copies every month.

ABOUT THIS ISSUE.

When you have read this issue of *The P. W.* through, you will no doubt tell yourself that it alone is worth the price of the paper for one year. You will do this because the matter of organization is of vital interest to every earnest, thinking Socialist, and information coming from some of the most experienced workers in the field is of immense value to you. Comrade Lena Morrow Lewis is retained by the national office as national organizer, not because she is a woman, but because of her ability in this especial line. Her article in this number, chuck full of meat, gives strong evidence of this ability. You ought to catch every detail of this, as it will help you in future work. Comrade Hazlet's write-up of the international movement is also valuable. An acquaintance with the national office and its work, and with that of some of the state offices, is worth while. May Wood-Simons tells of the woman's committee work, and Comrade Lanfersiek gives explicit directions as to forming and conducting a Socialist Sunday school. All this, with other excellent matter on woman's organization and the general movement, will give you a working knowledge of your party, which, if put into practice, will stimulate the entire movement immensely.

We are going to suggest—no, we are going to **ASK** you to take a copy of this number to your local, and with the consent of your chairman give a detailed account of its contents, laying stress upon the value of each particular article to Socialist workers, asking them to vote that the local buy a bundle of at least 100 to be distributed among the members, and used for propaganda. This issue sells at 2c a copy in bundles of five or more, and your local could not put \$2 to better use.

Remember, what we need is knowledge in party organization. Unity is the one strong asset of the Socialists. Without it they are as the sands of the sea, drifting, helpless.

Send in your orders today.

For the *Children's number* we would like short, bright sayings of little folks, giving their conception of Socialism and matters relative to it. Like the little girl who saw the very fat lady at the theater and called her father's attention to her, saying "Look, there goes the Trust's wife," so many children express these quaint little notions. If you have heard any, send them to us.

Does your sub expire with this issue?

Thumb Nail Sketches of Women Workers

ANITA C. BLOCK.



Anita C. Block is another young woman who has force of character enough to make herself felt in the world of affairs. She can address a big audience of people, write an article, or conduct a study class with

equal grace and intelligence. Comrade Block is editor of "Woman's Sphere," a department of interest to women in the New York Call, is secretary of the Socialist Woman's society of New York, and always an active member of the Socialist local of her city.

GRACE D. BREWER.



As "Army" editor of the Appeal to Reason, the work of Comrade Grace Brewer falls under about 300,000 pairs of eyes every week of the year. Besides editing the "Army," she is secretary and chief stenog-

rapher to the managing editor, and knows all the multitudinous ins and outs of the life of a great Socialist paper. Comrade Brewer is also a successful propagandist, having accompanied her husband on a speaking tour through Iowa last spring, where she got her first experience as a "soap boxer." She is a member of Local Girard, and of the woman's committee of Girard.

CAROLINE LOWE.



Caroline Lowe has spent most of her life in the school room, first as pupil, and last as teacher. For a number of years she has taught the graded branches in the schools of Kansas City, and held the position

of vice president of the Teachers' association of that city. Awakening, however, to the inequality of things about her, she finally became interested in Socialism, and for more than a year has been lecturing with great success in Kansas and Oklahoma, organizing the women of both states into committees of the Socialist party, besides carrying on regular party work.

CORINNE S. BROWN.



Always there are the dear old warriors. Corinne Brown is one of them. Not old in years, but old in the Socialist movement, and brave and strong for the Socialist movement. Born in the very heart of Chicago,

spending her life amidst the ups and downs of that rapidly-growing metropolis. Comrade Brown learned to fight with a vigor and persistency unusual to woman. Her fearlessness in time of storm and stress led Engene Debs to christen her the "Stormy Petrel." A thorough woman's woman, she has also been prominent in club work and in the Suffrage movement. She is an active member of Local Chicago.

LUELLA TWING.



Luella Twining is well known to all readers of Socialist papers as the tireless worker in the case of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone. She is a Denver woman and a voter, and believes in the right of woman to

the franchise, which subject she often speaks upon, though her favorite theme is the economic freedom of the entire working class—or Socialism. Comrade Twining is at present making speeches in California in defense of the Fred Warren case, and in her inimicable manner is creating sympathy for the "fighting editor" of the Appeal wherever she goes.

MAY McDONALD STRICKLAND.



Comrade May Strickland joined the Socialist Labor party in 1896, and has progressed through all phases of service into the Socialist movement. She has worked in six states, has been chosen delegate to

state and national conventions, and was twice elected as state secretary of Indiana, where she is at present a member of Local Anderson, and a tireless worker in the Woman's Socialist society of that city. She is a graduate of Horace Mann college, Yellow Springs, Ohio, and of the Muncie College of Dramatic Art.

MRS. J. C. HOGAN.



Mrs. Hogan is a dues-paying member of the Socialist party and thoroughly believes in the women element and work in and for the Socialist party. She was one of the first to favor organizing and interesting the

women when first proposed in New York, where she was then living. She believes that Socialist women can be a great help, not only in educational work for Socialism, but also in devising ways and means for raising funds for the Socialist party.

LUELLA KREHBIEL.



Luella Krehbiel was for many years state organizer for the Socialist party of Kansas, so great is her ability as a speaker that competent critics have called her the Hypatia of the Socialist movement. For the past

two years Comrade Krehbiel has been chaperoning her daughter in New York who is making quite a success as an actress in that city.

