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EDNA PORTER
Socialist Actress, in the Folds of the Suffrage Flag

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Capitalism and the Woman Question.

ELSA UNTERMANN

Side by side with, and dependent upon, the development of capitalist production into Socialist production goes the development of the capitalist woman into the Socialist woman; at the same rate that crises, unemployment, overwork and starvation are leading to a collective ownership of the means of production, prostitution, female and child labor, combined with the above-mentioned factors, are making more rapid the approach of the time when woman will stand free and unhampered to take part in the fight for progress side by side with her companion, man.

Capitalism, by driving women into the economic field, is preparing them for the coming regime when they will take part in the vital life of society that goes on outside of the home, a life which men have hitherto lead almost entirely alone. Women are not merely entering the factories where some of the greatest human works are performed by the simplest movement of levers, not only entering fields where the machine has precedence over the human mind; they also become music instructors, public school teachers, novelists, artists, mechanics, architects and orators, lines of work in which a great mental capacity is required. If woman is now capable of accomplishing so much in spite of the long centuries during which she has been dwarfed mentally and physically, and in spite of the obstacles that capitalism throws in the path of those who wish to perform labors valuable to mankind, what a vast amount of development she will be capable of under Socialism!

And capitalism not only paves the way for the economic freedom of women, but also forges ahead in the direction of their sexual freedom. There has already arisen a class of women who are economically free of men, a class that, no matter how diminutive it may seem in comparison with the unnumbered army of women at the bottom of the industrial pit, is exceedingly large when compared with the same class in preceding centuries. Women of this class are literally sexually free; since they have no need to look upon men as providers, economic necessity plays no part in their selection of a mate. When one views the circumstances it is not at all amazing that some women become theoretically and practically free lovers. A bird on escaping from a cage in which it has been imprisoned for a long time acts in a similar manner. It circles round and round in the air, flies wildly up and down, and exhibits other signs of bewilderment. But when it has become accustomed to freedom it flies straight on its course.

So it is with women. After decades of bondage to a narrow sphere, often denied even social intercourse with the opposite sex, many have become incapacitated for a judicious use of their sexual powers, have become unable to discriminate between a lasting love and a mere sex attraction. Following the example men have set them they lend themselves to every passing fancy. But, like the bird freed from its cage, when they have tried their wings and learned to use them, the majority will adopt a straight course.

In opposition to this class stands the prostitute, the emblem of a slavery more horrible and degenerating than any other into which social development has lashed human beings. And although at first it may appear to be a glaring contradiction, even in this, the most abject sexual slavery, there lies the germ of woman's sexual freedom.

As private property took a stronger hold upon society and man's desire for offspring to which he could bequeath his property increased, woman was sacrificed upon the altar of social progress to further this development. Gradually, as her seclusion confined her physical development to capacity for motherhood and her mental requirements to household arts her love was transformed from the unbiased passion of an equal to the cringing, submissive reverence of a subservient being. When capitalism forced her into the industrial world it destroyed to some extent her sentiment of man's superiority in economic matters, but the upper hand still remained to him in sexual affairs. Prostitution has the effect of destroying woman's meekness and confidence in this direction. Who knows better than the white slave or the working girl forced to sell herself to ward off starvation, that man's passion has been made vile by woman's years of enslavement; who is there that is better aware of the fact than these two, that woman also has sex needs; who is there that longs more ardently for the realization of an ideal of companionship and mutual love instead of submission on the one hand and mere passion on the other?

The desire for a higher love reveals itself not only among prostitutes whose suffering is the most severe; it spreads itself through all womankind. Everywhere one finds women whose ambition rises higher than to be mistresses. Before them they have a conception of a man with whom they will be able to labor together at whatever task life has set for them. One may find illustrations of such comradeships even under the present conditions; for instance, in the musical world. In the field of science we find a splendid example in Madame Currie, who, with her husband, discovered radium.

With the craving for mental association there also arises in woman an abhorrence of the idea of surrendering her body; in its stead there develops the conception of a sex love in which communion with a loved being brings about a sense of completeness in which both give and take to form a whole.

It is surprising and at the same time animating to see the ever increasing multitude of women who join the sex conscious and class conscious army of their kind: factory girls and farmers' girls fighting as strenuously as their male comrades for economic emancipation; married women, single women, old and young, striving for a purer sex life, all inspired by the thought of a higher humanity. Although sex consciousness and class consciousness do not invariably go hand in hand, the number of women fired with enthusiasm by both forces is innumerable. Such women will be potent factors in the proletarian revolution.

"WOMAN THIS, AND WOMAN THAT"

(Echo of a Barrack-room Ballad, with acknowledgements to Mr. Rudyard Kipling.)

I.

We went up to Saint Stephens with petition year by year;
"Get out!" the politicians cried. "we want no women here!"
M. P.'s behind the railings stood and laughed to see the fun,
And bold policemen knocked us down, because we would not run.

For it's woman this, and woman that, an
"Woman, go away!"
But it's "Share and share alike, ma'am!" when the taxes are to pay;
When the taxes are to pay, my friends, the taxes are to pay.
Oh, it's "Please to pay up promptly!" when the taxes are to pay!

II.

We went before a magistrate who would not hear us speak,
To a drunken brute who beat his wife he once gave a week;
But we were sent to Holloway a calendar month or more.
Because we dared, against his will, to knock at Asquith's door.

For it's woman this, and woman that, an
"Woman, wait outside!"
But it's "Listen to the Ladies!" when it suits your party's side;
When it suits your party's side, my friends, when M. P.'s on the stump
Are shaking in their shoes at how the cat is going to jump!

III.

When women go to work for them the government engage
To give them lots of contract jobs at a low starvation wage,
But when it's men that they employ they always add a note—
"Fair wages must be paid"—because the men have got to vote.

For it's woman this, and woman that, an
"Woman, learn your place!"
But it's "Help us, of your charity!" when trouble looms apace;
When trouble comes apace, my friends, when trouble comes apace,
Then it's "Oh, for woman's charity" to help us save the race!

IV.

You dress yourselves in uniforms to guard your native shores,
But those who make the uniforms do work as good as yours;
For the soldier bears the rifle, but the woman bears the race—
And that you'd find no trifle if you had to take her place!

Oh, it's woman this, and woman that, an
"Woman cannot fight!"
But it's "Ministering Angel!" when the wounded come in sight;
When the wounded come in sight, my friends, the wounded come in sight,
It's a "ministering angel" then who nurses day and night!

V.

We may not be quite angels—had we been we should have flown!—
We are only human beings, who have wants much like your own;
And if some-times our conduct isn't all you fancy paints,
It wasn't man's example could have turned us into saints!

For it's woman here, and woman there, an
woman on the streets,
And it's how they look at women, with most men that one meets,
With most men that one meets, my friends, with most men that one meets—
It's the way they look at women that keep women on the streets!

VI.

You talk of sanitation, and temperance, an
schools,
And you send your male inspectors to impose your man-made rules;
"The woman's sphere's the home," you say
Then prove it to our face;
Give us the vote that we may make the home a happier place!

For it's woman this, and woman that, an
"Woman, say your say!"
But it's "What's the woman up to?" when she tries to slow the way;
When she tries to show the way, my friends, when she tries to show the way—
And the woman means to show it—that is why she's out today!

—Votes for Women.

Read the articles on The Marriage Contract and tell us what you think about them.

How Shall Mothers Be Recompensed Under Socialism?

WALTER LENFERSIEK

American women have as yet not taken very active part in the forward social movement, partly because the movement has been too much of a man's movement, and woman's problems have not been touched upon by the men. The problem at all will appeal to most women, because most women will be mothers some time in their life, is—

How will a mother be paid under the co-operative commonwealth?

Right here we will forestall our scientific friend who has already formed the thought in his mind that our question is purely academic, that these questions will be settled when we get to them, that the majority will rule, etc., etc. We know as well as you, friend. But I am one of those who think that nothing stimulates hope and its consequent effort more than discussion of how things will be in the good time coming. If it were not for hope the heart would die.

Besides, you can have some fun by popping this question to some of the men friends, and see how they disagree on it. You had the Socialism of some of them, you would be in the same condition you are today, only perhaps a little less so.

Given a society in which every adult man or woman has an equal say in all social matters; in which every woman as well as every man claims the right to be economically free; in which every woman, having a special sex interest, will follow that interest—

How do you suppose they would work and vote to accomplish their economic independence?

One clever lecturer for the party answered my question by saying that "probably there would be a law giving a wife one-half of her husband's earnings." How his would make a woman economically free I cannot see, for she could only get one-half of a whole, over which her husband would have absolute control. He could work much or little as he chose, which would make her a slave to his caprices.

Another good Socialist says that a man will get all the social value of his product, and out of that he must support the wife and children. How this would raise a woman above her present status I cannot see. Her husband would get plenty if he worked, but here again she is dependent on her husband's good will.

Another thinks that the children would be granted an allowance according to an established plan, but that the wife would have to look to her husband for maintenance.

Please note that none suggest the abolition of the family relation, the slander so often hurled at us.

But in none of the plans suggested is there freedom for a woman who might unfortunately be tied to a shiftless individual who would not provide. And women will not submit to have a little charity doled out to them under such circumstances. They must demand economic independence even from their husbands, or they cannot be really free.

It is granted that a married woman with-

out children may properly earn her own income in social wealth production, but what about the woman who feels the new life stirring within her? Eugenics will demand that she be treated at least as well as we treat our thoroughbred stock today. And shall we leave her to the tender mercies of a man? I don't think she will have it. I don't think the other men will have it if she will.

Then the mother with several little ones; will she be satisfied with dividing up with her husband? Probably not.

It seems to be a self-evident fact that woman must be economically free, else she cannot be living under a Socialist regime. Our friends who are so anxious to support their wives and families cannot see that when the families are dependent upon them for maintenance, the families are by that very fact subservient to them, and we all know that the enslaved always take their ideas from their masters; at least they have done so until now.

There is one other solution to the problem that seems to have not occurred to our friends. That is, that women with children should receive an income from society purely as child-bearers, or as mothers. If the having of children is not the most important thing for society, please tell us what is? You might have the most perfect system on earth imaginable, but if women refuse to bear children, your beautiful dream is doomed. It may be said that this is putting a noble thing like the mother-feeling on a commercial basis, but supposing it is, what of it? Women will demand economic freedom, and they will surely have it. They will not suffer even a partial slavery for a sentiment. Particularly when the sentiment is a foolish one. No mother will be less of a mother because she knows she will be free and can live her own life in her own way.

A friend may say that this will put a premium on child-bearing. We may leave that properly with the individuals because that is their business and not ours.

On what ground do we furnish free schools and books to children today? Because it has been found to be a social need to educate the young. The child may be the offspring of Mr. and Mrs. Shiftless, but its education is our business whether they like it or not.

Holmes says that the way to educate a child is to begin with its grandmother; and we are coming to see that the way to create a fine, healthy race is to begin with the grandmothers. Not some grandmothers, but all; which is only another way of saying that the condition of the grandmothers, who are the present mothers, is the business of all of us, and not the business of the particular insignificant individual who happens to be the father of her children.

