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CONVENTION NUMBER

# The PROGRESSIVE WOMAN



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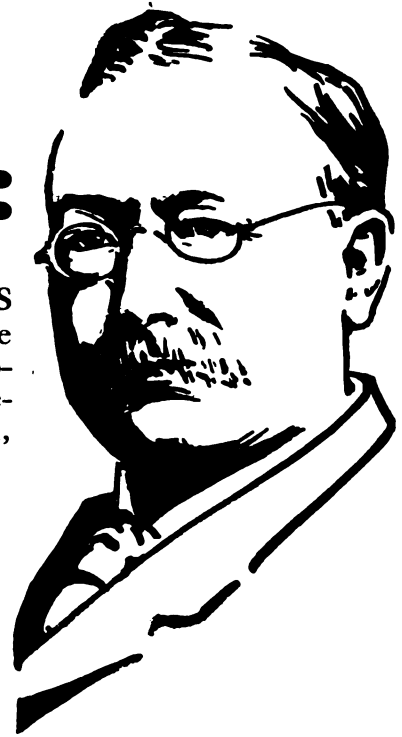


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# THE PROGRESSIVE WOMAN

Volume V

MAY, 1912

Number 60

## Work of Women in the Socialist Party

By CAROLINE A. LOWE

(The following is from the preliminary report prepared by Miss Lowe for the national convention in May.)

At the birth of the present Socialist Party, which took place at the unity convention of 1901, there were eight women who attended as regularly elected delegates.

Their influence was that of individual women and not that of representatives of any special movement of unrest or protest among the women of the working class. Such a movement had not yet had time for formation and we find no mention made in the minutes of the convention of woman's activity in the party organization, or of any need for special propaganda among women. The only mention made of the party's attitude toward women is in the platform, which demands "equal civil and political rights for men and women."

Three years later, in the national convention of 1904, the number of women delegates had not increased. California, Oregon, Colorado, Iowa, Wisconsin and Pennsylvania each sent one, while Kansas sent two women in a delegation of six.

In the proceedings of this convention also we search in vain for any acknowledgment of the special wrongs or needs of the working woman, or of the necessity for any particular line of work to reach them with the Socialist message and enlist them in the party organization.

The Socialist women definitely made their debut in the party organization at the national convention of 1908. Twenty of them appeared upon the floor of the convention as delegates from fourteen states. Each of the twenty had a decided opinion as to the best way to reach her sisters and bring them into the fold.

From the first day to the last no group in the convention was more active and aggressive than were the women.

During the years from 1904 to 1908 the Socialist party had awakened to the fact that the "woman question" was a vital, living issue and must receive consideration. So, on the afternoon of the first day, the Committee on Rules recommended that "a committee on women and their relationship to the Socialist Party shall be elected, to consist of nine members," and the committee was duly elected.

The report of this committee recommended that a permanent woman's national committee, consisting of five members, be elected to formulate plans for, and to have charge of, the special work of propaganda and organization among women. It also provided that a special woman organizer be kept permanently in the field.

Not only did the convention adopt the above plans for pushing the work among women, but it also enlarged upon the meager platform demand of 1904 by inserting the plank, "Unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and

women, and we pledge ourselves to engage in an active campaign in that direction."

The quiet, earnest work of women pioneers had at last born fruit, and woman's share in the affairs of the party was now officially recognized. It but remained for her to outline her plan of action and put it into effect.

The Woman's National Committee proceeded to do this in a most efficient manner. A "Plan of Work for Women in Socialist Locals" was prepared and widely circulated.

Special leaflets dealing with many phases of the woman question and the industrial conditions particularly affecting women and children were published.

By 1910 the special woman's work was so well established that the national party congress of that year embodied in the national constitution provisions for its continuance. An amendment which was included in the report of the Committee on Constitution and adopted by the congress, provided that a woman's national committee, consisting of seven women, be elected in a manner similar to the election of the National Executive Committee, and that it have charge of the propaganda and organization among women. It further provided that all plans of the committee concurred in by the National Executive Committee be carried out at the expense of the National Office.

The closing paragraph of the report of the Woman's National Committee contained the recommendation that there be installed a Woman's Department in the National Office and that the manager of this department be one of the regular employes of the office. The report was adopted.

Now, indeed, the women had become a bona fide institution in the party organization. The Woman's National Committee elected a general correspondent to take charge of the Woman's Department and the work among women was established upon a permanent basis.

### General Results of 1910-11

Much has been accomplished within the past two years. Many local woman's committees have been organized, hundreds of thousands of leaflets for women have been distributed. Women are serving as secretaries of five states, and of one hundred and fifty-eight locals.

One member of the National Executive Committee, two members of the National Committee and one of the International Secretaries, are women. Fourteen states have women state correspondents. Among our best known national lecturers and organizers, eight are women, and over twenty women have come under our notice as doing exceptionally good work on the Socialist platform in a national way.

About two hundred and fifty circular letters were sent out to locals having active women members, requesting answers to cer-

tain questions. Thirty-five replies were received. A summary of the work done by the women in these thirty-five locals shows remarkable activity. But no summary in dollars and cents can measure the actual result of their work. It represents an educational growth that is preparing many thousands of women and young girls to take part intelligently in the class struggle and work side by side with their brothers in winning the emancipation of the working class.

The summary of the reports from these thirty-five committees shows that these locals have a combined membership of 1,677 women.

During the year 1911 these committees have held 850 meetings. This does not account for all the woman's meetings held even in these thirty-five places. In the New York and Chicago reports, only the largest and most important meetings were recorded. Meetings held by the women members in the individual branches were not reported for either of these cities.

During the year 1911 and the latter part of 1910, these committees, through their own efforts raised nearly \$10,000, or to be exact, \$9,740.09. This is exclusive of the money they helped to raise in the regular work of the locals, \$5,893.96 was raised for strike benefits, \$866.50 for campaign funds, \$529.49 for the support of the Socialist press, \$337.35 for assisting in the furnishing of local headquarters, and \$214.93 were spent for special literature for women.

When we realize that \$10,000 was raised by the women in only thirty-five out of the five thousand Socialist locals and branches in the United States, we can begin to appreciate that from a financial standpoint, if from no other, it is important to enlist the women in the active work as members of the party.

### Woman Organizers

At the opening of the Woman's Department in the National Office, Anna A. Maley was the only national woman organizer sent out by the Woman's National Committee. Comrade Maley is one of the most capable organizers in the Socialist Party. Her work proved of great service to the committee. Later she gave up the work to become the editor of "The Commonwealth."



Anna A. Maley.

Florence Wattles was elected as an organizer for the committee and was assigned to Indiana. As a result of her work in this state, local committees were organized and the woman's movement given great impetus through the state. In December, 1911, Comrade Wattles began work in Pennsylvania. During her work in that state she has organized several commit-



tees and has strengthened not only the work  
(Continued on page 13.)



# WOMAN SUFFRAGE BEFORE A SOCIALIST CONVENTION

By Winnie E. Branstetter.



Several years ago I attended my first Socialist convention in one of the western territories. Everything had been discussed and resolved upon, from the evolution of man to the marriage of Alice Roosevelt.

Naturally I felt a little strange, and filled with awesomeness, especially when I heard a particularly revolutionary phrase bur-r-r from the tongue of an aspiring speaker. You all know how revolutionary phrases affect one, how the pleasing, shivery little tremulous sensations chase each other up one's spine, flooding the brain with clamorous, unintelligent approbation.

I made several attempts to speak, but each time my knees refused to support my eighty-seven pounds and proceeded to do a ragtime stunt under the protecting folds of my skirts. Those blessed petticoats, without whose rippling clingingness I should never have been able to stand erect! A silence fell upon the convention as my palpitating tongue and trembling lips framed the following memorable motion:

"Comrade Chairman, I move that the remainder of this session be given to a discussion of the attitude of the Socialist Party toward woman suffrage." My motion received an immediate second.

Our dignified chairman, looking at me with kindly but condescending understanding of my lack of political knowledge, remarked: "Comrade, it seems to me that your motion is uncalled for. Our platform and constitution have always stood for woman suffrage. There are three of you here in this convention. Certainly this is sufficient; any discussion would be a waste of time. However, seeing as you are a lady I will proceed to put the question." So again my petticoats saved the day, and my motion carried unanimously with great and prolonged applause.