INEZ C. DECKER.



Inez C. Decker is one of the active women of the Los Angeles movement. She got her start in the labor unions of St. Louis and is still interested in the union movement. She was active in the free speech fight in Los

Angeles and was one of the several women who went to jail for this cause. Comrade Decker is a practicing physician.

MARY WILSHIRE.



Mary Wilshire is the editor of the Woman's department in Wilshire's Magazine, and president of the Woman's National Progressive league. She is a clever writer, and is interesting as a speaker. At present

she is touring the country with Comrade Gaylord Wilshire, in their automobile, from which they are making Socialist speeches.

THE PROGRESSIVE WOMAN.

MRS. MAYNARD SHIPLEY.



Comrade Maynard Shipley is associate editor and business manager of the Oakland World, a bright Socialist paper published at Oakland. She is a woman of high education and unusual intellectual qualities, and all of

her talents are devoted to Socialist propaganda.

ROSE PASTOR STOKES.



Rose Pastor Stokes is known not only as the young woman of the Ghetto who married a millionaire philanthropist, but she also has a record as a most interesting writer and speaker. She is an ardent Socialist,

and hopes to make everyone else one, to which end she is devoting her talents.

HELEN UNTERMANN.



Helen Untermann has always been closely associated with her husband, Ernest Untermann, in all of his scientific writings and translations, and is naturally well up on

scientific Socialism. She is a revolutionist, and interested in the progress of woman.

JANET FENIMORE.



Janet Fenimore is the young college girl who last spring won second honors in the Indiana state oratorical contest at Indianapolis. Her oration, "The Social Revolution," created quite a

furore being widely quoted by the city papers. She became a Socialist while teaching in one of the out-lying schools in her home city, where she came in contact with the poor children of the factory districts. Her oratorical powers are unusual, and she is in great demand as a speaker. She was one of the state organizers during the summer, but is again at her student's work at Earlham college, from which she will graduate in 1910. After that the world will hear more from this promising young Socialist.

META L. STERN.



Away back in the days of Marx and Engels, the days of the old "International," Meta Stern's parents belonged to the Socialist party. Her advent into this world, then, was under a strictly revolutionary roof

tree. Very few Socialists have the memories of grand old Socialist leaders, such as Comrade Stern knew in her early childhood, as they gathered about her father's hearth stone, discussing the problems of the day.

Comrade Stern has naturally developed into an ardent party member, is a clear, logical speaker, and the editor of a woman's department in the New Yorker Volkzeitung.

MARTHA A. PORTER.



Martha A. Porter is known throughout Louisiana as "the little Socialist." Like a good many small persons she has a big soul and a fearless spirit, and staid old New Orleans is wiser along Socialist lines for her

having lived in it. She is a prominent member of the Era club, and never loses an opportunity to tell the women members that there are economic reasons for present-day evils that only Socialism can wipe out. Comrade Porter is, of course, a dues-paying party member.

ALLETHA HAYHURST HART.



As a speaker and organizer Alletha Hart has always "made good." This means that she won her audiences and had excellent financial success in her work. Vicissitudes and early loss of her father, threw her into the

industrial struggle where she gained at first-hand a knowledge of the hardships that working people must undergo. Marriage and motherhood came early, and concern over her own child's future aroused her to rebellion against the crimes committed against the children of the working class. She is a member of Local Anderson, Ind., and of the Socialist Woman's society of that city.

We have excellent copyright photo post cards of Comrades Debs and Warren which sell at 10c each, or two for 15c; 20 for \$1.

FLORENCE A. WATTLES.



During the national campaign of 1908 Florence A. Wattles, of Elwood, Ind., did valiant service on the soap box. Her ability to forge ahead as well as her wealth of gold-red hair won her the name of Indi-

ana's Red Special, by which title the Indiana comrades still like to call her. By a referendum vote at the close of the state convention last spring she was elected assistant state organizer. When the state organizer resigned the executive committee elected her to fill his place. She made a successful tour of the state under the direction of the state secretary, organizing many new locals and putting new life into the old ones. She resigned her position in order to enter the Valparaiso university, where she will take a full business course and special work in history, English and economics.

ANDREA VILLARREAL GONZOLEZ.



The Socialist movement is international in character. Little Andrea Gonzalez is no less our comrade from the fact that she is of another race and country. Closely connected with the Mexican revolutionists in this

country, Andrea has suffered the heartaches, the poverty and suspense of the hunted and oppressed. The Socialists of America are with her in sympathy, as are the comrades of the whole world.

EDITH WRIGLEY.



Comrade Edith Wrigley is one of the bright young women of Toronto, Canada, who recognizes the evils from which modern civilization is suffering, and who has had the intelligence and the temerity to join with

the forces that are making for better conditions. She is an active member of the Socialist local of Toronto, takes great interest in the woman's study club of that city, and is doing good work at home in training her little ones to tread the paths of progress and enlightenment. May Canada give to the Socialist movement more Edith Wrigleys.

The Examiner's Glass

LIDA PARCE



The young women of the bourgeoisie woman Suffrage movement are said to be signing a pledge not to marry any man unless he will promise to work for the woman Suffrage cause.