If her well-being is a social need, why should she not receive social pay? Is dressing the children and washing them and soothing their little pains any less useful than the work of a nurse in a hospital? And we may be sure a nurse will be well paid. Is not her work as necessary in the home as the work of other useful but non-

productive workers, such as clerks, who must necessarily be paid out of the total social product? In other words, should she not receive an allowance as a mother, for that most essential thing, the bringing up of strong, fearless, healthy, independent children?

No husband can ever hope to recompense a woman for the pains and anxiety of birth, for the many anxious hours spent hovering over little cribs when death is lurking near. Even society can never hope to pay the debt, but society can say that every mother shall at least not have to pass one anxious moment on account of the tomorrow's bread.

Ask your men friends and see how they feel about your future economic freedom.

WOMAN.

ARTUR BRIDWELL.

Sister of felon and pauper; sister of primitive man;

Tutor of God's creation since human culture began,
Sister to unlettered freedom, fresh from the bonds of the slave,
Held without vote for a protest along with the insane and the knave.

Sister of him in the Army who gives to his country his voice,

Who goes forth to kill without reason, sinking his personal choice;

Sister of convict in prison who ruptures the law of the land,

Denying the God of the Nation, to deal pain and death with his hand.

Crowded far back in the corner and granted the freedom to do

The acts which his masculine God-ship opens your liberties to;

Slave to the beast of the Jungle, slave to the primitive man,

Getting such grants from the Master as smiles and seductiveness can.

Have you not cradled the nation and did you not early croon

To the rulers, the movers, the doers, long e'er the national moon,

And gave through the milk of your bosom the strength and the willing to do

The deeds that have filled you and thrilled you and given you courage anew.

But why have you taught your children, and why have you reared your brood,

To frame the laws and the customs to keep you in solitude?

And are you not tall of stature and cannot you look and see

In the eastern tints of the dawn-light, the runners of liberty?

Why will you grope and cower as a beast that whimpers and begs?

Why do you pour the liquid and keep but the bitter dregs?

Will you not strike for freedom, will you remain a slave?

Better the night of oblivion, better the dark of the grave!

Sons and husbands of women, sons and fathers of men,

Why will you strap the burden on the backs of beasts again?

Why have you forged the fetters? Why do you weld the bands?

And is it the act of a Lover, to fetter the beautiful hands

And is it only a vision, and is it merely a dream?

Or do we catch in the darkness a bit of futuristic gleam?

And is it the gray of the dawning that wakes in the eastern night,

When the morning of woman's freedom will burst into cloudless light?

Correction: In her article on "London's Achievements," in the last issue of *The P. W.*, Elsa Untermann mentioned Labriola as the non-Socialist scientist. She meant Lombroso.

Have you tried it? It is good.

BAD LAWS AND WORSE OFFICIALS

AGNES H. DOWNING



In the average happy human family the mother's rights are protected. Such women do not need to appeal to courts of law on their own behalf because they already have privileges more than the law would grant them.

Because this is true there are many people in all classes of society, who belittle the subject of woman's wrongs or rights. They believe that woman is already a favored individual and that she has no wrongs of which to complain.

But we cannot judge the position of woman by a superficial view of the more fortunate women. Just as the test of one's physical health is the condition of the weakest organ, so the test of woman's social right is the status of the weakest woman.

Turning to the laws of California to see how the personal liberty of women is protected we find:

Penal Code, Sec. 266a. Every person who, within this state takes any female person against her will and without her consent, or with her consent procured by fraudulent inducement or misrepresentation, for the purpose of prostitution, is punishable by imprisonment in the state prison not exceeding five years, and a fine not exceeding one thousand dollars.

One must notice that there is no minimum penalty. The offender may be found guilty and get a sentence of only one dollar and one day. By Section 489 of the same code we find:

Grand larceny is punishable by imprisonment in the state prison for not less than one nor more than ten years,

And Section 487 of the same code includes, among other things in grand larceny the stealing of a horse, mare, cow, steer, calf or mule. For the stealing of these animals the offender can get no less than one year imprisonment, and may get as high as ten years. A maximum penalty of five years for stealing a woman and ten years for stealing a mule or a calf! Obviously, not a very high valuation by California legislators of the women of their own nation and race.

When it comes to daughters of a neighboring race the disparity in values is greater and even more favorable to the domestic animals for by Sec. 266c the penalty for selling a Japanese or Chinese girl is a fine of not less than one thousand or more than five thousand dollars, or by imprisonment in the county jail not less than six nor more than twelve months. Here the legislature has reduced the offense of stealing a defenseless human being to a misdemeanor, punished only by a jail commitment, while the stealing of a calf is carefully kept a felony and punished by a penitentiary sentence.

Nor is it of laws alone that women need complain. For these laws weak and meager though they are for the defense of womanhood are seldom enforced.

The very sections above quoted are almost a dead letter on the statute books, and the crimes of white slavery and prostitution which they were designed to combat flourish. And the victims—to the shame of the civilization of today are the young, the ignorant, the helpless. They are orphan girls and the daughters of poor wid-

ows and of exploited working men. The greater part of them are under the age of eighteen. Mr. Amos G. Warner (in his book, American Charities) says that among the girls who are victims of evil institutions are the feeble-minded and those bordering on feeble-mindedness.

Every one who has investigated this evil, however different their points of view, are agreed that those things do not exist and could not exist except by the protection of the police and politicians of the cities. George Kibbe Turner in McClures called the evil of prostitution a political crime. The Chicago Daily Socialist and the New York Call after careful investigations said that the officials of the cities protected those crimes. S. S. McClure said recently that "90 per cent of the women leading an evil life are held in subjection by men who are helped by the police of our cities." And The Philanthropist in a recent issue said: "With the local courts the politician is all powerful. He protects his own, the surveyors of vice, and the latter furnish the votes by which the machine is kept in power."

To put it mildly, the women of the country owe little to such moral pirates. It is to be hoped that with the agitation for the ballot for women will come knowledge of the condition of women that will teach them to use the ballot for a real purpose.

Send fifteen cents for copy of "Socialist Primer" for the children.

THE EXAMINER'S CLASS.

LIDA PARCE.

The striking shirtwaist makers of Philadelphia have won their strike and gone back to work. Those of New York have nearly all gone back with their demands satisfied. The Socialist women have stood by the strikers and helped them in every possible way. By raising funds, picketing, helping to organize and assisting in public meetings. With them it was primarily a class struggle. Their action was an exhibition of class solidarity, and only secondarily a matter of sex.

The woman suffrage women of New York also joined in the fight and contributed of their money and time and influence for its success. Picketing, for which they were arrested, hiring halls and securing the publicity which they only were able to secure for the cause of the strikers. To them it was primarily a sex struggle, with an interest in the economic well-being of the strikers for a strong secondary motive.

The situation has been a most trying one for the Socialist women by reason of the fact that while they were doing necessary and important work all the time they were forced to keep in the background in order that the tender sensibilities of the public mind might not take alarm at the ravages of Socialism. This was undoubtedly a necessary precaution. The public flocked to follow the wealthy women where it would have been inexpressibly shocked to discover a wicked Socialist. However, the support of this same public helped to win the strike and that was what the Socialist women wanted. Thus a combination of the class-struggle and sex struggle won the day. Fear has been expressed lest there be some cross purpose between the two and the one

defeat the other if they tried to work together. The result in this case does not show cause for any such fear.

The Socialists of Oklahoma have recently joined with the woman suffragists in securing a petition for a state referendum on woman suffrage. But it appears that at Stuttgart it was decided that the Socialist throughout the world should not co-operate with the woman suffragists in any way. So now we have twice co-operated, and the Stuttgart resolution is smashed and we have violated party discipline.

It is probably too much for the international body to try to decide the tactics to be pursued in the separate countries, at any or all future times, on any question. Conditions vary so vastly in the different countries and at different times it would be most unfortunate if the party must everywhere and at all times be bound by an arbitrary rule.

At a meeting held in Chicago on February 5th to discuss the question whether Socialist women should co-operate with woman suffrage women for the promotion of woman suffrage, it was found that many Socialist women, women who are good workers in the movement and who were most interested in the question under debate could not vote on it because they were not party members. Moral: If you are interested in the action of the party get into the party, so that you can have a voice in directing its action.

SUFFRAGE OUTLOOK IN OKLAHOMA.

The first big step toward gaining their end was the securing of the signatures of over 38,000 legal voters to their petitions, by the women of Oklahoma. There were some technical objections brought against the petitions, but these were overruled by state secretary, William Cross. The women who have been at the head of the movement have gone about it carefully, and have made sure of the legal correctness of their positions after every step they took. They have had the benefit of good legal advice throughout. United States Senator Robert L. Owen is an ardent advocate of the ballot for women and made a very eloquent plea in its behalf before the committee on suffrage of the constitutional convention. The labor unions, Socialists and prohibitionists, are all favoring the movement.

In commenting upon the Oklahoma situation, the Kansas City Times says:

It was the opposition of the anti-prohibition which helped to shut the women out entirely from the constitutional convention, they also feared the effect of women's votes on any moral question. The Socialists, who are getting to be a strong factor in Oklahoma politics, have always stood for female suffrage, and can be depended on to line up solidly behind the proposed amendment.

Unless the matter is tied up in the courts by an appeal from the secretary's decision in regard to the sufficiency of the petition it is probable that the suffrage proposition will be included in the special election which Governor Haskell is expected to call, probably in April, to vote upon several other questions to be submitted to the people under the initiative and referendum.

The middle class woman, shut within four walls with her household cares for company, has developed a psychology hateful and unnatural to the large and sympathetic nature of woman. Her sympathy which should be as wide as the world finds expression outside the family only in works of petty charity. Her mother love is degraded into sublimated selfishness; she loves her children as a tigress her cubs—because they are her own.—Franklin Wentworth.

Do not expect the woman whose husband has always kept her fed and clothed, who has never walked the street hungry, uncared for and alone to always understand that vegetation is not virtue. Her mind is made by her condition. All growths stop together.—Franklin Wentworth.

WOMAN

HERESA MALKIEL

Since the beginning of history man, who because of his physical superiority, has been the ruler of the world endeavored to refine woman.

The savage associated her with himself because his sexual needs required her, making the stronger he had complete control over her without a thought as to its reason. The biblical fathers seemed somewhat conscience stricken and developed therefore the theory that woman was created from the rib of a man. And what man could not consider himself as having a claim upon the product of his rib.

Among the Greeks, one of the most intelligent ancient nations, the myth prevailed that woman on earth was the abandoned paramour of the gods.

In the "Phoedrus" Plato called her the incarnation of a man that had led a disolute life. Demosthenes defined her as the instrument for procreation, Diogenes called her a necessary evil, while Thucydides, when unable to give a definition of woman, exclaimed in wrath: "If it is a god that invented woman, wherever he may be let him know that he is the unallowed cause of the greatest evil, for she is worse than the storm-lashed ocean wave."