A cowboy preacher, recently converted to Socialism through the Christian Socialist, was the first speaker on his feet to defend womanhood. "Ladies and gents," he said, "I have always been for the ladies even if I ain't married. My mother was a woman. God bless 'em all, and I have done been saved by the grace of God and Socialism." Turning toward the women delegates and visitors, he heaped praises upon them, his gray-haired mother and women in general for making him what he

was. I looked to see what it was for which we were so praised, and saw top boots, corduroy trousers, a soiled flannel

shirt and a flushed, unintelligent, male person paying tribute to persons of the opposite sex. Glancing into the yard next door, I saw a foolish red rooster strutting about a group of admiring, industrious brown hens. \* \* \*



The next speaker had been a prohibition lecturer. He wore a red tie, carefully groomed hair and mustache.

He did not tell us he was for the ladies, but his smirking smile as he looked our way proclaimed the fact. He launched out into bitter denunciation of brute man, bestialized and degraded by alcohol, mentioned serpents several times, wept over the widows and orphans of drunkards, and closed his remarks by repeating a very touching poem about a woman, a reformed drunkard, and a pair of baby shoes in an old trunk. His exit was attended by vociferous weepingness.

As our prohibitionist left the platform, a tall, lank lawyer, in conventional county-seat garb, took his place. He was perfectly at ease, and spoke at length and with great eloquence to his spell-bound audience. He mouthed phrases about the inherent chivalry of man to woman, said something about a weaker vessel and the duty of a mighty oak to protect the clinging vine. Drawing a spotless handkerchief from the inside pocket of his frock coat, with highly dramatic effect, he stated that his mother also was a woman, and cited other touching incidents in history which proved beyond a doubt that the mothers of the great men of all ages had been women. Folding his arms across his breast, and resting his body upon his right foot, he struck the renowned pose of the conquering Napoleon—although in reality he looked like a vaudeville impersonator of Lincoln. He ended his speech by declaring he was willing to die, if need be, to save Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone from the gallows.

A village preacher followed the lawyer. He was delighted to address the convention upon a subject which lay so near his heart. He advised us women to go right ahead as we had been doing, distributing "Appeals" and giving ice-cream socials, working always within woman's sphere. He assured us that in 1912 we would have the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, and then woman—blessed womanhood and sacred motherhood—would come into her own. He said that he would give his life if the wife of his bosom understood Socialism like Sister Jones, and that she would have been right by his side



THE RENOWNED POSE.

if peaches had not been ripe for canning. He closed his remarks by offering up the last drop of blood in his body to save helpless women and little children from the demon rum.

A cranky old fellow, an active member of the Farmers' Co-operative Association, was opposed to reforms or remedies of any kind. He had read "Patching the Old Garment," and was for our sticking to the class struggle and emancipating the working class from wage slavery. Anyhow, he had read that Mrs. Belmont was for woman suffrage and he was opposed to the Socialist Party having anything to do with anything that Mrs. Belmont was mixed up in. He "lowed as how" he would quit the Farmers' Union or the Woodmen of the World if that woman should join them. By way of closing, he said: "I jest want to go on record as objectin' to our speakers sellin' sech books as Bebel's 'Woman' and the 'Communist Manifesto,' which ain't teachin' Socialism at all." He subsided into his seat, expectorating an incredible amount of tobacco juice into a cuspidor, and continued to build the co-operative commonwealth by whittling toothpicks and matches.

I had been sitting very quietly during the session toying with a bottle of red ink, and loathing myself for having brought it all upon the defenseless heads of my women comrades. Weighed down by the hopelessness of the situation and the dark, malignant glances of those women who had been my friends and comrades, I was trying to decide between an exit by way of the window or the red ink route, when a mighty oak towered aloft in the rear of the room. His twinkling eyes looked with understanding into my fearful, appealing face, as he said, with dignity: "Comrade Chairman, I insist upon your confining the remarks of the next speaker to the question before the convention, 'What shall be the attitude of the Socialist Party toward woman suffrage.'"

This all happened several years ago in a western territory. Times have changed somewhat since then, but the woman question is still shrouded in the nauseous sentimentality of a past age. Even many of our Socialist speakers and representatives seem unable to strip from this issue the foolish chivalry of the Round Table.

Our recent experience in California and Wisconsin forces us to recognize the dual character of the woman question. It is not alone a sex issue, but it is also one of the most vital class issues, and as such the Socialist party, in its championship of the working class, can no longer evade it.

Before the next convention it is to be hoped that the feminist and the masculine egoist will both have disappeared from our midst, and that we may discuss this important question in its social, economic and political phases with understanding and sincerity.

# The Woman's National Committee—Its Work

By May Wood-Simons

The Woman's National Socialist Committee is just four years old. Its work has been principally along two lines, (1) to educate women in Socialism and bring them into the party organization; (2) to secure the ballot for women.

Soon after the woman's committee was first organized the National Woman's Suffrage Association planned to present a petition to Congress for granting the suffrage to women. The Socialist women decided to assist in making this a large petition and collected between four and five thousand signatures which were sent to the National Suffrage headquarters to be incorporated as a part of the petition.

They decided, also, to have a special suffrage meeting at least once each year in every local. These meetings have been held every year since 1908 and in some places not one but several suffrage meetings have been carried through successfully each year. Large theaters have been filled every year in New York and Chicago, not to mention the well attended meetings in Philadelphia, Boston and scores of smaller cities.

Among the speakers who have ably taken up the cause of woman's suffrage and addressed these yearly meetings are Alice Stone Blackwell, Theresa Malkiel, Florence Kelley, Mila Tupper Maynard, Anna Maley, Mayor Lunn, Corinne Brown, Charlotte Gilman, Nellie Zeh, Bertha Frazier and many others.

Finally the Socialist women planned to prepare a petition to Congress and have it presented by the first Socialist congressman. The petition was prepared, signatures were collected and Congressman Berger has presented it to Congress.

In Massachusetts, where there is a Socialist member of the state legislature, a bill has also been presented to the legislature and the Socialist women of Massachusetts organized and carried through a splendid demonstration on the occasion of its presentation.

There are now Socialist legislators in Massachusetts, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, New York and Minnesota. In every one of these states efforts should be made to secure the introduction of suffrage bills and the hearings should be so carefully arranged that the public will clearly understand that it is the Socialist bill on woman's suffrage that is being discussed.

There are three states in which the vote will be taken this fall on the suffrage for women—Wisconsin, Kansas and Ohio. In these states the women's committees will do a great amount of work through their locals to prove to the public that the suffrage for women is one of the fundamental planks in the Socialist platform.

Whenever any body of men has been without the vote it has exerted every energy to secure the ballot. Now let the women show that they equally appreciate the necessity for making themselves a part of the state.

It is noticeable that all the states in which women already have the ballot are far western states and the three just preparing to vote on the question are states in the Mississippi Valley. A great amount of work must be done in the eastern states.

The Socialist Lyceum Bureau might find it advisable in those courses where ten lectures are offered, especially in the central and eastern states, to make one of these lectures on the subject of woman's suffrage.

It may also be found advisable in the fu-

ture to hold the celebration of woman's suffrage day in the Socialist party at such time of the year that it will be feasible to organize large processions of the workers similar to the one in Boston last year. That demonstration was an eye-opener to prosaic old Boston, and the enthusiasm manifested, not only by the working women, but the working men, proved that the effort used in organizing such a procession was well spent.

But while we are making great efforts to secure the ballot for women, the National Woman's Committee has not neglected the fact that redoubled energy is necessary to show the women how to use the ballot when it is secured.

Here the work is truly Herculean. The Socialist women of the United States have not



MAY WOOD-SIMONS.

secured the close co-operation of the women in the organized trades that the Socialist women of Germany and Austria have, where, in fact, it was the Socialist women who organized the women economically. This situation greatly increases the work the women must do among the millions industrially employed.

There is not alone the problem of the women of the large cities, there are the farmers' wives and the great number of women in the small towns. We cannot win until these have been also educated in Socialism. And they are the most difficult of all to reach for they are so closely bound by petty social affairs, old tradition, and sometimes so isolated that it is difficult to arouse any interest in either economic or political questions.