Out in Colorado the women got the Suffrage by organization on the social field. The women's clubs in that state created a certain enthusiasm, on the swell of which the women rode into the political haven. Through their club organization they have since been able to secure the enactment of certain laws for the protection of children, of women and the home, and for the advancement of education through the schools and libraries. But the economic situation is in no way improved. The political atmosphere is quite as murky as before. Doubtless the Colorado women are opposed to political corruption; then why have they not cleaned things up out there? For the simple reason that the women are not organized on the economic field; and politics is the servant of economics. If the Colorado women had got the Suffrage through economic organization they would be able to effect economic conditions and make politics their servant. Instead of which their ballot is, without their consent, made the servant of corrupt economic interests. The economic interests nominate the candidates, pay the expenses of election and dictate the acts of the men in office. All the unorganized women have to do is to cast the votes. You see, it doesn't make the least difference whether the women vote or not, excepting that they have been able to get certain laws passed, in which their social organization is interested.

To have secured good social legislation is good so far as it goes. But it cannot go far. When the children of Colorado go out from their schools and homes into the economic activities of the world they must either fail in these activities or yield to the corruption of the economic world. If the social field were the scene of the strongest interests the women could dictate the nomination of candidates and control the conduct of officials. But the social interests are of only minor importance.

Women can only gain economic power by going into economic life, and then organizing on the economic field. The capitalist system is driving them into it with a merciless goad. The next thing necessary to make them effective is education and organization.

Practical experience in the eco-

nomie world is necessary to the making of an intelligent voter on economic questions. It is customary to ascribe to all women the harmless quality of being "good," and to assume that this is all that is needed to make her a good voter. But a woman might be able to "guide her husband's footsteps" to heaven as straight as a string and yet not be a good voter. Men have always voted in response to appeals made to their emotions. But that game is played out now to the bitter end. Nothing short of downright intelligent thinking, followed up by organized action, will enable a man or a woman to vote in such a way as to help solve his or her problem.

In view of these facts it looks rather pitiful for the bourgeoisie women to be trying to buy votes for their cause with their sex.

So universal and habitual is the sex-conspiracy that the most placid and saintly of grandmothers, waiting in the chimney corner for her last call, puts in her time while she waits making prankish little aprons and kerchiefs and things for younger women to wear to enhance their sex-appeal.

Now this sex-appeal is not made in beastly ways. Men—most men—must be appealed to through their esthetic sense and their finer temperamental sensibilities. Civilized people are so constructed that this stimulus awakens the sex organism to response. So far it is all perfectly proper and respectable. But now the trouble begins. Milady is not too good to apply the stimulus. Mercy, no! That is the principle thing for which girls are educated. It would be positively "unwomanly" for her to refuse to get herself up for this purpose. But when it comes to meeting the demand thus created, Milady hasn't the slightest idea of doing so. There is a "white slave" somewhere who will do this part of it.

This white slave was probably stolen or betrayed into slavery; she is held by force and compelled by torture very likely, but she will go on meeting demands which she has not created until she dies, which will be only a few years, and then another will take her place.

If Milady is very, very pious, she may contribute to the support of a "refuge" where these "fallen" creatures can come, if per chance one of them should succeed in getting away. But she will under no circumstances withdraw from an active part in the sex-conspiracy.

But women didn't make this conspiracy. Let one try to withdraw from it and see what will happen to her. She will neither be asked to dance, nor spoken to at dinner and

she will have to go home from prayer meeting alone. Not a mother's son would touch her with tongs.

But the reason why women yield so weakly to the requirement that they maintain this criminal conspiracy is that they depend upon their sex relations with men for their living, and through the force of long habit they shrink from trying to open up new ways of getting a livelihood.

Capitalism is depriving man of the power to exact the price that women have paid for "support." When a woman is earning her own living by her human activities it is a matter of comparatively little importance whether she is asked to dance or spoken to by men at dinner.

Whenever anybody comes to you preaching the beauties of self-denial look out for him. He either hopes to be the beneficiary of your sacrifice or else he belongs to a class that habitually grafts on your class. The unreflecting youth is told how glorious it is to die for one's country. He enlists for the war, and for every few thousand of him who "sacrifice" themselves there is a capitalist somewhere who gets to possess the land and exploit the natives.

The ideal of self-effacement is taught to women from the cradle. All constructiveness and independence is educated out of them by the time they reach womanhood. Every girl is taught to look forward to the time when her individuality will be "dissolved" and absorbed into that of someone else. She will become the physical property of this other person, and render unlimited service to him, for no stated compensation.

But this training in self-abnegation is not always successful. The man pauses to reflect sometimes and when he does this he devotes himself to the cause of his own class instead of that of his exploiters. But the girl is not taught to reflect. If she were, that would be fatal to her non-entity. So perhaps a man comes along and marries her; but perhaps a white-slaver comes along. In either case she is found conveniently negative, passive, without any object of her own in life, without any interest outside of sex. All the man has to do is to carry her off.

There are different kinds of self-sacrifice. There is that attitude which women adopt because it is constantly suggested to them. Suggested by the silly, sentimental and deadening ideal of "the beautiful and self-sacrificing woman." Under its influence no woman will develop the resources of her mind or character. It naturally results in a moral lassitude that easily becomes a vice. Then there is the kind that is voluntary and intelligent. It is deliberately entered upon as a result of reflection. But this isn't the kind we preach to girls. Reflection isn't good for girls. It might make them insubordinate.

The Socialist Program

MILA TUPPER MAYNARD

What do the Socialists propose? "Can you not give us in a few words an idea of just what the Socialists plan to do?"