The Sanscrit legend of the origin of woman is perhaps the most poetic and condense of all. "When Tvashtri came to the creation of woman he, like our own god, found that he had exhausted his old materials in the making of man. He then took the rotundity of the moon and the curves of the creepers, and the clinging of the tendrils, and the trembling of the grass, and the slenderness of the reed and the bloom of the flowers, and the lightness of the leaves, and the tapering of the elephant's trunk and the glance of the deer and the clustering of the rows of bees, and the joyous gayety of the sunbeams and the peeping of the clouds and the fickleness of the winds and the timidity of the hare, and the vanity of the peacock, and the softness of the parrot's bosom, and the hardness of adamant and the sweetness of honey, and the cruelty of the tiger, and the warm glow of fire and the coldness of snow, and the chattering of jays, and the cooing of the kokila and the hypocrisy of the crane and the fidelity of the chakrawaka and compounding all these together he made woman and gave her to man."

According to this version woman is a combination of sexual attractiveness, trusting nature, quick perception, sensitive, timid and at the same time easily aroused to frenzy, vain but loving, a chatter-box and still very faithful, a hypocrite and yet very tender to those she chooses as her own. All qualities but solid matter and reason.

It is self-evident all the races and philosophers quoted judged woman not as a representative of the purely human, but as an appendage to man.

But history as traced by human chronicles does not take us back more than six thousand years, while the world had existed long before that; when no song, no heroic story, had come down to give us any information concerning its mode of existence, which our modern scientists have traced, from impressions found on the

rocks of ages to millions of years back.

To these scholars, from the viewpoint of the careful zoologist, the human race, man and woman alike, are but part of the mammal kingdom. They are both construed of the same tissue, possess the peculiar faculty generally known as "life," require the same food either of vegetable or animal matter, their blood when taken under the microscope divulges the same substance and when inoculated into one another assimilates without the least resistance, which is a physical test applied to living beings of the same species.

Upon this theory that man and woman are but a part of the animal kingdom the scientists have traced their origin to what is now a lower order—the monkey.

They have proven that the early progenitors of the human race were once covered with hair, both sexes having beards, that the physical construction of both sexes differentiated less than it does today. From their lips we hear of days when both sexes yielded milk and thus nourished the young and even of a still earlier development when sex itself did not differ as it does today. We must bear in mind that these assertions were made only after a long and careful study of zoology, after many discoveries of skeletons presumably belonging to the primeval man, and a thorough acquaintance with the life and habits of the savage races living in our own time.

At that early period all lived the same life, sustained by the animal method of existence, but later, as Charles Darwin tells us in the "Descent of Man," when organisms have become slowly adopted to diversified lines of life, their parts became more and more differentiated and specialized for various functions.

In those prehistoric days the female selected her mate as the animal female selects her mate at present. Like the latter our primeval grandmother chose her spouse because of his power, his physical superiority over the others. Thus it happened that in the reproduction of the race the males who, as a rule, inherited the qualities essential to the father, grew ever stronger.

As the world progressed, tools were slowly invented, plants cultivated, animals domesticated and reared in herds, the occupation of man changed—he had acquired something that he cared to keep separate from the rest, as his own and for that purpose he had to use his physical strength, so as to defend it from his enemies. At this period woman, unable to perform the same functions as the man and being the weaker, became his chattel. Bachofen who had studied the life of our simple forefathers tells us that woman had at first offered strong resistance to this social transformation. But gradually, no longer free to choose her mate, she bent her whole energy upon acquiring qualities that would be pleasing to her new master.

From the hour of her subjection she was given a very narrow sphere to concentrate her faculties upon and had to depend for her evolution on the fragments transmitted to her by the father.

Thus woman lived on, subdued to a mere tool of reproduction, as the ancient sage Demosthenes had rightly defined her, unable to accomplish even this function prop-

erly, for her stunted characteristics were inevitably transmitted to the men she brought to life, thus impeding the rapid progress of civilization.

At last, after many centuries of degradation, the human race is beginning to realize that there is something deeper in woman's nature, if she can, in spite of her past, stand alongside of man ready to take up his advance march of civilization, that was gained only after much bloodshed, toil and struggle.

Today our wise men, instead of considering her a necessary evil for the preservation of the race, claim that woman is human, and a member of society equal to man, or speaking in the words of Edward Carpenter: "Woman, who combining broad sense with sensibility, the passion for Nature with the love for man, and commanding, indeed, the details of life, yet risen out of localism and convention, will help us to undo the bands of death which encircle the present society, and open the doors to a new and wider life."

The Modern Girl.

Foley in Saturday Evening Post.

And here is the maiden, oh, more than fair, who has robbed her mattress of all its hair and fashioned it up into curlcues, and rats, and switches, and puffs to use in assorted styles on her billowy crown. She puts it up and she takes it down and hangs it on bureau and stand and chair, till it swings and dangles from everywhere; with pins and glue she sticks and stuffs her own hair with ringlets and frills and puffs that wave on her forehead and cover her neck and piles in bales on her quarterdeck. She has braided switches, and rolls, and frills, and pins and ribbons, and old goose quills that she smooths and sticks and stuffs and stabs and daugles and does into dingledebs. Then she stuffs it high with old bed springs and pillows and bath towels and other things, and sinks in her chair with a gladsome sigh, with a pile of coiffure two feet high and yards across and fathoms deep, and falls exhausted and fast asleep.

For the purpose of initiating a proposed amendment to the constitution of the state giving the women of Oklahoma the ballot, a committee filed with the secretary of state last week petitions containing 38,543 names, and up to date one protest has been filed. In contrast to several other measures now being initiated under the initiative and referendum law, the woman suffrage movement is one in which the Socialist party is vitally interested. Woman suffrage is one of the party's strongest demands and is an integral part of the national platform of the party. The reactionary forces of democracy and republicanism in Oklahoma have not yet emerged from the idea that woman's place is in the kitchen or the cotton fields, and it is up to Socialists and all other advanced thinkers and students of political economy to carry this movement to triumph.—Industrial Democrat.

Books for Home Reading for Sale by Us

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

Socialism and the Home, May Walden, 5 cents.

Little Sister of the Poor. Josephine Conger-Kaneko, 15 cents.

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

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

Sorrows of Cupid (cloth), 50 cents.

The Socialist Primer, Nicholas Klein, 15 cents.

Socialist Songs (with music). Compiled by Charles H. Kerr, 10 cents.

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

The Changing Order, Triggs (cloth), 75 cents.

Looking Forward; the Status of Woman, Rapaport, \$1.00.

FICTION AT REDUCED PRICES.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Symposium of New York Women on Suffrage

Woman in the Home.

CARRIE W. ALLEN.

It is generally conceded that woman lives in a state of subordination to man, and no where is this more apparent than in that sphere which is said to be distinctly her own, the home.

The woman in the home renders service which the male wage-earner, her master, could not buy. She is the family economist. She mends and makes the garments, buys the food and clothing, and by her intelligence and thrift maintains the head of the house in a state of physical efficiency which enables him to go out and sell his labor power. The service she renders is priceless. But, because she brings in no actual money, she is considered an economic dependent, and treated as a subordinate because of this dependence.

The lot of this woman is desolately pitiable, much worse in many cases than that of the woman who has gone out into industry.

Surely this woman needs the ballot as a means of education to fit her to take her rightful place by the side of man as a political and economic equal.

Suffrage, the Means to the End.

MARY A. GIBSON.

From a close study of the activities of the women of New York working for the suffrage one can venture to predict that the day is not far distant when the women of this state will have the privilege of deciding what shall be the law under which they must live, and who shall be the administrators of this law.

The Socialist women of New York realize too well how necessary the vote is to all women, especially the working women, for the protection of their rights and interests.

While we are fighting for the suffrage we must not lose sight of the fact that the great majority of the working women do not know their rights and interests.

The ballot in the hands of an ignorant working woman will not tend to remedy conditions. It will only be an effective weapon in the hands of a woman then when she will know why she casts her ballot, and what she can get by casting it intelligently.

Therefore, I say, in the fight for woman suffrage, let us not forget the great thing for which we are working—the emancipation of the whole working class.

Woman suffrage is only one of the means toward that great end.

Suffrage and the Historical Mission of Woman.

DR. ANNA INGERMAN.

Suffrage in general and woman suffrage in particular is a definite constitutional right. Constitutional rights as all social phenomena are products of historical development. The battle cry of the 19th century was political democracy; the main tendency was to free one class after another so as to give free play to class struggles. This enfranchisement of all classes, universal suffrage, made class antagonism in society more evident than ever before.

The enfranchisement of women we may consider the last step in this direction. The addition of

classes will bring the class struggle to a still more complete expression. Each class will be enabled to fight its battle with still more vehemence. Political rights are only a reflex of economic conditions. With the enfranchisement of women—with universal suffrage in the true sense of the word, the capitalist system will reach its highest degree of political liberty. The next step in social evolution is a new economic order. On woman has fallen the great historical mission of bringing the capitalist system to its final state in its march toward Socialism.

Modern women and especially women of the working class have a great and noble task to fulfill in accelerating the birth of the new order.

However, we must keep in mind that rights are never given, but have to be taken. Let us hope that women will be equal to the task.

The Working Woman's Awakening.

TERESA MALKIEL.



Unconsciously, with closed eyes, driven, perhaps, by the herd instinct that makes her follow the others, the working woman is rising at last from her long slumber.

By the aid of her religion she has bent submissively, from time immemorial, under the yoke of subjection, consoling herself with the generous promises of the future bliss in the hereafter.

But the cup of bitterness is being filled to the brim. The solution of the problem of existence is pressing upon her more and more. Even the mantle of marriage does no longer save her from it. The patient sufferer cannot and will not see her children destitute and hungry. She wants some of the celestial promises to be realized here on earth. Hence this general unrest of womanhood the world over.

But, though driven by circumstances to seek an independent existence, the working woman remains, nevertheless, an outcast from the body social, a paria so far as her political rights are concerned.

Her striving for the right to vote is only natural—it will lighten her burden somewhat; but her economic independence can only be attained with the complete change of the present state of society when the edifice of the Socialist republic shall be erected.

"SMILING JOE."

BY DR. ANTOINETTE F. KONIKOW.

Socialist women must concentrate their efforts upon thorough organization of the women of the working class.

In the office of a large New York charity organization hangs the pathetic picture of "Smiling Joe." It represents a small boy tied upon a stretcher on account of a tubercular affection of the spine. This urchin of tenement life, deprived of all the joys of childhood, helpless, in physical misery still has a radiant, confident, contented smile upon his sweet little face. "Smiling Joe" has brought in hundreds of contributions, his little face touches the heart of the rich givers and patronizers. And no won-

der! He is the apotheosis of the poor—the wealthy classes wish to see them: dependent, unfortunate, but still happy and contented.

The wealthy women of New York witness such interest in the fate of the striking shirtwaist workers expected to find a type of "Smiling Joe" among them; content to discover instead, a growing discontent and class feeling the wealthy patronesses of labor decided to organize a new trade union movement of "contented women," this organization to be kept away from the baneful influence of Socialists.