In the four years that the woman's committee has been in existence there has grown up among the Socialist men a strong interest in the education of women. In fact some of the most capable and earnest workers for the emancipation of women are men who are ready to speak and write for their working sisters. But in the end woman's emancipation must be attained by herself, for rights given to those who have not themselves struggled for them and understood their importance are not long retained. Nevertheless, the National Woman's Committee has always recognized the importance of this hearty co-operation of the working men.

A new National Woman's Committee is

just beginning its work. That work should be broader, more vital and constructive than the work of any preceding committee. Herefore the committee has been feeling its way. Now that it is fairly sure of its ground it must work more energetically for definite objects.

Some of these things of importance are:

1. Mothers' pensions. This measure, I believe, is not second even to the old-age pension in importance. One is a provision for life near its close, this is provision for life at its beginning.

2. The arousing of greater interest in the education, amusements, and protection of the young. The Socialist woman cannot run the risk of, like her capitalistic sister, centering her thoughts only on her own development and advancement, a petty individualistic view. She must know that first and foremost she is responsible to society for the young.

3. Industrial education for girls. This subject is one of the gravest importance when women are entering industry to the extent that they are today and the very foundations of their economic life are being laid anew.

4. Leaflets and small booklets have their place, but an effort should be made to bring the Socialist women to make a more careful study than is contained in a five-cent leaflet. The movement is getting far beyond the stage where its efficient work can be done without a broader, more comprehensive knowledge than is found in a few printed leaflets.

5. Finally, an effort should be made to put the one woman's paper we have on a basis that will enable it to do the most effective work for the Socialist cause among women.

## TO THE NEW WOMAN

Hero Myderco

(Following is the woman situation as a young Japanese artist sees it.)

She dreamed a beautiful dream,  
And ended a beautiful slave.  
Thou, daughter of the Danaide, by what name  
Hast thou been condemned to water with a sieve?

She searched the coin in the mud without shame  
Which men threw to buy the rose of her soul,  
Love—  
Ah, everlasting massacre of God's freedom—  
With the bayonet of sex, too horrible for thee,  
young dove!

Let, then, flowers, perfumes, pestilence-stricken  
romances go!  
Long, yea hopelessly too long, thou hast been  
dwelling  
In a fatal hot-house, caged like a starving roe,  
To die, Oh, slowly to die!

But dost thou hear the drums rolling?  
In the purple distance they roll and drone like  
the waves;  
And now a cry, "Awake, woman!"  
Oh, see the banners rustling like the leaves!

The next issue of The Progressive Woman will be a Child Labor number, and with this issue we will also try and begin again the monthly programs for the locals. Those programs were cut out for the reason that there did not seem to be enough interest in them. With the growth of the women's committees everywhere, we are having more calls for them, and we are glad to give them space, if they are being used. We would like to hear from you in regard to this matter.



## Members W. N. C. and Convention Delegates

On the sixth of April a new Woman's National Committee of the Socialist Party went into office. Those "left over" from the old committee were Lena Morrow Lewis, Winnie Branstetter and May Wood-Simons. The newly elected members are Luella Twining, Mrs. Ella Carr, Mrs. Meta Berger and Grace D. Brewer.

Mrs. Berger, who received the highest vote for this office, is well known to our comrades as having been one of the first Socialists to serve on the Milwaukee school board. She was formerly a teacher. At the present writing she is with her husband, Congressman Victor L. Berger, in Washington, where, no doubt, she is studying carefully the "way they do it at the nation's capital."

Luella Twining came into prominence in the Socialist movement during the Haywood, Moyer, Pettibone trial. Although but a young woman and inexperienced as a platform speaker, so great was her interest in this case and her anxiety for the safety of the accused men that she went out as a speaker



Luella Twining.

in their behalf, with the result that thousands of dollars were raised with which to carry on their fight. Miss Twining has been in Europe for the past two years studying conditions and speaking from time to time. She returns to our movement with a fund of valuable knowledge and experience.

Grace D. Brewer is the efficient "right-hand man" to Fred D. Warren of the Appeal to Reason, being his private secretary and stenographer. She has also been the editor of that famous department in the Appeal known as "The Appeal Army Column" for several years. Her husband, George D. Brewer, known from coast to coast as the manager of the Debs' meetings, is, nevertheless, when in Girard among friends who



Grace D. Brewer.

know them both, frequently introduced as "the husband of Grace." And Mr. Brewer, fully appreciative of the quiet strength and ability of his wife, is always happy to be known as "the husband of Grace." Mrs. Brewer is a valuable acquisition to the W. N. C.

Mrs. Ella Carr is the secretary of the Chicago Christian Fellowship movement, and has for years been the business manager of "The Christian Socialist." Besides the large amount of work which falls upon her shoulders in these two capacities, she is the mother of seven growing, healthy children. She also does some field work, going on a speaking tour now and then for the special line of work represented by the Christian Socialist movement. Mrs. Carr is a staunch supporter of the idea that a woman's place is wherever she can best serve society.

Winnie Branstetter, speaker, writer and mother of two bright little girls, is an example of what a very small person with big ideals and a good head can do. While her daughters are in school during the day she is assisting with the work in the Chicago Daily

Socialist office. This is varied by calls to speak before the various branches of the city. Mrs. Branstetter is thoroughly alive to the need of work among women in the Socialist movement, as was evinced by her services on the W. N. C. during the past year.



Lena Morrow Lewis.

enthusiastically to the end. Mrs. Simons is a delegate to the national convention from Kansas.

Anna Cohen is another Pennsylvania delegate to the national convention, and is probably the youngest of all the delegates. She is a working girl, being the head book-keeper with a big mercantile firm. She is a fine type of the young American working girl who has awakened to the situation the workers are in and who are giving every moment of time away from their labor to a further study of the working class needs and to organization that will bring about a readjustment of social conditions in favor of the workers. Comrade Cohen is an active member of the Woman's Committee of Local Philadelphia, and fully realizes the necessity of bringing women into our movement.



Anna Cohen.



Ida Callery.

er for the socialist cause in Oklahoma, and later in Arkansas, which is now their home. Believing, of course, in votes for women, they hope to have matters so arranged that their little daughter can help elect Socialist officials when she is of age. Mrs. Callery includes in



GERTRUDE BRESLAU HUNT.

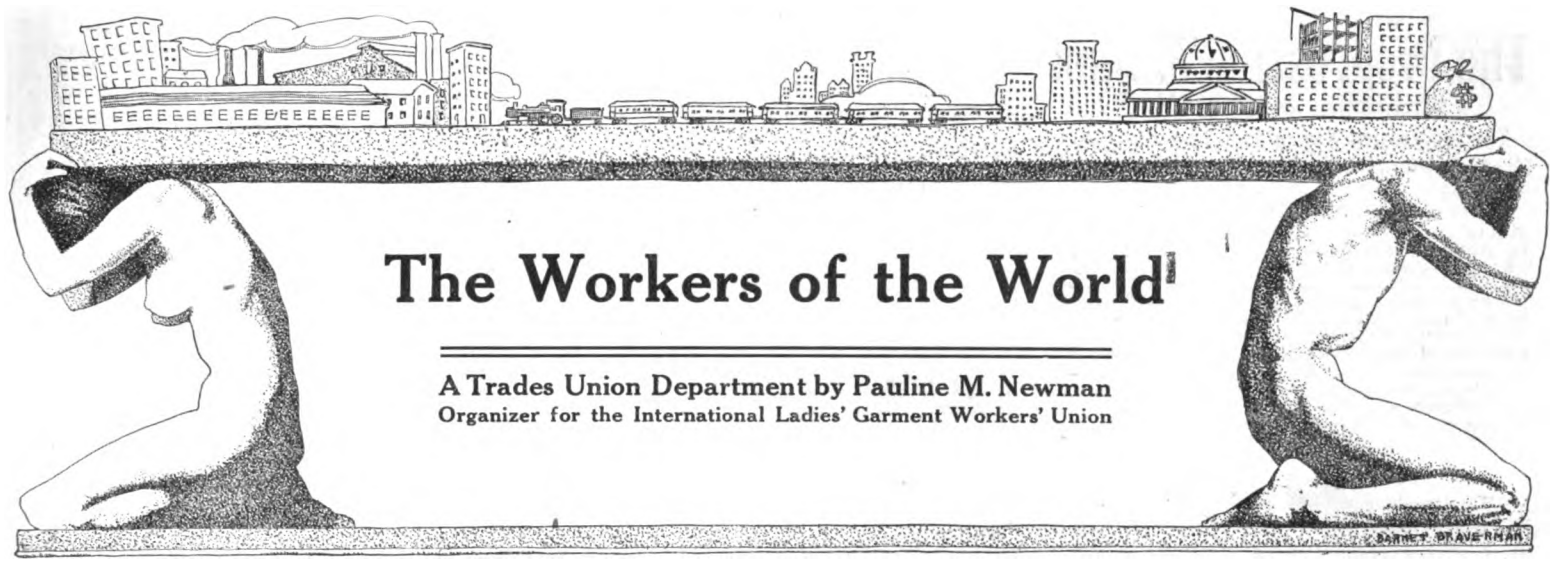
her state work that of pushing propaganda among women.