Such questions meet every Socialist almost daily.

I will try to answer. But any such attempt is sure to be unsatisfactory.

First—The Socialists seek to generate and use a great social force, the power of the working class acting in solidarity. They regard plans and programs that take no thought of social dynamics as Utopian or impractical dreaming.

They hold that all great changes in society have been fundamentally economic, hence if changes are to come, economic forces must lead therein. Since civilization with private property came economic forces have taken the form of classes and all the important historic epochs have resulted from the struggles and dominations of industrial classes.

In biological evolution the struggles of animals and groups of animals with each other and with nature brought the development of animal life and function.

In prehistoric society the struggle of tribes with each other and with nature brought the development of the social man.

Since the historic era the struggles of economic classes to survive and to dominate have been the chief source of growth in government. Hence when President Roosevelt spoke of "that foul thing, class-consciousness," Prof. Albion W. Snell, of Chicago university, called him "a nature fakir," since he repudiated the most important law of social progress: the struggle of classes to secure the most and the best in their common interest of their members.

This briefly is the supreme generation of sociology, and the central point in Socialist philosophy. The resulting practical outcome is to be found in the application pledge.

Socialists when they join the party are not asked what they think of collective ownership or any other detail of future policy. But they affirm their acceptance of the class struggle and live themselves squarely in a political party based on that struggle in permanent separation from capitalistic parties.

Socialist propaganda has more to say of class loyalty, distinct class interest, and the solidarity of all workers than of what we will do when elected, for the reason that no program can be carried out until the motive power is generated and that power is the economic struggle of the workers.

Second—The Socialists can secure immediate results in so far as their

vote proves the workers to be united and insistent.

We shall not have to wait for complete victory before results can be accomplished. Indeed, every evidence of increased strength will bring concessions and forced advance. The Socialist strength in Wisconsin keeps the republican congressmen from that state and the democratic aldermen of Milwaukee anxious to take any step they can which will seem progressive and not endanger the system. The Wisconsin Socialist officials are no where in a majority, but they have accomplished many things worth while, nevertheless. These are trivial, of course, compared to what they are striving for, but will be worth getting, nevertheless. Moreover, they could not, as so small a minority, have accomplished anything except as they were known to be after "the whole loaf" and to have a larger force of workers behind them.

I have not space to enumerate all the items of significance, but among the successes in the legislature were the following: An investigation of unemployment; an eight-hour law on public buildings. The law requiring a bond of \$250 before cases could be appealed to the supreme court was repealed and also one requiring a bond of \$150 before a suit against the city for damages could be instituted. Both are in the interest of the poor man.

A limit of \$5,000, which the family of a killed workman could collect in damages was pushed up to \$10,000.

Laws securing greater relief to labor were secured; one requiring trains to have always a full crew, another requiring floorings to be placed in skyscrapers during construction. These and others of the kind were in line with the law secured at the previous session limiting telegraphers to but eight hours.

Such achievements merely suggest the activities possible even when the party is in a small minority. Similar results are gained in Milwaukee where there is a considerable minority on all official boards. But even without electing any one to office, an increased vote brings results.

This last congress would not have dared be quite so shamelessly lawless had the Socialist vote been noticeably large. It would have made some pretense of progress. As it was the magnates and their henchmen saw that "labor" was still asleep or befuddled and they care not a rap for any other public sentiment.

Germany will prove that Socialists will not have to wait for complete victory to get improved conditions. Thanks to the strength of our party there. Slums have ceased to exist, old-age pensions are of long standing and in countless ways the steadily increas-

ing influence of the working class is felt.

England's two score labor representatives in parliament brought progressive measures which the hundreds of liberal delegates had not attempted without their formidable little group representing Socialists and labor unions.

There can not be Socialism till the Socialists have full power, but these facts prove that no Socialist vote is "thrown away."

SPECIFIC PROGRAM.

Under this head I shall not discern the various industrial and political measures commonly spoken of as "immediate demands." The platform gives a clear idea of these. In general, it may be said that Socialists favor anything that will improve the condition of labor, the general life of the community or increase democracy in government. But the student of the subject is chiefly interested to know what Socialism itself would be and how it could be introduced.

Briefly stated, Socialists desire such collective ownership as shall eliminate exploitation and provide employment for all full-grown and able-bodied men and women as shall desire employment under collectivity.

"Exploitation" is the one penetrating, dominating abomination of capitalism—the making of profits out of other men's labor. Apart from the question of justice, this system is at the root of all the anarchy of present society.

Profits bring the pensions.

Profits and the unemployed go hand in hand.

Profits mean starvation wages and inhuman hours.

Profits mean slavery for the multitude—for the worker with brain or brawn, in school or shop, in church or in ditch.

Now given the power to act, what measures would secure this one great goal—the overthrow of profits (surplus value) or the exploitation of labor?

The first group of demands in the platform virtually cover the full necessary program of Socialism; in fact, the first relative to the unemployed would work out into all the rest and bring Socialism, *employ the unemployed*.

The army of the unemployed is the suspended sword over the heads of all the employed. It hangs over pulpit and professor's chair with as effectual result as over the bench of the carpenter; more effectually as the carpenter can more easily find another job.

Thus collective ownership of the sources of profit would promptly follow employment of unemployed, both because these great industries would be required to supply employment and because with labor free to demand the full product, these businesses would be of no value to the owner.