Learn, you women who still preach organization of women into one sex-conscious whole! The women of the working class cannot be understood by the men of the capitalist class; they are spiritually divided by an abyss. The working woman is waiting for the magic word Socialism to blossom into the right to power. Ours is the great privilege and responsibility to bring to her the word Socialism and with it the message of man's rights.

The Humanizing Effect of Woman Suffrage.

CLARA G. STILLMAN.

Not only will the ballot make women more efficient by substituting the direct method for the indirect, but its psychological effect will be noticeable in her increased dignity and power in every human relation. Inevitably the girl child whose future contains possibilities of a "career," like her brother's will be more welcome and more sanely educated than today when the feeling that it is a far greater achievement to bear a son than a daughter has by means entirely disappeared. The opinion of the wife who is a citizen, well informed and active in public affairs, will naturally be more respected by her husband than that of the sweet young creature who "doesn't know a thing about her husband's business," "simply hates politics," and sits by in silence, stifling her yawns when the conversation turns upon topics of public interest. It also follows that the more dignified the position of the wife, the more honored will be that of the mother who will no longer be treated to that mixture of affection and contempt which is often her portion today. The mother will not, as her children grow up, remain seated on the lofty, lonely pedestal of hers (which is only a poetic way of saying "be laid on the shelf") whence she watches with wistful, uncomprehending eyes their movements in the great world from which she is shut out. She will be part of the great world in which she initiates her sons and daughter. They will grow towards her instead away from her. She will at last have the chance to be her children's equal.

The ballot will not do this all at once or all alone, but it will be one of several potent factors in the humanization of our over-sexed society.

Musings of a Socialist Mother.

LEBE.

He wore a button on his coat bearing the picture of our Socialist candidate for president of the United States, and with all the energy of his twelve years he declared: "I vote for Debs."

I stroked his curly head: "you can't vote little one." "I can when I'm a man," he replied; and then, after a few moments of evident deliberation he added: "But you can never vote, mama."

I felt a pang of humiliation as he spoke that same pang of humiliation that I rec-

aving felt, when but a mere slip of a girl argued politics with my boy playmates in the old park where the girls and boys used to assemble after school. When the boys whose fathers were democrats or republicans, could not meet the arguments that I, the child of Socialist parents, advanced, they would cut me short by saying: "Pshaw, you're a girl, you can't vote!"

Every thinking, intelligent woman must feel deeply humiliated by the realization that her social service count for nothing in the state, while even the most ignorant, depraved and anti-social man remains her political master, just because nature, by that still unsolved mystery of prenatal chance, has created him a male.

Competitive and combative qualities are pre-eminently male. Creative and protective qualities are pre-eminently female. True progress necessitates a blending of the male and female qualities. We have surpassed the age of physical force and are fast entering upon the age in which creation shall be deemed a greater deed than destruction, and in which care and service of the coming generation shall be considered the first and foremost duty of organized society. Woman has practiced her creative qualities since time immemorial; she has always been and is today a peaceful producer; and from the days of the cave-dwellers to the days of modern capitalism she has been the care-taker and protector of the child. In this, our present day world, woman is evolving from an individual producer to a social producer; her heart and soul are expanding from individual motherhood to social motherhood. We need woman's creative qualities, we need her social motherhood in the slow and laborious but hopeful progress of mankind toward true civilization.

Socialist women realize their need of political equality perhaps more than any other group of women. Being part of a great, world-wide movement in which they serve on a footing of perfect equality with men, they keenly realize the absurdity of their position when, on election day, they are unable to serve their cause by the only means that will lead it to ultimate victory. We can no longer content ourselves by being the mothers of citizens. We demand citizenship for ourselves and for our daughters.

It is one of my heart's profoundest wishes that my little boy may continue to wear a Socialist button on his coat when he has grown to be a man, and I fondly cherish the hope that some day—though my hair may be white until then—I may go to the polls with my sons and my daughter to cast a vote for Socialism, which means a vote for humanity.

The Paradox of the Socialist Wife.

ANITA C. BLOCK.



Perhaps the most ideal relation that has yet existed between man and woman is that of the Socialist husband and wife who are actively working in the Socialist movement together. They are indeed "comrades," in the most beautiful sense of that beautiful word. Although it was naturally the element of sex that first drew them together, and while it is the same intangible, mysterious element that makes them

continue inexpressibly dear to each other, yet there is less of the sex-bond between the husband and wife who are both active Socialist workers than between any other man and woman.

And the reason for this is not difficult to find. Within the Socialist party husband and wife are absolute and complete equals.* They are admitted into the party on exactly the same terms and they have identical rights as party members. A wife votes on all matters on which her husband votes and she is eligible for the same offices within the party to which he is eligible. In relation to this great cause, which is the biggest factor in both their lives, they are equal. Membership within the Socialist party has removed from the wife all stigma of inferiority on the basis of sex. Husband and wife are both human beings there, performing the world's work together.

And then in the midst of this refining and ennobling equality, election day comes round—the day on which the governed are supposed to determine the kind of government under which they desire to live. This is the saddest day in the year for the Socialist wife. For on this day all the equality she has enjoyed throughout the year becomes an utter mockery. On this supreme day, when, as a Socialist, she burns to register her protest against the iniquities of capitalism, she finds herself relegated to the rank of idiot and criminal. On this supreme day she stands before her husband as his inferior. She experiences the burning humiliation of her civic impotence, as she sees her comrade go forth to enjoy the right and perform the duties of a citizen.

This, then, is the paradox of the Socialist wife. How long, oh Socialist wives, must it yet be before every day of the year will find you the equals of your life mates?

None Free Until All Are Free.

LUCILLA R. KREHBIEL.



In the earliest times the primitive nations were composed of a king on the one hand whose power was absolute and a mass of abject slaves on the other. Nations were of little consequence as long as their power was so concentrated. All nations have grown in power and importance as their masses have been more liberated and developed. Nations will never be free until their women, their mothers, are free. An individual cannot be developed to his highest capacity unless he has the freedom to become so developed, and a woman who has had all her mastering powers suppressed has little to transmit to posterity.

Woman was man's equal until suppressed by social forms.

It is urged that woman is man's inferior, but, as Bebel says in regard to woman's subjection, a condition becomes custom and a custom becomes hereditary.

It is urged that woman should not have the ballot because she is unlike man. This is the greatest reason why she should have it. Woman is a necessary complement of man and he cannot be free until she is liberated and developed to her highest capacity.

It is urged that women cannot vote because they cannot carry arms. The firing of bullets will never solve the problems of state. It is only the assertion of his high-

est intellectual and moral forces that will enable man to do this.

The privilege of the ballot is not only woman's right, but her duty. The mere fact of existence makes every man and woman an inevitable member of society, an inevitable citizen of the commonwealth, and thus each man and each woman becomes equally responsible for every social and industrial condition that prevails. Each individual draws all things from the state and he therefore owes the state the best that his most highly developed talent can return. Both men and women should be prepared not only to pay their debt to the state, but to help inaugurate a state of civilization that will be just and permanent.

A WORD WITH THE EDITOR.



Of course, it will be more than one word. But it won't be many. Space is too scarce for many words from just the editor.

In January we put over 1,100 new names on our list. These names were largely single subscriptions, coming from all parts of the country. Many of them were small

clubs sent in, and a few were long lists sent by our best workers. These single subscriptions, especially, indicate a desire that is growing among women everywhere to know more about the changing order of today, and whither it is leading us. It means, in short, that women are waking up!

Aren't you glad that the women are waking up? And wouldn't you be delighted to help them? And don't you know that the best way in the world to help them is to hand them a piece of literature? And that the literature they need is something that appeals to their special interests, their immediate needs? And don't you know that The Progressive Woman is just exactly this sort of literature?

Then, if you DO know all this, just please get busy and see what wonderful things you can accomplish. When nearly a thousand people send in their own and two or three more names, just think what a harvest one could reap by gathering up the thousands of names of persons who are NOT QUITE interested enough to send in themselves, but are just waiting for you to come around and ask them.

We go to press for this issue on the 10th of February, so we don't know how many new names will come in during the month. But LET US ANNOUNCE NEXT MONTH THAT MARCH WAS THE GREATEST EVER!

Will you do it? The P. W. does have a hard times howl, and we always avoid it when we can. You don't like it, either.

So let's all pull together HARD so that we can put on a cheerful smile from now on.

Single subscriptions, 50c. Clubs of four or more, 25c. Sub cards furnished on application, four for \$1. Sub blanks free.

If you want to know the horrors of capitalism in every walk of life, read The Mills of Mammon. You will get them there.

The Progressive Woman

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Editor and Publisher... Josephine Conger-Kaneko



It is almost impossible these days to pick up a prominent magazine that hasn't an article written at some length, on the woman question. The "big" magazines, of course, are not run for the fun of running them. There must be money in them, or they die. To make money, they must cater to the taste of the great public. Not so long ago they would hardly print anything about the workingman, or the Socialist movement. Now their very best writers are Socialists, and they are forced to report the news of the proletarian world, because of the demand for it. And as they were forced to take notice of the doings of the common people, so they are being forced to give space to the woman movement. Forced by public demand. The public wants itself educated. Education means a new psychology, and thus we are putting on a new mind almost over night, at least before we are aware of what we are doing, and one morning we shall look through the haze and the tumult, and the topsy-turvyness of today's chaos, and find a beautiful new democracy shining square in our faces, ready to wrap the whole of society in its humane and beneficent folds.

The cost of beef rose from \$6.50 per 100 pounds in 1900 to \$8 in 1910; of sheep from \$4.75 in 1900 to \$6 in 1910; of hogs from \$4.50 in 1900 to \$8.60 in 1910; of lard from 6c per pound in 1900 to 12c in 1910; butter 28c in 1900 to 36c in 1910; eggs from 24c a dozen in 1900 to 38c in 1910; flour from \$3.40 a barrel in 1900 to \$5.40 in 1910. All this meant from year to year less calico for the wife's dresses, less gingham for the children's frocks; less new furniture for the house, less dimes for little pleasures, less dollars put in the bank for the rainy day. Who says the housewife with her ballot wouldn't help to bring these prices down? And if she, who bears the brunt of the misery and degradation that comes from high prices will not help to abolish them, who will?

"The Proletarian" is an interesting publication edited by Chas. T. Takahashi, a young Japanese Socialist. A continued historical sketch, Industrial Evolution of the Far East, gives some very instructive points on the discovery of Japan by westerners, and their efforts to secure a foothold in the flowery kingdom. "Let Us Unite" is an editorial calling upon the proletarians of this country to unite with those of every other country, including the Orientals, for

their mutual benefit against the encroachment of capitalism. The Proletarian, like all new Socialist publications, is having its share of financial trouble. What it needs is subscriptions. Send 50c to the editor, T. Takahashi, 935 Wells street, Chicago, and you will get the paper for a year.

The Irish Socialist paper, The Harp, formerly published in Chicago, now comes to us from Dublin, Ireland. The Harp was moved to Ireland because the managers felt that the Socialist movement there needed a representative in the press devoted to its cause. It is 50c a year, and worth every cent of it—and more. Address The Harp, Temple Lane, Dublin, Ireland.