Gertrude Breslau Hunt is another woman worker who will attend the national convention as a delegate. She comes from Pittsburgh, Pa., where she was engaged all last winter in running down evidence that resulted in freeing Fred Merrick, the editor of Justice, who had been arrested for exposing the terrible conditions in a Pennsylvania penitentiary. As a speaker and writer for Socialism Mrs. Hunt has a nation-wide reputation; but of this particular piece of work little is known outside of the vicinity in which she worked. It is too long a story to tell here, but it is worthy of a book in itself. The Trumbull County Worker (Warren, O.) says: "She had the case so well in hand when the day of the trial came that only one-third of her witnesses were examined, and John Marron, the famous lawyer, paid her the compliment of declaring her the best detective he ever saw." Mrs. Hunt is particularly interested in winning women to Socialism, and one of her best lectures is on the woman question.

Mary O'Reilly, one of the woman delegates from Illinois, is a Chicago girl, a school teacher and a Socialist speaker and writer. She is one of the members of the Board of Directors of the Chicago Daily Socialist, and has been instrumental in helping that paper over numerous rough places. Like many others of our younger women, Miss O'Reilly will no doubt make her work tell for Socialism more and more as the years pass.

One of the hardest workers in the Socialist movement, and one whose name is least known perhaps, is Mrs. Mabel Hudson of the National Office. Mrs. Hudson is another illustration of a very small person accomplishing a great deal of work. She went into the National Office in 1908, and has worked up from stenographer to head assistant of the National Secretary. She has the intricate work of our great, growing organization at her finger-tips. She knows local conditions from Maine to California, and from Alaska to Florida. Day in and day out she is at her desk, and many days far into the night, for to the Socialist movement she has dedicated her life and outside of her official work she finds few pleasures. Mrs. Hudson takes great interest in inspiring activity among the women who are already party members. "It is up to us," she says, "to demonstrate not only to the men, but to ourselves, that we are a necessary part of the organization. As soon as we do this we can take an active, intelligent part in every division of the party work."

Send 10c for a sample dozen of our new post-cards.



# The Workers of the World!

A Trades Union Department by Pauline M. Newman  
Organizer for the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

## HOW ABOUT IT, GIRLS?



At no other time of the year does the working girl feel the burden of the long working day more than in the time of Spring. It is this time of the year that the day seems so long. The air in the factory is suffocating; dirt and dust fill the air and

the whole surroundings seem more wretched, more miserable than ever.

Ah, how you would like to run about the recently awakened country rather than sit at the machine, or at the typewriter! How you would like to roam in the fields, dreaming and admiring the beauty, the mystery of it all!

Outside the sun is shining; you feel like leaving this prison. But the hand on the clock moves so slowly!

What a glorious time is Spring! Despair seems to vanish, gloom is almost forgotten; in the awakening of the earth your entire being is awakened and you feel as though you were transformed into a different being.

A six-hour day in Spring! What a delight it would be to leave the factory, mill, mine, store and office while the sun is still shining! To come to your room and find it filled with rays of sunlight and earthly perfume; to have time to rest, to play and to enjoy the most beautiful time of the year—Spring!

And why not, pray? If you girls would but understand! If you would but realize the power which *all* of you possess! If you would only *know* that it is within your power to establish a six-hour day in Spring, eight hours in Winter and *none* in Summer. Summer should be spent in rest and play; that's all.

Of course *one* of you could never bring it about, but *all* of you could, and in a comparatively short time at that. All you need is to *get together* into an organization on the economic field, and in a few years you will also have power on the political field. Being alive to both, the six-hour day, which sounds to you now as a dream, would become a reality. How about it?

All of you *want* a six-hour day; of this I am certain. But as to how many of you are ready to help realize this dream is a question

which must be answered by *you*. Remember that you can't expect to get it as long as you continue to deal with your employer as an individual. You must bargain collectively and act as a unit, then your desire for a six-hour day would no longer be a thing for the future, but would become an immediate possibility.

How about it, girls? Spring is here; everything is waking, everything is alive—can't you hear it calling? Spring bids you rise and wake!

Let your motto from now on be: "A six-hour day in Spring, and to get it we will *organize* into a *union*."

\* \* \*

A news item in one of the Chicago papers states that eleven employers were fined because they violated the ten-hour law for working women.

The readers of the Progressive Woman also know that the ten-hour law in the city of New York has hardly ever been enforced. Now what does it mean? Why are the employers always in a position to violate the law?

The answer is simple enough, to be sure.

As long as the working women will not concern *themselves* with shortening their hours of labor the employer will always be ready to violate any law which spells *less profit* for him.

It therefore follows that working women must become *their own* factory inspectors. And they can do it easily, providing they will see the necessity for organization.

A law to shorten the hours of labor will prove beneficial to the working women only when the working women themselves will enforce the law—not until then.

\* \* \*

We note with much regret that the strike of the lake seamen, which lasted for more than three years, had to be given up. Of course, we do not know the details. All we do know is that a referendum recently taken by the strikers resulted in favor of abandoning the strike.

The Lake Carriers' Association, however, need not think that if the lake seamen were forced to give in this time they will never strike again, or be satisfied with their lot. Men who had the courage, energy, patience and loyalty to their cause, men who had enthusiasm enough to be on strike for more than three years will never be satisfied with conditions as they are. As Ben Hanford used to say: "Once a striker, always a striker!"

The leaders and the rank and file of the Lake Seamen's Union deserve to be respected

and admired for the splendid spirit they have shown all through their struggle.

\* \* \*

In Passaic, N. J., we have a strike of about 5,000 mill workers. The cause of their strike is the cause of all strikes—namely, low wages and long hours.

According to reports the girls are having a hard time. A special force of police are obeying the dictates of their masters and are clubbing every girl who dares to go near the factory to do picket duty, although picketing is legalized in the state of New Jersey. But it seems that the "special officers," who are the scum of the earth, are using the club—it is mightier than the constitution.

\* \* \*

The strike of the corset workers at Kalamazoo is still on. Scabs are few, and the strikers are hopeful of winning this just fight. We hope that they will succeed in getting the few ignorant girls out of the factory, and this will force the stubborn employer to recognize the rights of his employees.

\* \* \*

Organized working women today are ruled by the spirit of solidarity. And they know when to demonstrate it, too. When two girls employed in a union factory in Cincinnati, Ohio, were discharged without any reason or cause, all of the four hundred girls employed in that factory went down with them. Talk about the advantage of unionism! If all other girls would get together, how much it would mean to them! Today they are getting discharged or sent away without any cause whatsoever, but they can't do anything because they are alone—yes, and because they don't belong to a union.

This act of the four hundred overall makers ought to be a lesson for every working girl.

\* \* \*

Strikes were to take place in about six mill towns, but from newspapers we gather that the employers have increased the wages and have granted every demand of their employees.

\* \* \*

It is reported that the Nemo Corset Company, which employs about 2,000 operatives, mostly women and girls, have at last completed their new factory, which is located at Sixteenth street and Irving place, New York.

The papers estimated that it has cost the owners of this plant more than one million dollars and that it is the most modern and most perfect factory not only in this country but in the whole world.

It has a roof garden that gives enjoyment, (Continued on page 14.)