Mary Hamilton, True Comrade

GERTRUDE BRESLAU HUNT



She had walked two and a half miles down from the hills, over glaring white roads three inches deep with dust, through blistering heat, to hear a Socialist lecture.

She was past fifty years of age, stooped and stiffened, dressed in black calico, for she had recently buried a child, her hands and face very brown from working in the fields.

The lecturer had been on the road for weeks, in a different town or city each day; had risen that Sunday morning at four o'clock, ridden until six, waited five hours in a hot, dirty railway depot, then another train ride until 12.30 and an eight-mile drive over those glaring roads through the fiercest heat she had experienced, to reach this poor, queer looking, little Indiana town.

Having finally arrived, she was out at the pump fighting a threatened heat prostration with cool water, when Mary Hamilton came seeking her.

They sat down on the porch and the exhausted "speaker" for once held her tongue.

"I'm Mary Hamilton, and I live up yonder," waving a hand toward the metallic, oak green notches against the blue. "I reckon you wouldn't think I was the mother of fifteen children—two pairs of twins. I've raised ten of them, too.

"I've sure got some reason to want Socialism, haven't I? I've always been poor; you couldn't believe how hard I have worked, and I've never had anything. I've just got a shack to live in and some calico rags to cover me.

"I can't even do anything for my children; they all have to go off and fight for a livin' as soon as they're so high," measuring the height of a chair back with her right hand.

"You've got a Socialist button, too—haven't you? My! I like to see you wearin' that right out that-a-way.

"I was puttin' John's coat away one Monday mornin' and I took his button off and stuck it on my dress. I left it on when I went over to wash for Mrs. Baker.

"Her man has a fine house and a big farm now; he was sheriff two terms, you know; he hadn't anything before that.

"Miss Baker, she asked if that was my holiness button, and I tried to tell her about Socialism and what it stands for. I can't read very well, but I've studied the Bible considera-

ble and now I read the Appeal.

"Then Mrs. Baker flew mad—they are awful stiff republicans—and she up and said I couldn't wear that button and work for her. She said I ought to be ashamed readin' such 'onery stuff when I should be reading my Bible an' she said Socialism was roguery.

"I stood right up from my suds, wiped my hands and reached my sun-bonnet."

The woman's stooped shoulders straightened and her deep eyes lighted. Her listener's heart leaped. It was the unquenchable fire of the social revolution she saw there, and it always thrilled her as such strong, pure, elemental forces only can.

Mary proceeded with her narrative: "I said, 'All right, Mrs. Baker, I'll go home. I knew before I was a slave; I've worked like one; I've lived like one. I only needed another dip and I'd have been a black slave.

"You keep your fifty cents for your day's wash; I'll try and dig a livin' out of our old hill. But I'll wear a Socialist button if I do or if I don't.

"You're a fine, likely woman; you may as well learn to do your own work, for Socialism is comin' soon and I'll be home then takin' care of my own, at least.

"And, Mrs. Baker, I've read my Bible over forty years, longer than ever you did, and I reckon I've got my soul fixed for heaven. I never harmed nobody. Now I'm readin' the Appeal, because I want somethin' before I die. There's lots of good things in this world and I want my share, and I'm always willin' to do my share.

"Socialism ain't any roguery. Socialists are tryin' to give every workin' person his own. I allow that's Christianity (if it ain't, the trouble is with the Christianity), for I know that's Socialism.' And I walked out and I've never been back."

"Say, Comrade, I'm awful glad you got here. I could hardly wait to see you. I was feared you wouldn't come.

"I've seen two or three Socialist men, but I never saw a Socialist woman and I never heard a lecture.

"I do want you to teach them some things we can't and I want to learn so I can explain better, too."

The wilted, heartsick "speaker" came quickly to her feet, new life and courage in her bearing. Mary Hamilton rose, too. Their eyes, hands, hearts and hopes met. The hoarse lecturer spoke at last:

"I'm very glad I came. I'll put my shoulder to the wheel with yours. You have done more for me than you know. You are made of the true comrade stuff, Mary Hamilton, and I love you for it."

SUGGESTIONS FOR WORK.

ANNA A. MALEY,
National Organizer of Women.

Our party machinery has been built and is maintained for the purpose of spreading the Socialist idea and enlisting men and women in the Socialist ranks. Many of our party workers complain with some justification, that our means has become our end, that we devote more time to the running of our machinery than we do to using it for the work for which it is intended.

While our locals and committees hold many meetings, too often upon reviewing these meetings, we find that no simple and specific work has been proposed for or assigned to the members, and that new members have been permitted to go away without being made to feel that they have become soldiers in a fighting army—they have been given nothing to do.

Let me speak of three lines of activity which it seems to me should be up for discussion and report in our regular business meetings:

First, the party press. Have on hand a supply of subscription cards from each paper. Let the organizer assign to each member at the business meetings the task of selling at least one card before the next meeting. If you make it ten cards, the work will not be done. If the work proposed is simple and easy, members are ashamed when called upon for their reports, to say that they have not done the little that was asked of them. And reports should be called for. Let members respond to their names at roll call with the number of cards sold, the literature distributed, or by the statement that they did nothing. Where reports are insisted upon, the do-nothing crowd grows less and less, but the membership is more and more.