The department of commerce and labor has just issued a comprehensive compilation of marriage and divorce statistics from all over the world, which furnishes much information of interest. Although the divorce habit in other countries is on the increase, the United States, like Abu Ben Adam's name, leads all the rest. In 1870 but one divorce was granted to every 1,233 marriages. In 1900 there was one divorce for every 250 marriages. It will not be long before the ratio is one to every 100 marriages. To the unthinking, this is only calamity foretelling the dissolution of society. But whether it be calamity or not, it does not foretell the dissolution of society. Society has withstood upheavals in the course of its evolution quite as radical as the change now going on in the elements composing the home. The present situation but proves the Socialist statement that the home, like everything else in human society, is founded upon economic conditions, and with the changing of these it will change. But so long as there are men, women and children in the world, the home will never be destroyed. And let us remember this—if we are ourselves wise, nothing but good can come out of the present chaos.

Somehow, somewhere, in our callow youth, we were made to believe in the chivalry of men. Today we read about policemen rough-handling the girl strikers in New York, of forcible feeding and other brutalities practiced on women suffragettes in the London prisons, of the unwarranted arrests of wives, mothers and sisters of strikers in Pittsburg, Pa., and of general unchivalric treatment of women in various other quarters. Like the little boy who asks questions, we wonder what the world means by "chivalry," anyway. It really looks as if it were like the stout little fellow who said to a meek little sister, "Now, Mary, you be good. See? If you are, I'll give you part of my apple, and let you play with my toys. But if you ain't good I'll slap your face. See? And I don't want no monkey business, either." It looks as if chivalry were a thing that depended entirely upon the "goodness" of women. The men, of course, defining the term "good." Karl Pearson says that the first subjection of woman was effected through the brute strength of men, and Herbert Spencer says that whole races of people have died out because of the treatment accorded the females by the males. For the most part we expect to find our men civilized beyond the use of this brute strength in controlling womankind, but it still crops out in certain quarters, especially where the capitalist idea of "the victory to the strong," is the moving ideal.

Resolutions Passed.

Resolutions passed by the Chicago Socialist Woman's Educational conference at its regular meeting, held January 29th, at 8 p. m., at 18 Washington street, bearing on the platform committee's statement of principles adopted at that same meeting:

"Whereas, The Socialist party platform pledges the party to an active propaganda in favor of woman suffrage; and

"Whereas, The platform presents none of the principles upon which this action was taken; and

"Whereas, We believe that the next party platform should embody a statement of such principles; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That it is the desire of this meeting that this statement of principles be sent to the national woman's committee, with a request that it be forwarded to the woman's committee and presented by them to the various local discussions; and be it further

"Resolved, From the reports of these discussions the national woman's committee formulate principles to be embodied in the next party platform."

Resolutions adopted by the Chicago Socialist Woman's Educational conference at its regular meeting, held January 29th, 8 p. m., at 180 Washington street, on the report of the platform committee, appointed at the October meeting:

"Whereas, The relation of woman's political condition to the economic question ought to be clearly defined and recognized; therefore be it

Resolved: That the accompanying statement of that relation be submitted to the national woman's committee, with the recommendation that they transmit it to all the local woman's committees, by them to be presented and discussed in the locals of the party.

Statement of Principles.

1. Woman is being forced into the industrial world, where she is the most exploited of the workers. She is the most exploited because, being without the ballot, she has no means of political self-defense, and her helpless condition makes her a disastrous competitor of the enfranchised wage worker.

2. Productive industry has been taken from the home, leaving the domestic woman only the tasks of personal service, thus making her of a servile and dependent class. As powers are only developed by the exercise of faculties, woman's mental and social development has been arrested by her servile condition.

3. The home has become so enmeshed in social conditions that it can not be controlled without controlling those conditions. Woman ought to have a voice in that control, since she is held responsible for the home and for the child. But if the wage earning woman is exploited, the woman of the home, especially in her sex relations, is exploited still more completely, through the position of economic dependence of the married woman.

AID WORK OF ENSLAVEMENT.

The fulfillment of her maternal functions, which by all reasoning rights, ennobles and dignifies her personal rights, acts all in the direction of her enslavement. The laws of all states, in varying degrees, support superior rights of husband and father, and in many cases result in unspeakable humiliations to the wife and the mother, since the control of her actions, of her very person and of her children rests through law and custom with the husband.

4. In primitive society woman is the economic factor, and in her hands production is carried on continually. Capitalism stands between the communism of primitive society and the communism of the future. The introduction of private property and competition deprived woman of her control of production and made her a slave. The establishment of the industrial commonwealth will restore the feminine principle of co-operation, will restore to society the economic value of woman's productive labor and to woman her freedom and social opportunity.

The material function of woman has rendered her the altruistic factor of society. She is primarily interested in the welfare of persons and the possession of things is of only secondary value to her, as promoting the welfare of persons. The Socialist philosophy adopts the principle of altruism. Therefore, the strongest stimulus to the Socialist movement is to be obtained through enlisting the energies of women in its behalf. And we address our propaganda to women as offering to them that special opportunity for political action best suited to the character and interests. They have been long working in vain to secure social changes which it will be impossible to achieve under capitalism, but which would follow naturally and inevitably under Socialism.

It is, therefore, logical that woman's suffrage be recognized as an integral part of the Socialist program.

The Socialist women of Chicago celebrate Woman's Day by a rousing meeting at the Garrick theater. Alice Henry and May Wood Smith were the speakers. The "Statement of Principles" were read by Lida Parce. The Garrick theater is next to the largest in Chicago, is beautifully decorated, and the women of Chicago are fortunate in having it at their disposal, through the courtesy of Comrade Arthur M. Lewis, who lectures there every Sunday morning.

Don't send stamps when you can avoid it. Collect in small amounts, money order or bank check larger is better.

The Marriage Contract

LIDA PARCE

(*In 1900 we had 60,000 divorce cases in America, while England had 728. In Vermont in 1900 we had one divorce to every ten marriages; in California one to every seven; in Maine one to every six; in Indiana one to every 7 marriages. In some of the cities it was even worse. In Kansas City, Mo., there was one divorce to every four marriages, and in San Francisco one to every three marriages.)

These figures are alarming. There is little wonder that serious and dignified bodies have doubted themselves about the divorce question. It would seem as if society were actually on the verge of disintegration. And there must be a reason for the alarming increase in divorce, since there is never an effect without a cause.

It has been said that this reason lies in the depravity of human nature, in the fast life of today, in too much license given to women, and so on. But the editor of The Progressive Woman believes much of the cause for our many divorces lies in the inconsistencies of the marriage laws themselves. Laws written for an age when woman was notoriously subject to man, laws which, when laid out in their nakedness, are so shockingly unfair to the woman in the contract that it is little wonder the intelligent woman of today hates under them, and that large numbers are breaking away altogether.

But the marriage contract is a delicate fabrication, not often subject to the frank investigation of the ordinary laymen. Not one woman in ten thousand knows anything about it. How few, or instance, know that, if married, they have no right, under the law, to their own children? And only recently Harriet Stanton Blatch, the American-born daughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, had to take out naturalization papers before he could become a citizen of her own New York, because, forsooth, she had married an Englishman! Who ever heard of an American man taking out naturalization papers because he had married a foreign-born woman? This is but one instance showing the property rights, under the law, of a man in his wife.

There are scores of other points, even more vital than this, that are detrimental to the best interests of a woman when she marries. And because we believe enlightenment on this question will lead to marriage laws that will make a saner and more democratic contract, thus bringing about purer and happier unions, and because we believe that only through the sane and democratic contract, and the nobler union, will divorce decrease, and the home become a higher and cleaner institution than it now is, have we decided to publish in The Progressive Woman a series of articles dealing with this most vital of institutions, from the legal side.

Lida Parce, of Chicago University, one of the foremost writers and speakers on the woman question, is preparing these articles. They will run serially in The Progressive Woman, and it is our desire that our readers get them into the hands of hundreds of thousands of women in every part of the country. DON'T FAIL TO DO THIS. If we are to educate womankind, we must carry their instruction to them. This is how you can manage in this case: Order a bundle of 100 or more copies containing this series each month. Mark the articles, pick out the homes where you think they will do the most good, and CARRY THE PAPERS TO THEM. You can't afford to miss this opportunity. Or, if you have friends out of town that you wish to reach, order the papers sent to them, either single copies or by the year. We will gladly mail them out from here, providing you send us the names. They will be 25c a copy in bundles, or 25c a year in clubs of four or more. Single subscription, 50c.

Now don't let this opportunity pass. Lida Parce is a careful, conscientious writer; she has a desire to dish up a lot of sensational tommyrot; but she will give the facts, and make them plain that the most abject slave of the present system cannot fail to see the reflection of her own miserable condition in them. In short, this series of articles on The Marriage Contract will open the eyes of woman to her status under capitalism, as they were never opened before.—Ed. Progressive Woman.)

In the January issue of The Progressive Woman an article appeared on the subject of "Sex and Contractual Morality," in which there was some discussion of the marriage contract. The editor of The P. W. has suggested that I go farther into this question; that I state specific laws

and quote authorities to show what the terms of this interesting contract really are. There is quite a good deal to be said on this subject. There are a number of

*Charles A. Ellwood in "IS THE AMERICAN FAMILY TO DIE?" in The Delinquent, February, 1909.

clauses, and after you have them before you in cold type it will require some analysis to lay bare the true meaning of them. I will make a beginning this month with one or two clauses, and take up others from time to time, going slowly so as to give plenty of time for a full appreciation of the several points to be disclosed.

If you will get a copy of "Bishop on Marriage, Divorce and Separation" and turn to pages 23 and 24 you will find the following: "Marriage is considered in every country as a contract and may be defined to be a contract 'according to the form prescribed by law,' by which a man and woman, capable of entering into such a contract, mutually engage with each other to live their whole lives together in the state of union which ought to exist between husband and wife."

On page 27 you will find the following: "Marriage is a contract altogether of a peculiar kind; it stands alone, and can be assimilated to no other contract whatever." And on page 36 the following: "'Bishop on Marriage and Divorce' was published in 1852. In it its author, it is believed for the first time in any legal treatise or judicial opinion, broke away from the old shackles, and defined marriage as a status."

Sir Henry Maine, in Ancient Law, says that civilization has been a progress from status to contract. That is, in early civilization a person's whole life was determined by the status to which he was born. He was hedged about by a condition so that he could not control his life. Whether he was born a citizen, a free man or a slave, he remained all his life in that condition. He could not alter it by entering into any free relations. But as civilization advanced people acquired more and more the right to enter by contract, into relations that had no connection with the status to which they were born. As freedom increased, the power to form contracts increased; so that a condition of freedom is really the same as an unrestricted right of contract. So it is said that civilization has been a progress from status to contract. But it seems from the last quotation that in the matter of marriage, we are progressing backward; or from contract to status.