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## OUR CONVENTION



Eleven years ago the first convention of the Socialist party met at Indianapolis. On May 12 delegates from all over the country, representing an organization of over 130,000 dues-paying members, will come together again to discuss ways and means of

promoting the growth of Socialism and of taking care of the party welfare.

The Socialist Party is now a big and serious matter. Not only a serious matter to the capitalists, but to its own adherents, the working class. How to steer it clear of all dangers and entanglements which beset important bodies infinitely more than small ones is the chief question.

Methods of organization, ways and means of propaganda will be discussed and acted upon. The chief concern of this convention, perhaps, will be the question of organization for the working class on the economic field, and what type of such organization the party should support. There are those who, in the words of the French conservative, Millerand, would "address ourselves only to universal suffrage. In order to begin the socialization of the means of production it is necessary and sufficient for the Socialist Party to pursue with the help of universal suffrage the conquest of political powers."

These would capture the vote of all working men, and through political action usher in the co-operative commonwealth. Others, affected by the French syndicalist movement, would organize new industrial unions, make "direct action" the watchword, and come to victory through forcing, step by step, economic power from the ruling class. Between these extremes are those who stand for political expression through the Socialist Party and for economic organization on the industrial field—these two organizations being separate and distinct arms of the working class, but looking toward the end that both the industrial and governmental powers of the nation come finally into the hands of the workers.

Those delegates who stand for the "two-arm" movement no doubt will oppose new industrial organizations, claiming it is better to work with the material at hand—the American Federation of Labor—than to take up the slow and difficult task of new organizations. It will be moving along the line of least resistance to attempt the perfection of the pres-

ent labor unions rather than to try to build up new ones.

The adherents to the "two-arm" movement, we believe, will win out. However, the fight may be a hard one, and there are expressions of the fear of a split from some quarters. Above all things let us avoid this, since it can only hamper our movement toward final control of the social forces by the workers.

So here is hoping that we may come through the fray stronger, better and more determined to fight the common enemy, capitalism, than ever before!

## THIS ISSUE OF THE P. W.

This issue of The Progressive Woman has been called "The Convention Number," not because it is full of what may happen at the convention, but because we are issuing it at the time of the convention, and are showing, by reporting our women's work in the movement, what our conventions have done for women.

At the convention of 1912 women delegates will take their seats and will proceed with the business of the organization with the same dignity and seriousness that will mark the work of the men delegates. They will not be mere ornaments. Their hard labor in the various lines of party work will have fitted them to take the initiative, if need be, in any question that may come before the house for deliberation. And this latter fact the constitutions and principles of our party make possible.

How pitiable beside this splendid acknowledgment of the equality of men and women is the attitude women are forced to assume in going before the old parties to beg that a woman suffrage plank be incorporated in their platform! How these women must enjoy the sensation of being treated like irresponsible children pleading for a toy they would not know how to use! How much easier to swell the Socialist ranks until the party is large enough to sweep into victory, giving woman political and economic equality, and also releasing the worker from his present miserable condition of wage slavery!

These possibilities the Convention Issue of The Progressive Woman is endeavoring to prove by examples of the women's activities in our movement.

## MASCULINE CHIVALRY

When the great steamer Titanic went down recently it carried with it something like 1,500 human beings, the great majority of them men. Reports have it that about 800 women and children were saved, and something like 80 men, besides the sailors who manned the lifeboats.

We know that these women and children were saved because the men stood back and—gave their lives instead. That is a terrible test of "chivalry" at a time like this. Men who feel themselves of importance in the world of affairs, step aside and give unknown women and children precedence in a life-and-death test.

We are filled with something akin to awe when we think of the personal struggles that must have filled each breast as its owner watched his last hope of life slipping away from him, saw some frail woman taking his place in the lifeboats, and felt the darkness closing in about him.

But they did it. And yet most of those men, no doubt, stubbornly opposed the idea of the rights of women in participation in governmental affairs. Exploited them in industry, voted for the white slave pen, sent the daugh-

ter to the street, the son to the army, the husband to tramp the streets for a job! Four hundred immigrant women were saved. What of the lives of these poor women once they reach New York?

It is a strange situation, and one which no doubt requires the deep and unfathomable processes of the masculine brain to account for. No woman has yet been able to understand it. And, if you please, the women are beginning to say they are willing to exchange the chivalry for the right to help run a government that will build safer ships, safer mines and mills and factories, establish more departments for human welfare and think less of the profits and the gaudy display of the few at the cost of so many lives.

Chivalry, no doubt, has its attractive, romantic side, but just plain common sense would serve social progress so much better!

## WE ARE FIVE YEARS OLD

This month The Progressive Woman is five years old. Certainly we have cause for rejoicing over many things, but, chief of all, over the progress women have made in the Socialist movement, since it was for this that The Progressive Woman came into existence. But as great as our work in the past has been, we feel that it is but a preliminary, a getting ready, for the immense possibilities that lie in the immediate future.

Everywhere the woman's movement for political emancipation is gaining ground. Women are letting go of their age-long prejudices and are coming to understand that being a woman does not prevent participation in the world's progress. And many of these same women are beginning to realize that political freedom alone will not bring about the social millennium for which they long. These are the ones who are ready for the seed of Socialism.

And because there are multitudes of them our work will be a big one—to carry the message to them and to organize them into the fold. As Socialist women we are ready for this work, and The Progressive Woman hopes to do its share, and offers its services as willingly as it has offered them in the past.

One day, when the party has decided it is time to own and publish its own papers and magazines, this magazine hopes to become one of that number. This, we believe, will be in the not far distant future. In the meantime, we shall do the best we can to serve the cause of Socialism and freedom for women to the best of our ability. And here's hoping that 1912 may prove a great year all round!

## THE APPEAL TRIAL

It is hoped that Socialists everywhere will remember that this month the trial of the Appeal to Reason editorial staff comes up in Fort Scott, Kan. The Appeal, with its usual fearlessness, exposed the rotten conditions prevailing in the penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kan. For this bit of useful work its editors are hauled before the federal courts and an effort will be made to force them to pay the highest possible price. Facts coming to light from various quarters show that prison conditions everywhere are intolerable. The most atrocious crimes are regularly committed against the prisoners. And the officers of the law uphold this condition, inasmuch as they drag men into the courts who undertake to make it public. The Appeal men should be cleared, and Socialist party members and the press should see that they are cleared. They have committed no wrong against the laws of the land.



## Woman's Place in Politics—Its Basis

By Lida Parce



Lida Parce.

The old processes of home production were conducted with a high degree of efficiency. Labor was not wasted by wholesale, the reward of labor was not subject to the chance control of unknown or unseen forces. The system was safe, reliable and intelligent, and produced probably the largest amount of goods for the satisfaction of human needs that could possibly have been produced with the tools in hand. Do not forget that so far as goods were produced at home for home consumption, the sole purpose of their production was the satisfaction of needs.

Factory production of the necessities of life, transportation by public service corporations, storage by private companies, have all grown up like weeds in society—perfectly wild, without any sort of regulation or control. They have all been left to the "enterprise" of private individuals, in pursuit of their own profit. The old system was the seed of the new one; but when that seed was fertilized by the principle of private profit it brought forth a strange plant, and that plant a wild one. Now let us see how sane and how efficient the new system is, from the standpoint of either the worker or the consumer.

Under this system, men build factories and produce certain kinds of goods because they believe that people want the goods and have the money not only to pay for the cost of production, but to pay a profit along with the cost. If the supply is greater than the demand, the price goes down; if the supply is limited and the demand is heavy, the price goes up under the law of competition, irrespective of the cost of production. Supply may be limited by natural causes, such as a shortage of raw material or of labor. It may also be limited by artificial causes, such as the closing down of factories and laws which prevent the free movement of materials or goods from localities where they are produced to places where they are wanted for use. Tariff laws belong to the last category; and the freight charges of railroads have all the effect of laws prohibiting the free movement of commodities. Freight rates are established by private and irresponsible persons, or were until the Interstate Commerce Commission began to put a check upon them, but they govern the public function of transportation with absolute despotism. Prices can also be raised by the producers making an agreement between themselves not to compete in the market, but to "divide the territory," that is, each one sells to all the buyers in a certain district, and each one can ask the highest price that the people will pay rather than go without the article.