Our weekly and monthly papers must be supported, but in many places they are being supported somewhat to the exclusion of the dailies. Our comrades should bear in mind that we are at a tremendous disadvantage if we must wait a week or a month before we can answer attacks and misrepresentations made by the capitalist press. The unions depend very largely on the daily labor press to rally the courage of strikers and to correct false charges made against them in times of trouble. The importance of the press should be emphasized by the chairman at our propaganda meetings and the cards and prices advertised. The chairmen of our Woman's Committees are urged to advertise The Progressive Woman at all meetings and to call attention to the subscription cards. I find that by canvassing and asking for subscriptions, many more are secured than come by waiting for those

who want the cards to apply for them.

Second, distribution. It seems to me that our propaganda must suffer at this end until our workers are supplied with small leaflets which can be carried in the pocket or the hand bag and put out while we are about our daily business. We need leaflets not larger than a standard envelope. One side of such leaflet might contain a clear definition of Socialism and its aims and methods, a statement of the Socialist vote in various countries and an advertisement of our press and literature. A brief, clear and attractive argument might be presented on the other side. A great variety of these leaflets might be prepared and furnished at cost to locals to be used for free distribution. A day or two ago, I took an early morning train at Sayre, Pa., and fully two hundred intelligent looking workmen assembled on the platform to take the same train. I did not have with me literature which I could afford to distribute free, and then, as often before, I was impressed by the fact that we waste our opportunities. When you women take your package from the clerk in the store, hand her "A Word to Workingwomen" or any one of the excellent leaflets furnished by *The Progressive Woman*. Write for samples and prices and have a supply of these leaflets on hand. The street cars, the stores, the streets—all offer opportunity for this work and if one puts out but a half a dozen pieces a week, it is so much seed sown. We need not always go to large labor and expense in making opportunity to teach Socialism. All times are our times and all places our occasion if we go prepared.

Children's clubs can do effective work by putting literature under doors of dwellings, preferably on Saturday evenings. With proper system and spirit, our towns could be covered completely once a month. Our women could well direct this work. I have seen a good many hundreds of copies of our papers going to waste in party headquarters. Socialist ideas should find "headquarters" elsewhere.

Third, the party treasury. There seems to be a damaging superstition abroad that it is discreditable and too much like "business" to keep a sharp lookout after ways and means to make money for our treasury. I have attended one or two picnics this summer where no catch-pennies were in use and where enterprising outsiders were getting good Socialist money for peanuts and other wares. At Lynn, Mass., some of the local comrades will not consent to the taking of collections at street meetings, preferring to "bleed" party members for everything.

Commendable enterprise is found

in many locals, as at Pottstown and Reading, where the women report much success in the holding of sauerkraut and baked bean suppers. These suppers are easily made pleasant social affairs where the party owns its headquarters.

I met a group of women in Williamsport, not of our party, however, who assembled afternoons and knotted bed comforters at fifty cents each. They canvassed for the work, those who desired it done furnished the material and the women knotted three or four covers in an afternoon.

If you have no women in your local, these suggestions are not in order, but there is, in that case, another suggestion in order and that is to get the women in. Many men declare it is impossible to get the women in, but upon investigation, I often find that they have not even invited their own wives to become members. I sometimes wonder if men commonly conclude that it is impossible to marry the girl of their choice—before they have asked her.

Socialist Sunday School.]

PEARL ALINE LANFERSIEK.

As our school has been a success, I am more than pleased to give others our methods and ideas.

Any two congenial women (it is necessary that the teachers be in thorough accord) who have a fair education, a clear knowledge of Socialism and plenty of enthusiasm, are capable of starting a Socialist school. When they decide to start, they should announce it in the local meeting. If the local thinks they are capable, they will be sure to receive permission. If there is no local, they can go right ahead.

We have found Sunday morning the best time for the school. This year we shall begin the primary class at 9:30 and the advanced class at 10:00 a. m. Two classes are better than one, as the little ones cannot understand what interests the older ones and the latter get impatient when the little ones are slow in learning.

The best plan is to have a definite program and prepare for each lesson in advance. This year we shall take children as young as three years, which will greatly increase our membership. Here is our infant program:

First: Calisthenics, to stimulate the flow of blood, thus arousing mental activity, as well as teaching them to work in unison, a lesson in co-operation. There is nothing more inspiring than to be one of a number drilling to the accompaniment of music, each realizing that he must do well or spoil the drill.

Second: The learning of one of the Socialist rules or commandments which have been printed in the *Progressive Woman*.

Third: A little lesson on paper,

They will be furnished with paper and pencil and shown how to draw something to instil co-operation and Socialism in their little minds.

A little story, as of the bee, the spider, the ant, birds and flowers may take the place of the rule or drawing each week. They get restless if the lesson is too prolonged.

The class will close with a Socialist or revolutionary song, and this will serve as the opening number for the older class, who will have arrived. After the song and dismissal of the little ones, the older class will have their calisthenics; next some good quotation for them to learn each week, repeating it from memory the following week.

This class will close with the reading of a chapter of Spargo's "Readings for Children." This book will furnish readings for three months; thereafter original stories will be told to fill number four on the program.

My sister and I alternate each week in teaching the classes. This also helps to keep up the interest of the children as well as training both for emergencies.

A little bank for voluntary offerings is a good idea, although no passing of the box is permitted; it simply stands within reach. The money can be used for various things. Last spring the contributions bought wands, Spargo's book, paid all the expenses of one outing and other small items.