The difficulties about this marriage contract are obvious. A contract is an agreement into which two free persons enter voluntarily, and which involves mutual duties, obligation and penalties. Blackstone called marriage a civil contract because it had come to be considered a voluntary agreement and it certainly involved duties, obligations and penalties. But there has always been great difficulty in treating it as a contract for the reason that woman was not a person in the eyes of the law and did not have any contractual privileges. She could not sign a contract and the duties and obligations and privileges were not mutual. So Bishop, in the first edition of his work, "Marriage and Divorce," tried to help some by presenting the idea that marriage is not a contract after all, but a status. But here another embarrassment arises: the moment you call marriage a status you have to describe or define your status; and there is no other way to define it than as a status of servitude. We will now examine one or two of the terms of

this agreement by which woman enters a status of servitude.

In "Tiffany's Persons and Domestic Relations," on pp. 70,71, you will find the following: "When a tort is committed against a married woman, damages may be recovered: (a) For the injury to the wife, as for her mental and physical suffering. (b) For injury to the husband—as for the loss of his wife's society and services, and disbursements—in an action by the husband suing alone, at common law, and in such action only. By statute in some states, such damages can be recovered in joint action." And on pages 72, 73: "At common law an action for injuries growing out of assault and battery, negligent personal injury, libel, slander, etc., must be brought by the husband and wife jointly. The damages recovered in such action are for the injury to the wife, and not for any injury to the husband; but they belong to the husband when recovered. "In addition to this joint action, . . . he can recover his own damages, . . . for the loss of her society and service and money expenses. . . . Damages for an injury to the husband must be recovered in an action by the husband alone."

There is, of course, no provision whereby a wife can sue for injuries sustained by her husband and pocket the damages awarded, herself. He can sue for such injuries, and the damages when recovered, belong to him. The theory of all this is that her identity is dissolved in marriage, or that the two become one, and that he is the one. This is one of the legal fictions that lawmakers have found to be necessary for the purpose of maintaining certain persons in a false position for the profit of other persons. But you will observe that the law is not consistent even with the principle of this legal fiction. For it provides that damages may be awarded to him for her suffering, and to him for loss of her services. Two persons, you see. If he were master and she slave the procedure would probably not be different, excepting that he could only collect damages for loss of her services.

An unmarried woman can now sue for damages and recover in her own name. Excepting for the purpose of placing a wife in a status of servitude, and giving the husband an advantage over her which is purely artificial and gratuitous in character, there is no possible use for this clause. If women were drawing up a contract for marriage which they could sign with dignity and self-respect, this clause would be left out altogether, reserving to the woman married the same right which she has unmarried, to sue for damages, and to recover and own the same herself.

The young children of Mrs. B. R. Tillman, Jr., have been deeded by her husband to B. R. Tillman, Sr. She is suing now for their recovery; but she has been informed that she can not recover them under the law. Her husband deserted her, gave the children to his father, and she is not allowed to see them. She was ill when he went away and took the children. She has not seen them since. The father is said to be an habitual drunkard. B. R. Tillman, Sr., is U. S. senator from South Carolina. This is a legal act in all the states of the union excepting nine. It is one of the terms of the marriage contract that gives the husband this right. Men alone have formed the terms of this contract.

Women can never have sex freedom until they are economically free.



The Equal Suffrage Campaign in South Dakota

ANNA A. MALLY



At the last session of the South Dakota legislature it was decided to submit to referendum an amendment to the state constitution granting the vote to women. This amendment will come before the state next fall.

The South Dakota Equal Suffrage association, which is affiliated with the National Woman's Suffrage association, has inaugurated in the state of South Dakota a "Votes for Women" campaign. The management of the campaign is in the hands of a special committee with headquarters at Sioux Falls. Mrs. A. D. Tinsley is chairman and headquarters secretary. Mr. J. L. White is chairman of the finance committee, which is one of the sub-committees acting under the direction of the executive committee. All who wish to give a hand in this fight for the extension of the principles of human freedom should send their donations to Mr. White.

The woman's campaign in this state should be honored for the enemies it has made. Politicians in the bad sense generally are against it. Politics everywhere is bound to be corrupt so long as public officials are the servants of moneyed interests which preserve and perpetuate their power by bribing the law-givers; but in South Dakota there is scarcely an attempt made to conceal the stench that arises from the political cesspool.

There are something like two hundred and fifty newspapers in the state, daily and weekly. The state is strongly republican, and somewhat naturally its press is so. Some forty of the papers will publish matter submitted by the women, but only a small portion of these will support the woman's campaign editorially. Of the other two hundred papers, a few have said frankly that they are against suffrage for women, the majority state that they will not have anything to say, as a diplomatic sidestep, these editors are against suffrage. One editor has given out what is known to be the sentiment of others who are not talking. He is opposed to woman's suffrage because the women would probably vote for prohibition and they would surely be against government protection of vice. The gentle editor says that dives are necessary; if we did not have them no woman would be safe upon the streets of our cities.

The culture of Greece was supposed to rest upon the labor of the slave, which afforded leisure to the scientists and philosophers. Today our leaders of thought tell us that some women will be permitted to observe the standards of purity which men have set for them only if they tamely consent to the enforced debauchery of other women. The women of the working class must be forced and betrayed into white slavery in order that the virtue of the comfortable home may be protected.

The liquor interests of the state organized into what is known as the Retail Merchants association is said to be conducting a forceful if quiet campaign against the woman's right to vote. It may comfort the Massachusetts Association Opposed to

the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women" to know that the agents of the saloons and dives, and the corrupt politicians are paying for the ancient classic literature against suffrage that they are shipping into the state of South Dakota. This literature has been plentifully distributed among the newspaper offices.

The anti-suffragist here uses that venerable method of loading the suffrage movement with everything that is calculated to cite prejudice against it. They would have us believe that we would be deluged with everything that ever has been held objectionable in religious, political and social practice if the women voted. Often it crops out that our brother is afraid that the voting woman would stop Sunday base ball games and other forms of amusement dear to the masculine heart; in other words, they fear that the women will introduce into the general life the religious and moral standards which up to this time the men have so rigidly imposed upon the feminine half. What has been sauce for the goose under the gander's prescription, he will have none of, if he can get out of it.

Governor Vessey stands frankly for woman's suffrage.

Mrs. Tinsley, chairman of the campaign committee, is a dignified but finely democratic woman. She has a broad outlook over the social field and is ready to retire prejudices and discuss principles.

Miss Perle Penfield, one of the national organizers of the National Woman's Suffrage association, has been sent into the state to work during the campaign. She has been for two years in the field, is a woman of quiet power and is brave and patient under all discouragements. She is at this time engaged in lining up the women in different towns for the more active period of the campaign when speakers will be in the field. In many towns the women are organized and in such places Miss Penfield outlines for them their preliminary work. In many instances, however, she goes into towns where the movement has no representative and puts the work on its feet as best she can.

When one talks with the quiet, earnest people engaged in this work here, one wonders where are the "short-haired women and the long-haired men" who only are popularly supposed to be suffragists. One does, however, every day meet numbers of long-eared men and short-sighted women on the other side.

With only a few months in which to do their work, the committee is making a straight, unencumbered fight for votes for women. The amendment is submitted independent of other issues. In order to carry it, votes are needed representing every shade of political and religious belief. Votes for women, votes without strings, and then the field will be open for all to secure the support of the women for their political principles. And those who have clean and worthy principles, we believe may come to their task unafraid.

National Organizer of Women for the Socialist Party.

Socialists don't sing enough. The revolutionary songs compiled by Chas. H. Kerr will arouse your spirit. 10c a copy.

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THE RIGHT OF ASYLUM.

Hattie Gutierrez De Lara, wife of the Mexican political refugee, spoke before the William Morris club of San Francisco at its January meeting, at Equality hall.

Mrs. Delara is devoting her time and efforts to raising a fund for the defense of the three Mexicans, Ricardo Flores Magon, Antonio Villareal and Labrado Rivera who are now held as political prisoners at Florence, Ariz.

It is feared that upon the expiration of their term of imprisonment, July 31, 1910 they will again be arrested, as there is another indictment against these men in Del Rio, Texas.

Mrs. Delara in her lecture explained the neutrality laws and the methods by which they had been distorted to secure the arrest and conviction of the Mexican patriots who had been obliged to flee to American soil. To readers of recent magazine literature on "Barbarous Mexico," her confirmation of the terrible conditions suffered by the workers furnishes added proof of the necessity for more strenuous efforts in their behalf. All comrades should remember the date for the liberation of these prisoners, and note the course of events. An injury to one should be the concern of all.

Mrs. De Lara is of prepossessing appearance, and impresses one as a woman who would carry out anything she undertakes having both courage and strength. She is an American by birth, but through her association with Mr. De Lara has come to understand Mexican history, the conditions and character of the people, and with Mrs. De Lara has fully determined to keep up the struggle for the emancipation of the Mexican proletariat.

It was Mrs. De Lara's firm resolution to accompany her husband to Mexico, had the authorities succeeded in deporting him to that country. Fortunately he has been saved, through the efforts of our loyal Socialist comrades, and henceforth Mr. and Mrs. De Lara will devote themselves to the cause of Mexican liberty.

World Wide Woman's Movement.

The Polish women are waging war unceasingly to obtain enfranchisement.

Frau Blauenfeldt, of Denmark, has started a suffrage paper, "Kristeligt Kvindeblad."

Oregon and Oklahoma will introduce suffrage bills in their legislatures next autumn. There is a chance of the bills passing.

The Dutch Bond for Women Suffrage reports that its membership is steadily increasing, and many lectures are being held over the country.

The formation of the French Woman Suffrage Association has given new impulse to the suffrage movement in France. The French W. S. A. is itself increasing in membership and influence.

A suffrage meeting of some kind is held in New York City every day, in large and small halls, churches, school houses, drawing rooms, women's clubs, etc., and suffrage is constantly discussed at all kinds of gatherings.

The Socialist women of Chicago, following the lead of the resolution passed by the International Congress at Stuttgart, and that recently voted upon by the New York women, defeated by one vote a resolution to work in any way with suffrage organizations outside the Socialist movement.

The women in the states of South Dakota and Washington are busy preparing for the spring and summer campaign. Their legislatures have submitted the question of woman suffrage to be voted upon in the fall, and the women have before them the task of educating the masses to their standpoint.

"They were told that if they accepted the invitation which the National Association had sent asking for their co-operation in the effort for the suffrage, they would have the full privileges of the conventions, etc. Nevertheless, they repudiated the idea and resolved to work by themselves."

The woman's educational movement is growing rapidly in Japan. The Woman's University in Tokio has over 1,000 students and every opportunity is given women to prepare themselves for any kind of a professional career. Besides the Woman's University, Tokio has 73 schools for girls.

For the purpose of determining the sentiment of the women of the state on the question of woman suffrage, Senator Bruckett, of New York, introduced a bill providing for a special election on the day previous to the general election next fall at which all women more than 21 years old may vote on the question of whether they shall have the full right of suffrage.

A bill was introduced into the Natal (South Africa) legislative assembly on Nov. 1st, to amend the franchise in favor of the inclusion of the women in the suffrage of the colony by the deletion of the word "male." The bill was defeated by a vote of 19 to 12. This, however, was more favorable than the vote of four years ago, and the sentiment for woman suffrage is steadily growing.