Take the matter of sugar: The report of the Secretary of Agriculture for 1911 says (p. 16): "The beet-sugar crop, which for several years remained close to \$20,000,000 in value, has risen to more than \$24,000,000 this year, an increase of 23½ per cent above the five-year average and much above the previous highest value." By every rule of reason, sugar should have fallen in price; but every one knows that quite the reverse occurred. Just when the heavy fruit crop and low prices of fruit promised the housewife a means of reducing her cost of living for the next year, the price of sugar soared so that she could not use the

Fifth Installment.

cheap fruit as she would otherwise have done. At the same time, we pay a duty of about 2 cents a pound on sugar, so that foreign sugar may not come in to "disturb the market." Russia produces every year a surplus of 1,733,376,000 pounds of sugar more than that country and Finland together can consume. But by the terms of the Brussels convention she is only allowed to put 440,566,400 pounds of this sugar on the markets of the world. A great problem in Russia, then, is what to do with the other 1,292,809,600 pounds.

Why do the nations which have signed the "Brussels convention" compel Russia to hold that sugar? They tell us with a look of great ingenuousness that the reason why prices are rising so rapidly is that the population is increasing so fast that the food supply cannot keep pace with it. But the official figures show that in 1899 the land planted to sugar beets was 935,305 acres, the yield of beets was 794,658 tons and the product was 57,843 tons of sugar. While in 1909 the acreage was 415,964, the beets produced amounted to 3,965,358 tons and the sugar to 496,807 tons. An increase far beyond the increase in population. Why does the price rise as the supply increases, and rise most rapidly and highest just when the supply is greatest? Don't you think, woman readers of the Progressive Woman, especially those of you who have children to feed and clothe, that this is your question?

How sane and efficient is this system of producing and distributing sugar from the standpoint of the wage earner? A bulletin on manufacturers, issued by the Census bureau, shows that the wages of workers employed in manufactures have increased from about \$426 per year in 1899 to about \$513 in 1909; an increase of 20 per cent. But the price of sugar has risen from 5 cents to 7 cents, an increase of forty per cent.

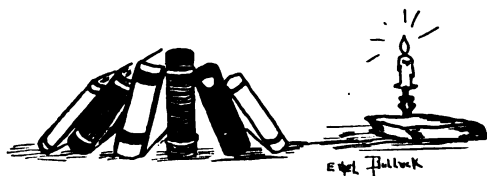
Ever since the railroads have been carrying the wool from the sheep farms and ranges of the West to the woolen mills of the Atlantic states, the roads have made prices and regulations on this traffic which have made it a business necessity for shippers to send their wool clear through to the eastern manufacturers. The Interstate Commerce Commission has now made a ruling by which these rates and regulations are changed so that shippers can market their wool in Chicago; and it is predicted by those familiar with the trade that extensive woolen markets and woolen mills will spring up in this city within a year. This makes it appear that the concentration of woolen manufacturing on the Atlantic coast has been due to artificial causes, and that those causes originated with the railroads, and have been kept in operation by them for this long time for their private benefit. They have thereby secured the haul of the wool unnecessarily for this long distance, and the haul of the cloth back over the same road. If the markets and mills shall be established here, as is anticipated, woolen cloth can then be distributed from Chicago to the Middle West and the prices could be reduced by the amount that has been consumed in this long double haul, without reducing the profits of either the wool grower or the manufacturer. Whether it will be so reduced is another matter.

It will never be possible to compute the unnecessary transportation for which we have been paying, on this one item of wool alone, ever since the railroads were built. If we add to this the tariff on wool, which amounts to 44c a pound on wool in the cloth and to from

50 to 55 per cent of the price of cloth per yard, we shall see that the price has been considerably more than twice as high as it should have been, all to enable a group of irresponsible private persons to control the manufacture of woolen goods for their own profit, and another such group to make us haul our wool over their roads, at their prices, for their profit. Great system!

And all these wrongs, both as to the manufacture and distribution of sugar and of woolen goods, and other kind of goods, are accomplished by the control of the law-making power which lies in the hands of the working class. Can you believe it?

I was talking woman suffrage to a working man the other day, and he replied that he could see how an unmarried woman or a widow had a right to demand the ballot; she might need it; but a married woman had no need for one, as her husband represents her at the ballot box. But the men of this country have not been representing their wives or children at the ballot box on these questions. And they are the important questions. They tell us it would not do to let women vote now, for men have learned so much about voting and women don't know anything about it, and they would only put things back, but I do not see any evidence that men have even begun to learn how to vote. Down to date they are representing no one but these small groups of men who are robbing and exploiting them. Men will never represent themselves or their families until they use their voting power to establish a system which will enable them to buy commodities for just what it costs to produce them, and will give the worker the full value of his labor in wages with which to buy the equivalent of the goods he has produced.



### BOOK BARGAINS.

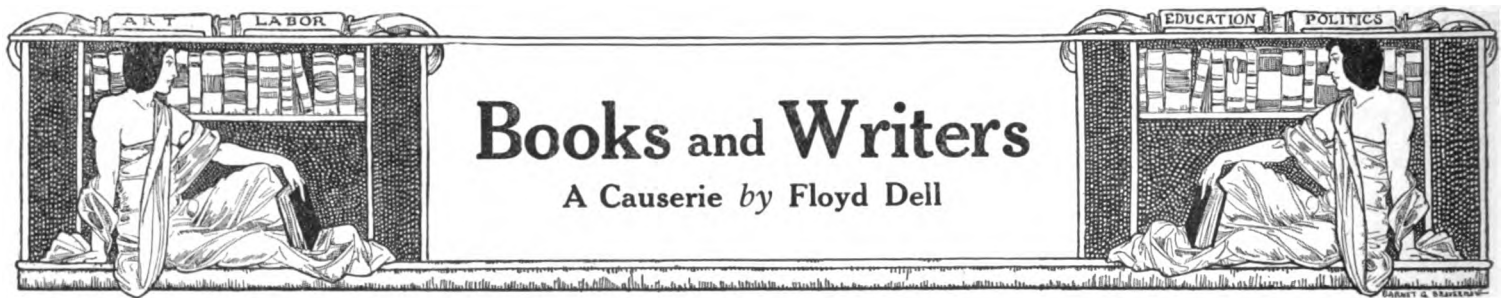
- Bossism and Monopoly, price \$1.50, cut rate 75c.
- Common Sense of Socialism, price 25c (20 or more, 5c net), cut rate 10c.
- Little Sister of the Poor, price 25c (20 or more, 5c net), cut rate 10c.
- Lesson Outlines in the Economic Interpretation of History, price 25c (20 or more, 5c net), cut rate 10c.
- Seven Financial Conspiracies, price 10c (100 or more, 3c net), cut rate 5c.
- Debs: An Introduction, price 15c, cut rate 5c.

### BOOKS YOU SHOULD READ.

- Bebel's Woman .....\$1.50
- The Flower Shop (Wentworth)..... 1.00
- Woman and Labor (Schreiner)..... 1.25
- Woman's Share in Primitive Culture (Mason) ..... 1.75
- Man and Woman (Ellis)..... 1.50
- Human Work (Gilman) ..... 1.00
- Woman and Economics (Gilman)..... 1.00
- The Home (Gilman)..... 1.00

### PAMPHLETS ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

- How the Vote Was Won (Play).....\$0.25
- The Subjection of Women (Mill)..... .25
- Women in the New Era (Despard)..... .20
- The Reforming of Augustus (Play).... .15
- How It Works in Colorado.....2 for .05
- Objections Answered .....2 for .05
- Breaking Into the Human Race (Dorr) .. .05



[The books mentioned here can be procured through The Progressive Woman.]

I HAVE been spending my vacation in the home town of a Socialist novelist. No, I do not mean Upton Sinclair nor Jack London. I mean one better than either. I mean George Cram Cook, author of "The Chasm."

It happens that Davenport, Iowa, which is the home of Mr. Cook, is also the home of a woman writer of mediocre talent and notorious stupidity in regard to social questions, who writes under the quaint pseudonym of Octave Thanet. This lady made a bon mot about "The Chasm." She said: "It ought to have been called 'The Spasm.'" This bon mot has been repeated extensively among the bourgeoisie of Davenport.