A comrade who is a lover of children has offered to duplicate the amount of money accumulated at the end of the school year and we hope next summer to give the children an outing for several days, camping. In time this can develop into a summer camp for children, a thing practiced by German Socialists and found to be very beneficial.

I suggested a number of ideas in my article in the *August Progressive Woman*, which we found of encouragement to the pupils, but I shall not repeat them, as every teacher has her own ideas about keeping the children interested, and every teacher should exercise her own ingenuity.

During the vacation months, when the S. S. is not in session, a little outing each month keeps the children together and gives them happy thoughts of their school, which they will never forget.

My best wish is that we shall soon have Socialist schools in every town and several in every city. Then the women will become interested. When that time comes we shall be doing something worth while. There are plenty of children just waiting for a Socialist school, and they are not all of Socialist parents, either. Gather them in and teach them how beautiful life could be.

Send in a club of four this evening.

WOMAN'S WORK IN WISCONSIN.

ELIZABETH H. THOMAS
State Secretary of Wisconsin.

The Wisconsin Socialist women have organized in four different ways, and all these four different forms of organization are useful. Every method is covering a field which neither of the other three can enter.

First, and of course best, many of the women have entered the regular branches and locals, with the men members. It goes without saying that this is by far the highest type of organization.

There are a good many reasons why this method is not acceptable to some women. They are shy about talking in a mixed branch. They find it difficult to leave home in the evening, when all branches hold their meetings, just at the time when the babies must be put to bed. Wisconsin Socialists have never insisted that the women must join the regular branches or else stay out of the Socialist party. On the contrary, they have always encouraged the formation of women's branches. The result is that there are many of these special women's organizations in Wisconsin, and that they are doing splendid work.

The third form is the women's club. No doubt this is the lowest type of organization, but it is performing a most useful function. It brings in the women who are not Socialists, and educates them in our principles. It also provides a place for those wives of party members, who cannot afford to pay party dues. The number of families where husband and wife cannot both muster the cash for dues is much larger than most middle class Socialist women imagine.

But perhaps the most hopeful symptom of the entire movement is the fourth class of activity—the young people's Socialist auxiliaries. In these the young men and girls take an equal part. They are dominated by a most healthy and wholesome spirit. The young folks go in for a good time, while at the same time they do not shirk the propaganda and the educational work. They dance and sing and enjoy life while they can. But they take an earnest and serious view of their duties as young agitators and also as students of Socialism. One busy young working girl, selecting from a list of debates the one in which she was to take part, told me: "I chose that because it was the topic on which I should have to study most to prepare myself." This is the spirit of the Young People's auxiliaries. When we reflect that there is a long struggle before us, that Socialism will not come in a day, we feel that these young people's Socialist auxiliaries are one of the

best signs of the times. These cheerful, studious, whole-souled young Socialists will make splendid soldiers for the co-operative commonwealth.

THERESA MALKIEL.



Theresa Malkiel is well known to the readers of *The Progressive Woman* through her interesting articles which appear frequently in its columns. Long before the advent of *The P. W.*, however, she was active in Socialist work. Prior to her Socialist work, she was active as a union member. In 1893 she joined the S. L. P., and was one of its delegates to the first convention held in New York City. In 1899 she left the S. L. P., joining the Socialist party. She is at present organizer of the Woman's Socialist society of New York, and literature agent of Local Yonkers.

GEORGIA NORTHRUP.



Georgia Northrup has her own peculiar style of doing propaganda work—it is the distribution of Socialist literature. She takes bundles of Socialist dailies and other periodicals under her arm, and proceeds to visit the business houses and the homes of the people, handing out a paper, with an appropriate remark, to create interest. She is a member of Local Elliottville (N. Y.), and an ardent worker.

The national convention decided that the Socialist party could not make the desired progress until the working women, and the wives of the working men, took more interest than they had in the past, in our movement. Comrade Lowe, who was at the national convention, caught the spirit of this truth and soon after began organizing the women of Kansas. The result of her work shows an organized force of over 150 women, all of whom have become party members, and are ready to go ahead with the party work.

Forty-two state secretaries were asked for a report of the local women's work in the party. Seven replied. What's the matter with the other thirty-five?

Hand a copy of this number to all new party members.

The *Progressive Woman* one year, 50 cents.

EFFICIENCY IN ORGANIZATION.

BY GEO. D. HERRON
In The Day of Judgment

As Socialists, we need to give more attention to questions of efficiency. Martin Luther used to declare that the devil had all the good music and the Christians all that was not fit to sing; and it sometimes seems that capitalism has all the efficiency of administration, and the Socialist movement all the inefficiency and bungling. If we are to present a coherent and conquering front before organized capitalism, we must learn how to so make use of our forces that the right man will be given the right work to do. It is not enough for a man to ostentatiously proclaim himself a Socialist, in order to give him the administration of the party, or the editorship of a newspaper, or the post of engineer on a railway locomotive. Some things are necessary to the power and success of the Socialist movement besides merely being a Socialist. The success of the movement depends upon the efficiency of organization and administration, as well as upon subscription to Socialist doctrines. We shall never get anywhere through misplaced responsibility, misdirected activity and badly organized public meetings. We must learn how to find a work for each comrade, that is true; but we must learn some sense in giving the work of administration to men who have been fitted by some sort of experience and training to do it. The wonder is that the Socialist movement grows so rapidly with so much bad management. We must learn from capitalism to put a premium upon efficiency; learn to give the various posts of service to men who are fitted to efficiently fill them.