The New York Equal Suffragette society, of which Mrs. Clarence Mackay is the president and leading spirit, has reduced its annual dues from five to two dollars. According to Mrs. Mackay this reduction is for the purpose of getting self-supporting women as members. She believes that women wage earners need the ballot more than any other class to protect themselves against the man-made laws regulating hours of work.

The headquarters of the National American Woman Suffrage Association has been moved from Warren, Ohio, to New York. The offices are located on the 17th floor of a handsome new office building at 505 Fifth avenue. Rev. Anna H. Shaw and Prof. Frances Squire Potter, president and corresponding secretary, are the officers in charge. The press department is under the personal direction of Mrs. Ida Husted Harper.

Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont has invited the negro women of New York to join the Political Equality Club of which she is president. Ultimately they may form suffrage associations of their own, but for the present as many as wish will be admitted to the Political Equality Club. Forty enrolled today at a meeting addressed by Mrs. Belmont in a West Side negro church. Mrs. Belmont came quickly to the point.

"I feel," she said, "that unless this cause means freedom and equal rights to all women of every race, of every creed, rich or poor, its doctrines are worthless and it must fail."

In their last convention the Socialist women of New York City voted against a proposition to work with the suffragists at such time and place as should seem not incompatible with their principles. Regarding this action Ida Husted Harper says in a recent report:

"The suffragists have won the confidence of the wage earning women and it is probable that henceforth they will work together. In view of all this it seems incredible that the Socialist women of New York should do what they have done. They held a mass meeting on December 19th, and after a full discussion voted by a large majority

not to affiliate or work with any of the suffrage associations. Previously the leaders had called several times at the headquarters and had received from Dr. Shaw and other officers the most positive assurance, both spoken and written, that the National Association never assisted with money, speakers or work any movement for limited suffrage.

At a special meeting of the Women's Political Association of Victoria held on November 12th, the president, Miss Vida Goldstein, was nominated as a candidate for the senate at the election for the commonwealth parliament, which will be held during March or April of next year. Miss Goldstein will stand as a non-party candidate and will seek to enlist the support of the electors for a federal equal marriage and divorce law, and against the development of the military spirit in the boys of Australia, as the new defense bill provides for military training, by means of the cadet movement, from 12 years of age.

At Vienna last October M. Joures, Socialist member of parliament, said in a speech:

"Not as a matter of gallantry, but as I am convinced that this forms part of the social position, I will now particularly address the women here present.

"They, too, have numerous rights to conquer. How many unfortunate women from factories have to begin another task after their working day at the factory, and toil again at home!

"The women have the right and the duty to urge the solution of the question of their economical and social position.

"We shall take our stand by the side of the valiant women workers who rise to claim economical and political equality with men.

"Since there are numerous feminists in Isere, I hold it my duty to encourage them to hasten the hour when complete equality of rights for men and women shall be proclaimed."—M. G. K.

Mrs. Alma V. Lafferty Lawmaker.

After three months' experience as the only woman member of the Colorado legislature among ninety-nine—sixty-four in the house and thirty-five in the senate—I am more than ever firmly convinced of the right and justice of woman suffrage, and believe, that, whenever it is possible, it is the duty of a woman to take an active part in helping to make the laws of her state, says Alma V. Lafferty in the Delineator for September. Until now, I never realized how badly the mother heart and the appreciation of the human side of every question are needed in our law-making assemblies. When it comes to making laws for the protection of our children and for the betterment of conditions for women, who is more capable or better fitted to perform the task that the women themselves?

It was with much reluctance that I consented to allow my name to come before the convention for nomination on the democratic legislative ticket. The nomination came to me, unasked on my part, at the request of the women of the party, and it met with no opposition in the convention. I made a strenuous campaign and often spoke at three different meetings in one evening; first, perhaps, in some little old public hall in the lower part of the city; next, in one of the prominent theaters, and last, at a drawing-room meeting in one of the fashionable houses in the best residence district, where we would have music and dainty refreshments.

The drawing-room meeting was likely to be a society function, at which the invitation might read: "To meet the coming election issues." On election day, accompanied by a party of friends, I went in an automobile from one voting place to another, at each finding quite as many women as men. In fact, in Colorado, the women are much more active and successful than the men in getting the voters out to the polls.

The bulk of human misery is achieved by the married woman of the middle class, for added to the unassisted care of their families are often bitter poverty and periods of haunting fear.—Franklin Wentworth.

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FOR THE CHILDREN



LOVE'S PATRIOT.

ERNEST CROSBY.



I saw a lad, a beautiful lad,
With a far-off look
In his eye,
Who smiled not at
the battle-flag
When the cavalry
troop marched by.

And sorely vexed I
asked the lad
Where might his
country be,
Who cared not for
our country's flag
And the brave from
over-sea?

"Oh, my country is
the Land of
Love,"
Thus did the lad
reply;
"My country is the
Land of Love,
And a patriot there
am I."

"And who is your king, my patriot boy,
Whom loavely you obey?"
"My king is Freedom," quoth the lad,
"And he never says me nay."
"Then you do as you like in the Land of Love,
Where every man is free?"
"Nay, we do as we love," replied the lad,
And his smile fell full on me.

CHILDREN'S HOTELS.

JOSEPHINE CONGER-KANEKO.

In the December P. W. we talked about the little children in New York who lived in the crowded and filthy slum houses. Now we will look at the lives of more fortunate little ones who live in great, beautiful hotels, and have everything they need or want.

Their parents live with them, of course. And they all have nice rooms together. But there are special play rooms just for the children, where whole crowds of them can go, and with nurses to watch and play with them, they spend whole afternoons in the greatest of enjoyment. You see, the nurses must be there so if some one gets his head bumped, or a splinter in her finger, the nurse attends to it immediately, and no bad results follow. Of course, a play room is not perfect without toys, and the hotels furnish plenty of beautiful and expensive toys for their little guests—toy railroads, rocking horses, lovely big dolls, shallow tanks with warships in them, menageries with hair covered animals, to say nothing of marbles and all sorts of indoor games. These toys are always much better than any family of average means can buy for their children.

Besides the play rooms there are glass sun parlors on the roof where little folks can go with mothers or nurses on cold or rainy days, and amid the palms and other luxuriant plants have a real out-of-door lark. Then there is the roof play ground. You know the little slum children play on the dirty roofs of the houses and sometimes fall off. But these roof gardens or play ground are fitted up with high walls so the children can't fall over. They have little forests of small trees, like a park, and flower beds, and grass with winding paths, so that it is exactly like being on the ground, only there is never any danger from the cars and automobiles. Then there are in the hotels shallow swimming pools for the larger children, and there are kindergarten for the very young ones, and even dress-makers who devote their time

to making beautiful clothes just for little boys and girls.

Of course it is lovely to be able to live in a place like this? Not many children have such fine opportunities for care and pleasure, and mental development. The tired mother in the home can't furnish all of these things. She has so many things to think of, and to do, and then she hasn't much money, you know. Father makes all he can, but it isn't enough to buy all the lovely things the little folks in the big hotels have.

There are in New York City over one thousand of these hotels for children, with over 300,000 guests, both big folks and children. Three hundred thousand is a good many to have such a nice time. But when we remember that there are over 1,700,000 little boys and girls who work for a living, we wish that they, too, could have a nice life like this. But they can't, because it takes money to live in these hotels, lots of money, and the little workers haven't got it.

But do you know that under Socialism big hotels, and co-operative homes, and apartment houses, and even private homes, can all be run something like these expensive hotels are now—with everything fixed for the pleasure and welfare of the children. This is one of the things Socialism will look out for—that the little children may have plenty of play time, with the right kind of toys and play rooms and gardens and parks, and with school teachers and nurses and doctors and clothiers to look after them, and see that they have every opportunity to develop into healthy, intelligent and good and kind men and women.

Socialists know that society can never be better than the children it produces, so they want to give ALL the little children the same opportunities for development that the rich ones have today.

Don't you think the Socialists are right?

AM I MY BROTHER'S KEEPER?

(For a Little Girl.)

"Am I my brother's keeper?"
I often hear you ask
As if it were a burden
And not a pleasant task.
I take this opportunity
Responding to your call.
I sneak up loud so all can hear
And answer once for all.
I am my brother's keeper
I am very glad to say
For I put him in his cradle
And rock him every day.

—Pearl Thompson, Webb City, Mo.

Some little folks were playing in a yard, and a stranger passing by asked who lived there. "Mr. Stone," answered a little girl. "And who are you?" asked the stranger. "Oh, we're—the little pebbles," retorted the child.

Have you children in your family? If so, you want to begin their Socialist education now. Get them something to read. THE SOCIALIST PRIMER, by Nicholas Kline, is the thing to start off with. Regular price, twenty-five cents. To our readers, fifteen cents.

Send twenty-five cents for a copy of "Sorrow of Cupid" and "Little Sister of the Poor," and send them to your neighbor who needs enlightenment. This is the quickest way to do it.

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

How many leaflets have you distributed this month?

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You Should Know About THE American Woman's League

The American Woman's League is today one of the largest and most powerful organizations of women and men in the world—and its membership is growing rapidly, in all sections of the country.

Its single purpose is the Educational and Social Advancement of its members and their children.

To promote the educational interests of its members it has organized and equipped The Peoples University and has already completed the first of a million-dollar group of six magnificent buildings to carry on its educational work. Believing most thoroughly in the slogan, "Keep the Children at Home," it gives its instruction in all the useful Arts, Sciences, Professions and Trades by mail, right in the homes of the students.

Absolutely not a penny of charge is made to any member for the Correspondence Courses of the University; the free use of any or all of the Courses is a right of membership for life.

The Peoples' University, in addition, does what no other institution could attempt. It singles out, each year, its ablest students—those who possess real genius—and brings them to University City, at its own expense, for a personal attendance course under the Masters, and pays these students a salary of not less than \$60 a month for living expenses, while here. In other words, thoroughly fits them for the battle of life.

For the development of social life and advancement, the League erects in any community where there are sufficient members (from 15 up) a beautiful, commodious Chapter House for the sole and exclusive use of its members, in which to hold social gatherings, etc. Upwards of fifty such Chapter Houses are already built or arranged for.

These Chapter Houses are erected, fully and beautifully furnished, and maintained by the central body of the League, without a dollar of expense to the local members.

Aside from these two principal features of the League, the minor advantages of membership are many and varied, and any one of them is well worth the small effort required to become a member.

Life membership, entitling the members to all the advantages of the whole organization, may be secured by any woman (or man) of the white race, in a few days or a week's time, absolutely without the expenditure of a single dollar.

If you are a young woman or young man seeking educational advantages that will enable you to command success; if you are a parent interested in the welfare of your children—you cannot afford not to know about the League, and what it can do for you.

The coupon below, or a postcard request, will bring immediately full, detailed and convincing information.

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"SICK AND LOST HIS GRIP"

MAE GUTHRIE TONGIER.