Now, as I had recently occasion to remark, the trouble with this bon mot is that it is not funny. If it were made about a hasty, excited, thoughtless book (such as one of the performances of Octave Thanet, for instance), it would have been funny. But when applied to a work as ordered, as calm, as carefully wrought and having as tremendous a philosophical background as "The Chasm," then such a remark is inane and silly.

"The Chasm" is not merely the finest Socialist novel that has been produced in this country, it is the pioneer of a new kind of fiction. The philosophical novel is well known in Europe, and before long it will be well known in this country as well. George Cook's book is the first attempt in this mode of fiction in America, and as a notably successful attempt it ranks with the best achievements of contemporary American novelists—with "Huckleberry Finn," with Frank Norris' "The Octopus" and "McTeague," with Theodore Dreiser's "Sister Carrie" and "Jennie Gerhardt," and with that noble book so marred in its last portions, Robert Herrick's "Together."

The more familiar one is with the best things that have been done all over the world in fiction, the better one knows Dostoiwsky, Turgeniev, Flaubert, Stendhal, Fielding, Moore, Wells, Frenssen, the more eager, I think, one will be to acclaim achievement such as Mr. Cook's in his peculiar and difficult task.

"The Chasm" must, of course, be read with reference to the philosophies which it serves to explicate. By philosophy is not meant a fusty, dusty affair of lecture rooms and text books, something in which no one is really interested. The philosophy I mean, is that which is a part of men's lives, which really influences people's conduct, which has a vital relation to the modern world. The two most important philosophical tendencies of the present day are the Nietzschean and the Socialist. Both of them represent a reaction from the philosophy of Christianity. The early Christians really believed in the philosophy of Christianity. They believed in humility, self-suppression, poverty, charity and obedience. Nobody since the early Christians

has really believed in them. The middle ages was a period of compromise, in which those who believed in these things went off into convents and monasteries, while those who did not believe in them stayed to fight the battle, to paint the pictures, to write the poems and to create the splendors of medieval civilization.

But the modern world does not believe in these Christian virtues at all. The modern world is not founded on the Christian virtues. It is founded on their opposites—on courage, self-expression, fullness of life, generosity and power. Sooner or later there had to come a philosophic expression of our real feelings. As a matter of fact, there came two such philosophic expressions—the Nietzschean and the Socialist, both agreeing in fundamentals, but one being a master-class philosophy and the other a working class philosophy. The Nietzschean philosophy would justify the master class in reducing the working class to slavery. The justification consists in the race of supermen, which is to be the final result of master class domination. On the other hand, the Socialist philosophy justifies the working class in seeking, through the overthrow of the class system, the achievement of these splendors for all the human race.

To make these philosophic ideas vital by weaving them into the lives of his characters was the task of Mr. Cook in this novel. The two main characters, the gardener Bradfield and Count De Hohenfels, represent these two poles of thought, and as the modern world is swayed between Socialism and a half-conscious Nietzscheanism, so is the soul of the heroine swayed between these two men. I do not intend to rehearse the story, but the account of this struggle makes a moving, significant novel.

So far, so good. It is hardly to be expected that the bourgeoisie would appreciate such a novel. It is chiefly to the intellectual proletariat, to the Socialists, that such writings appeal in other countries. And in America—?

I remarked last month that Socialists do not read fiction. And most of them suffer from it. Their minds are afflicted with a drouth from the perusal of too much (alleged) scientific Socialist literature. They need contact with imaginative literature—with good poetry, good plays, good novels—to keep their minds really alive. They ought to read novels like George Cook's. But do they? They do not. Writers like Mr. Cook could live and die, produce masterpieces and starve, and the Socialists would never bother about it. "The Chasm" was hailed from one end of the Socialist press to the other as "the finest Socialist novel." It was praised by Sparzo, Sinclair and a dozen other party notables. But did the Socialists read it? Not they.

I know the excuses. And I know they are not true. All the Socialists, I know waste enough time and money on inferior Socialist writings (to say nothing of other things, of which I would not deprive them!) to buy and read nearly all the good, imaginative literature being currently produced. No, the real reason is ignorance and conceit. In fact, it all simmers down to conceit. The Socialist thinks he can get along without imaginative literature—and therefore he is often grotesquely ignorant of the best thought of the day, as it is made vital by novelists, poets and dramatists.

This is not directed exclusively at the rank and file. It is directed especially at those in the party who pride themselves on their intellectualism. Here is an example. My friend, Fritz Feuchter, the Critic of the Universe (about whom I mean to write a book some day), asked the six Socialist Lyceum lecturers who came to Davenport if they had read "The Chasm." Not one had even heard of it. One of these lecturers was Ernest Untermann. Now Mr. Untermann, as I believe, knows everything else, and so perhaps this one defect in his knowledge, great as it is, may be forgiven. But the others don't know everything else, and they cannot be forgiven. They have convicted themselves and the Socialist Party of the grossest sort of ignorance of their own affairs.

But enough of this preaching. I know what the effect will be. The reader will say: "Yes, that's right. Jones and Brown and Smith, the secretary of the local, ought to do more reading." But he won't send \$1.35 to The Progressive Woman for a copy—or will he?

I will say this: When the Socialists have neglected a few more books like "The Chasm," published for them by friendly "capitalist" publishers, they won't be bothered with any more. For they won't be published.

#### A SPECIAL WOMAN'S NUMBER.

"The Prophet and the Ass," the brilliant Socialist magazine advertised elsewhere in this issue, issues a special woman's number for May. The editor, who is not only an artist (the head of the Kalamazoo Art School, in fact), but a very interesting and versatile writer, is to be congratulated upon this special effort to interest women in Socialism. The articles and illustrations are first-class. Read the regular ad of this magazine elsewhere, and don't fail to send for a copy of the May issue. And The Progressive Woman wishes to say to every man reader that the P. & A. is not only excellent propaganda stuff, all the year round, but is gotten out in pocket-size, and is just the thing to hand to a fellow sufferer from capitalism. Try a bunch of copies and see.



# The Progressive Woman Off the Track

By Josephine Conger-Kaneko

(Following is an editorial comment by Charlotte Perkins Gilman in her magazine, "The Forerunner," of April, on an editorial in the Progressive Woman for March. We also reply to Mrs. Gilman's comment.)

In the Progressive Woman for March, 1912, in an editorial on one of Miss Tarbell's papers, I find this:

"The argument of some of our friends that we are human before we are men and women is a very fine-haired one. If we are to accept the evolutionary theory, we must admit that we were male and female aeons before we evolved into the human. The latter state is comparatively a recent experiment, so new that we are not certain that we are human in the fullest sense of the term even yet. But we are certain of the sex estate, which permeates every fiber of our being, and after all is said and done, leaves us men and women still."

A reply seems necessary from one of the friends of the Progressive Woman, and one who consistently upholds the human qualities as being far more prominent and important than those of sex.

The word "before" as above used has been misunderstood. No one with any scientific knowledge would claim that human qualities antedated sex qualities. What is meant is this: Suppose three males, a frog, a ram and a man, are considered. They have sex qualities in common, but race qualities of pronounced distinction. What so sharply separates and divides them, in spite of their common "sex estate, which permeates every fiber," is their marked difference in race. The difference between the little batrachian, the woolly ovine and the tall human is far greater than their similarity.

It is true that in the one quality of sex they experience similar sensations and perform similar functions. It is also true that they differ in the degree of development of this quality. But their other qualities, sensations and functions are so much more numerous and important that no one ever thinks of overestimating sex in the "lower animals."

Evolution, as the very word implies, is not a mere process of repetition, but an unfolding. It is necessary to live; it is necessary to reproduce the species; it is necessary to improve, and that is the most important thing.

When a human being is placed in comparison with other animals we find that he shares with them all the physiological processes—he, too, is an animal. His human distinction lies beyond the physiological; it is psychological. The human growth lies in the social field, in its vast mental development and its accompanying mechanical development.

The making of roads, for instance, is a human process, based wholly upon our race needs, not on those of sex. Such tunnels, trails and runways as other animals make are similarly based on race, not on sex.