For instance, if a speaker is sent for to come some hundreds of miles to address a mass meeting, it is not good sense or efficient propaganda to have him preceded by some half dozen local speakers, so that when he arises to speak it is to a jaded and impatient audience, which he must keep until midnight if he is to deliver his message. And the familiar plea that this must be done in order to be democratic, and to avoid personal jealousies, is a wretched reflection upon the comrades themselves. Democracy does not consist in the equal balancing of utterly petty and puerile jealousies.

And, in every sort of way, inefficient and disintegrating management, or rather hopeless mismanagement, has marked so much of our Socialist effort, that it is time we began to learn that the success of our movement depends upon efficiency of method and organization, as well as upon noise or soundness of economic doctrine.

SOCIALIST WOMEN IN SOME OF THE STATES.

Vermont.

John M. Jewell.

The Socialist party of Vermont has eight women as party members, all of whom are active and enthusiastic workers for the cause.

The party is doing everything possible to interest working women in its propaganda and is succeeding in a very satisfactory manner.

Missouri.

Otto Pauls.

There is very little to record in the line of woman's activity. Outside of one branch in St. Louis and a few members here and there in other locals there is nothing visible. No special efforts have been made to enlist the women. The awakening in that line is still to come.

Perhaps by the time you get out another Organization number there will be something to record in Missouri.

New Hampshire.

Charles W. Greene.

We have a woman on the Socialist executive board and women members in various locals. Some of the women are stronger Socialists I believe than the men. At Portsmouth the women federation is represented by a very strong advocate of women's rights, Mrs. Mary I. Wood, who is a very fine speaker and worker for the advancement of women. I wish she was a member of our party. In fact, there are many women all over the state working for advancement.

Kentucky.

Walter Lanfersiek.

There is not, and never has been, one woman's branch in this state. The only collective activity I know of is in Newport, the headquarters of the state committee, and that activity is not very extensive, simply because there are so few women Socialists who care. If this should meet the eyes of any Kentucky women, let them resolve that another year will not go by with such a pitiful report. My sisters, the men cannot save you any more than the capitalists can save the workers.

Massachusetts.

James F. Carey.

There is quite a large percentage of women in the organization in this state, some of them being among our most active workers. This state has the honor to be the first to have elected a Socialist woman to a public office. Comrade Mrs. Annie Bosworth, of Brockton, was elected a member of the school board of the City of Brockton in the year 1899.

The first state secretary was a wo-



KANSAS STATE OFFICE.

man—Marguerite Haile, of Boston. In all it can be said that the women in this state have served the cause of Socialism with a degree of ability and loyalty equal to the women of any state in the union.

Washington.

W. H. Waynick.

At the annual state convention of the Socialist party of Washington the following were nominated and elected by acclamation for the women's state committee, the same to co-operate with the regular state committee of the Socialist party: Fanny Pisilli, Local Seattle No. 2 (Finnish); Helen Roeder of Local Everett; Mrs. E. D. Cory of Local Sedro-Woolley; Mrs. D. Burgess of Local Tacoma; Teresa M. Wood, member at large, Echo.

The names of two women appear on the ballot for state committee members for the Socialist party of Washington. The referendum will be closed September 4, and the ballots will be counted and the results announced September 5th.

At the recent state convention Mrs. E. D. Cory, the delegate from Local Sedro-Woolley, was chosen as secretary of the convention.

Florida.

A. C. Sill.

Women are quite active in this state in the Socialist organization, though not near as much so as we would like to have them. Mrs. S. F. J. Linn is state organizer of the party and has been quite active in the movement, but is working along industrial lines at present. Mrs. A. Kossovsky, of Tampa, has served the local as recording secretary for about two years, has been a member of the state quorum for the same time and is

very active in distributing literature and a good worker in the union and Socialist ranks. Mrs. A. Wears, of Millville, has served her local as recording and financial secretary and is an earnest worker in the organization. There are a number of other women who are party members in the state. St. Petersburg local has a number. Comrade Emma Sill acts as assistant state secretary and often has full charge of the office when I am absent.

The Voice of the People.

ELLA WHEELER WILCOX.

Oh, I hear the people calling through the day time and the night time: They are calling, they are crying for the coming of the right time. It behooves you, men and women, it behooves you to be heeding. For there lurks a note of menace underneath their plaintive pleading.

Let the land usurpers listen, let the greedy-hearted ponder On the meaning of the murmur, rising here and swelling yonder, Swelling louder, waxing stronger, like a storm-fed stream that courses Through the valleys down abysses, growing gaining with new forces.

Day by day the river widens, that great river of opinion, And its torrent beats and plunges at the base of Greed's dominion. Though you dam it by oppression and fling golden bridges o'er it, Yet the day and hour advances when in fright you flee before it.

Yes, I hear the people calling, through the night time and the day time. Wretched tollers in life's Autumn, weary young ones in life's May time— They are crying, they are calling for their share of work and pleasure. You are heaping high your coffers while you give them scanty measure, You have stolen God's wide acres, just to glut your swollen purses— Oh, restore them to His children ere their pleading turns to curses.

Progressive Woman sub cards, four for \$1.

Post cards of Debs and Warren, 10c each.