I sing the hymn of the Conquered
Who fell in the battle of life;
The hymn of the wounded, the beaten,
Who died overwhelmed in the strike,
The hymn of the low and the humble,
The weary, the broken in heart,
Who strove and who failed acting bravely
In silent and desperate part;
Whose youth bore no flower on its branches,
Whose hopes burned in ashes away,
From whose hands slipped the prize they had
Grasped at.
Who stood at the dying of day
With the wreck of their life all around them,
Uplifted, unheeded, alone,
With death swooping down o'er their failure
And even their faith overthrown."

One summer day (it was Sunday and the air
was filled with the music of church bells) a boy
dropped quietly from Brooklyn bridge into the
river and drowned himself. He was only four-
teen years old, a newsboy, and was known as
Whitey.

A small companion on being questioned as to
the causes leading to the act, answered with sim-
ple pathos: "Sick and lost his grip."

Poor Whitey! Somewhere in the reeking pur-
sues of the city he was born, the unwilling of-
spring of Ignorance and Want. If he had been
consulted in the matter Whitey would probably
have chosen to remain unborn. He was not con-
sulted.

Our boasted civilization shows some striking
incongruities. We breed horses and cattle under
such conditions as will insure the highest types.
Men and women are produced haphazard.

Ordinarily we give more thought to the propa-
gation of a Poland-China pig than is bestowed
on the genesis of a human being.

Belgian hares are duly pedigreed—anybody will
do to be the author of a child.

Here is an aspect of Race Suicide which, ob-
viously, that sturdy champion of large families,
the strenuous Mr. Roosevelt has not dreamed of
in his philosophy. I agree with the gentleman
who said the other day that race suicide is pref-
erable to race decay. Not "More children," but
"A better breed and a fairer chance for those
already born" would be a fitter motto for our
time.

There are worse crimes on the calendar than
that implied by a shortage in the annual human
output.

Nobody asked Whitey if he wanted to come
here. It is doubtful if anybody really wanted him
to come; for was he not a child of the Slums?
And the children of the slums are rarely welcome.
His first feeble cry awakened no responsive joy
in any human breast. No tender face smiled
down on his, so weakened and so small and found
it beautiful. No gentle lullaby had soothed his
baby ears or woman kiss had warmed his lips.
Nobody cared enough to give the child a name.

In the brief but comprehensive nomenclature
of the street he was simply labeled "Whitey" and,
at an age when it is every child's sweet right
to know the clasp of sheltering arm, this atom
of humanity was tarawa upon the scolding flood
of city life, and left to sink or swim, survive or
perish.

As society is organized today, too many chil-
dren happen into existence and must take their
chances for the rest.

Whitey happened, and the chances were against
him. Heredity was against him, environment
was against him.

As for God—we get our concept of God from
the conditions that surround us. Whitey's con-
cept was that of a big omniscient policeman, for-
ever on the watch to catch and punish him and
from whom he was under perpetual orders to
"move on"! And so through fourteen lonely and
neglected years he starved. Yes, that's the word
—starved.

Not that he did not in a fashion get enough
to eat; almost every day he gorged his fill from
garbage cans in some back alley, with frequent
feasts of rotten fruit culled from the gutters—to
say nothing of the annual Thanksgiving dinner
provided by the Associated Charities. He had
enough to eat, such as it was.

But man does not live by bread alone. The
larger life which is the rightful heritage of all
demands something more.

Says Emerson: "If I had but two loaves of
bread I would sell one of them and buy white
hyacinths to feed my soul." It is a fine soul-
ment, but for the many, difficult of realization
in this hard, competitive age. Whitey had within
him infinite possibilities for happiness in the
appreciation of all things beautiful and good and
true—in books, in art, in nature, and in the lives
of humanity. But never having owned the extra
loaf, white hyacinths were not for him. He went
his way soul-hungry and unfed. And five short
words summed up his pitiful obituary: "Sick,
and lost his grip."

Small wonder that the river wooed him with
its murmurous voices, calling him to come and be
at rest. Where else had he to go? He could not
go to the jail, for he had committed no crime.
He could not go to the hospital; he was not sick
enough for that. He could not go to the morgue;
he was not dead yet. Where could he go?

J. Pierpont Morgan's blooded colts have their
paddock and Mrs. Vanderbilt's pet peedles have
their silken cushions, but the Son of Man (whose
name is sometimes Whitey) had not where to lay
his weary head. So he laid it in the river's bed.

Sic transit Whitey!
And the pity of it was, nobody cared very much.
The coroner said he came to his death by drown-
ing, caused by himself with suicidal intent. The

coroner had to say something; so he said that.
It was false! *Whitey was murdered.*

Bad parentage, bad food, bad air, bad sur-
roundings—these were the primal causes of his
death. Ave, long before the slime of the river
had closed his eyes and stopped his breath and
steeped in Lethaean slumber his tired senses, he
had died. Hope had died, and courage; faith and
aspiration.

The better part of him had died; caught be-
tween the upper and nether stones in the cruel
grind of our capitalistic system; beaten down by
the strong in the mad rush of corporate greed
to "get there". Crowded to the brink, and over,
by a ruthless, rampant individualism, this child
of fourteen years was done to death.

Who was responsible?
Everybody.

The preacher in his pulpit, the editor at his
desk, the scholar among his books, the farmer in
his field, the workman at his bench, the states-
man in the nation's capital—when Whitey lost
his grip and sank despairingly to rise no more,
it was everybody's business—it was yours and
mine.

Some day all this will change, and in the age
of Social Sanity which is steadily growing in the
hearts of good people everywhere, such tragedi-
es as marked the close of Whitey's brief career will
be unknown.

For the great trust called Humanity will take
unto itself the earth and the fullness thereof to
be the common property of all. And love, which
the big, cold lonesome outside world into a larger
is another name for Justice, will yet transform
Home, with room a-plenty at the common fire-
side and the common board, and a welcome and
good cheer; and none shall be left out and none
forgotten.

But when shall these things be? I do not know.
"God's better day shines through the gray,
Lean out your souls and listen."

"THE PEOPLE'S HOUR,"

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THE ECONOMIC SORE.

The rapid development of Socialist ten-
dencies in the theatrical profession and the
avidity with which its leading exponents
are delving into economic subjects is not
surprising.

Portraying life, they ever seek new
phases of life, and in their investigations
must come in contact with much of the bit-
ter side. Not finding life any too easy
for themselves, they take a deep interest
in the misfortune, misery and poverty of
others.

Two prominent stage women are quoted
on what constitutes a moral play.

Mary Shaw, who has played Ibsen roles,
as well as Mrs. Warren's Professional, Shaw's
reflection of the lewd world, takes a vein
different from most women who have por-
trayed such characters. Says Mary Shaw:

"Perhaps the most immoral play now on
the stage, and I have said this personally
to the author, is: 'Mrs. Wiggs of the Cab-
bage Patch.' It teaches contentment with
and resignation to poverty. There is no
more potent factor toward the degenera-
tion and general devitalization of the race
than poverty. To teach people by the
drama that poverty is right, that it enno-
bles, is immoral.

"Mrs. Wiggs sits up all night with a child
sick with typhoid fever and only says in
optimistic patience how much worse it
would have been if all four of her children
had had it. Any woman with a sick child
should have a trained nurse to help her
nurse it. And woman with a sick child
should have the most hygienic surround-
ings and elaborate antiseptic precautions
that science has developed if she expects
to save that child's life. Sunshine and fresh
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cold, water, are the foundation requirements. The rich have all that in illness. To imply by dramatic teaching that there is any justice in denying them to one class and giving them to another is immoral. They are the things which belong as a matter of course with this age. They are the contribution of science to disease. What is Mrs. Wiggs doing but conniving with the force that may kill her child when she meets it, poverty, with smiling face and outstretched hand?"

When the play was first dramatized the title role was offered to Miss Shaw. "It is just the part for you," the manager said. "I would not play it under any consideration," Miss Shaw told him. "It is a play designed to lull the consciences of the rich by satisfying them that the poor can be happy if they want to, and further designed to bewilder and turn the poor toward the negative virtues of poverty. That is lies and treachery, and I couldn't play it. There is nothing that it pleases the rich to see on the stage more than the humble, poverty-stricken home, where hunger and want are accepted as God-sent and inevitable, and the poor take it all and give thanks there's nothing worse. The only right attitude toward poverty is one in which it is resented and fought against.

"I would play the part of a woman selling herself to shame," said Miss Shaw, "showing how such a sale was the result of forces in society which were working for the disintegration of humanity. I would play such a part because it is true. But a Mrs. Wiggs, approving society's right to deny her the best of everything to help her bring up her children, I would not play, because it is false."

Miss Olga Nethersole, whose play, "The Writing On the Wall," exposes the Trinity

corporation mercilessly, says it is a great moral play.

"Today the community problem is paramount," says Miss Nethersole. "All the characters I am best known in, including Paula Tanquery, Camille, etc., really lead up to the community play. I have been trying to show by my acting that there are not two classes of humanity, one good and the other bad. There is only one class. That class can be both good and had—and inherited tendencies and environment are going to decide whether mostly good or mostly bad.

"Present-day production of all the necessities of life enables us to control in greater measure than was ever dreamed of before the inherited tendencies and environment of people. That, you see, means their goodness and their badness. Modern machinery has taught us how to make all that the whole world needs of clothing, food and shelter. Only we haven't learned yet how to give to the workers of the world the very things they produce in such plenty. That is the problem of today. Everything else is insignificant. This is in its finality the problem, of both environment and heredity. For heredity is the result of a parent's environment. It comes to this—to settle the individual problem you must first settle the community problem.

"I have myself been in the slums of New York City. I have gone to Trinity-owned tenements and seen conditions there. The room described by the character I portray in "The Writing on the Wall" I saw myself and furnished to Mr. Hurlbut all the details for the play.

"Think of a room where a mother worked at baby robes which rich people later were to buy. She was surrounded by her own

three children, whimpering and crying and longing for a little childish joy. At every effort on their part to laugh or talk or prattle they were warned by a 'Hush, children hush,' from the mother. For four men slept at one end of the room on the bare floor, and unless the children kept still so that the men were not disturbed, they would not come to sleep here the next day and the woman would lose the five cent paid by each man for the sleeping privilege. The men worked at night, but were too poorly paid to get any better lodging than these. The room, of course, abounded in disease germs. There were seven thick masses of paper on the walls. How many children of the rich who bought the baby robes on which the mother was working were infected with tuberculosis, scarlet fever, diphtheria, typhoid, etc., because those robes were made under such horrible conditions, no one will ever know. But some day the rich will waken to the fact that they must, for their own lives' sake see to it that no man or woman ever has to work in anything but sanitary surroundings where everything is done to save the health and strength of the worker.

"We tried for ages to make the rich see that their duty demanded attention to the way the 'other half' lived. It did little good. But today we can prove to them that their health demands it. And that is going to make them wake up."

Miss Nethersole may make those who see her play think along the line that work for economic progress, but the very persons who require the lesson will not be the ones who are apt to see the play. All agitation helps, but the social and industrial sore must begin healing at the bottom; the cure is to be lasting.—Michigan Union Advocate.

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