All our elaborate processes of maintenance, from the grazing and agricultural foundation to the last extremes of luxury, are race functions, not of sex. Most of all our higher work, our great social processes, of law, religion, education and the like, are race functions purely.

In spite of our admittedly oversexed condition we are far more distinctively human than male and female. If you see before you suddenly an elephant and a cat, both female, you will find that being an elephant comes before being a female—to your mind.

We said the argument that we are human before we are men and women is a **very** fine-haired one. And no one can make it more fine-haired, can reduce it to its smallest divisible parts, better than Mrs. Gilman.

The fact that we live at all is of the first importance. Life must exist before anything else. Of sec-

ond importance is the form in which life manifests itself. There is the amoeba, for instance, and there is the human, with all the variations and subdivisions between. Mrs. Gilman is very glad we belong to the human race, because it is of more importance—to our notion, at least—than is that of "the little batrachian, the woolly ovine," the frog, the elephant, etc. The matter of race pride in this instance is entirely excusable, and since it is hardly contestable (the lower orders having no means of protest), we hardly feel the necessity of putting it before the house for a vote. We believe it is sustained by the unanimous consent of the human race. (Though there are some who think that ants and bees run us a pretty close race in point of intelligence, etc.)

Having agreed that the human is the highest order in the line of animal progress, we might ask the question, How did we get here? Lester Ward, whom Mrs. Gilman has so generously popularized, says we were made possible through the introduction of sex in the lower orders aeons ago. First was the little creature that reproduced itself by budding—the buds breaking off and making new creatures, etc. If this animal had been left to inhabit the world alone it would have been a very monotonous inhabitant, since all its offspring were exactly like itself. Nature, in her effort to overcome this monotony, introduced sex, making of the creatures male and female. This brought about variation, or unlikeness. Striving continually for improvement through variation, different forms and species came about. Higher and higher organisms developed. Finally came the human—the savage human.

Very little sex peculiarities marked the lower species. Greater sex distinction marked the savage human—the greatest distinctions of all. The frog mother, for instance, spawned her eggs in the sunshine and went away and left them—thought no more about them. Psychologically she was not much influenced by her sex nature. The human mother, the savage human mother, carried her young in her body for nine long months. A time in which generations of frogs were born and died. After the savage infant was born the savage mother nursed it at her breast for years. She had to care for it, protect it against the encroachment of beasts and the savage male. She had to find a habitation for it.

Out of these sex peculiarities of the savage mother came the first spark of civilization. She was affected by this variation introduced by nature, not only physically, but psychologically. "Race" needs became more defined, more pressing, through the interrelation of mother and child. "Human" qualities as against savage qualities became possible because of the needs of the race mother and her child. Where the brute nature of the male savage refused to yield to the needs of the feminine, whole tribes died out, according to Herbert Spencer.

Necessity, functioning as sex, with all its attributes, pushed the race up from savagery, from egoistic, brute power, to human altruism, to civilization.

There is no evil in the fact of sex, no weakness, no mistake. The evil has come through the perversion of sex functions and through the suppression of the psychological powers of the woman. The physical side of sex is all the world has seen in woman. This is the great race error, the tremendous wrong that must be undone. The mind of the woman, the emotions, the sentiments, which are the

outgrowth of untold ages of experience, ages in which suffering such as none but enslaved women know, ages of submission, of bending the will to necessity, of discipline and self-abnegation, of love and devotion to child and mate, this mind, with its basis in material experience, is rich beyond all our dreams, is worthy beyond our highest ambitions, and will color and accelerate the social life into which it is one day cast, free from every bondage, to the end that heights of civilization are made possible which could never come save through the freeing of womankind.

Let us suppose for a moment that the human race were suddenly unsexed; aside from our physiological death, what would happen to our civilization? What of our "higher" work? Our "great social processes, of law, religion, education and the like?"

We leave the reader to answer this question for himself.

It must be remembered that the quotation in Mrs. Gilman's comment was made in reply to an article of Miss Tarbell's on "Making a Man of Herself." Miss Tarbell is afraid the entrance of women into the world of labor and professions will tend to unsex them. Our reply was that they will not become unsexed, because sex is so intricately woven into the fibre of our lives that the performance of certain mental and physical duties can not eradicate it. And since sex was introduced into living organisms for the purpose of variation, is responsible for the climb of the species to the human, and has been the chief motive power in bringing about civilization, we answer Mrs. Gilman's comment by contending that it IS difficult to prove which is of first importance—the race, or sex, which made the race. It is like solving the old problem of which was made first, God or the universe.

We agree with Mrs. Gilman that there is no sex in industry, in science and art. Therefore, the making of roads may be called a human process. Nevertheless, the making of roads the world over has been done by men, and must be so, except where invention has fitted this heavy work to woman's needs—has made the engine which she could drive, thus accomplishing the task with comparative ease. Likewise industry is not a matter of youth or age; today children are doing work which formerly only strong men performed. These are mechanical, physical processes which may not be even *human* work when we one day have machines to do them.

It is the motive power back of the roads, back of the shuttle, the looms, the mills, the mines, which is the real force to consider. And, as we have seen, this motive power may be reduced to the needs of the conditions growing out of the sex relations of men and women—to the needs of the mother, the child, the family. And from the emotional, psychological, or love needs of the man and the woman come the institutions, the religions, the arts, the literature, of the race. I think we have Lester F. Ward as authority that intellect is a secondary sexual characteristic. And in speaking of the selective powers of the females of the lowest orders, he says: "It represents the dawn of the esthetic faculty."

Mrs. Gilman and the editor of The Progressive Woman have at heart the same great cause—that of giving equilibrium to society by rendering equal opportunity for full self-expression to men and women. Mrs. Gilman stands at the top in the world, in her contributions to this cause. But from our more humble place in the ranks we do not see the necessity of wiping out sex lines, sex differences, in men and women, in order to gain our goal. Why not bring our various contributions, the results of maleness and fe-



JOSEPHINE CONGER-KANEKO.



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Wherever you live, I can refer you to ladies in your own locality who know and will gladly tell any sufferer that this Home Treatment really cures all women's diseases and makes women well, strong, plump and robust. Just send me your address, and the free ten days' treatment is yours, also the book. This is no C. O. D. scheme. All letters are kept confidential and are never sold to other persons. Write today, as you may not see this offer again. Address

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KATE RICHARDS O'HARE.

maleness, chastened and perfected in their own way, to the common cause? Labor is sexless, and, through the intervention of science can be adjusted to the powers of men, women or children. But the men and women who do the work are not fundamentally affected by this fact—they must go on being men and women forever; or so long as human life endures, so long as human culture, human civilization, endures.

When our forefathers contested the fact of woman's having a soul, they did it because they despised (and feared) the femaleness of woman. Today the same error is committed in other ways, to the great detriment of the movement which is striving for the emancipation of woman. Mrs. Gilman's own contribution to this movement is so great that this one point—this tendency to deprecate sex, and reduce it to the mere physical expression—is not felt, *except* where it is picked up by less skillful manipulators of the woman question and made a dominant note in their battle cry. Whatever they consider as "feminine," they affect to despise, some of them openly declaring that they hate women. In

this way they hope to earn the right of "equality with men."

It is not less femaleness we want. It is femaleness undebased. It is a clearer understanding of what womanhood—femaleness in the human race—means. It is that we need to get away from the old interpretations of this term, to give it a chance for fuller and higher expression.

And it is this opportunity which Socialism, in its last analysis, offers to womankind. For not until woman has gained her economic freedom can she hope to attain to her fullest powers as a woman. The parasitic women of the wealthy classes, and the wage-earners and home makers of the working class, are alike subject to the disparagement meted out to women on account of their sex. For this reason the Socialist party is the logical fighting ground for the woman seeking to abolish sex privileges. And the National Convention of the Socialist Party, which meets at Indianapolis, May 12, should hold unusual interest for the insurgent woman. Socialism will abolish sex rule in industry and government; it will not abolish sex distinctions in the human race.

Above is a picture of Kate Richards O'Hare and her oldest son and daughter. She is the mother of four children, the two youngest being twins. In spite of this contribution to society, Mrs. O'Hare has been able to give a great deal of time to platform work, and is associate editor of "The Ripsaw." She is the only woman member of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, and was recently elected International Secretary for this country.

THE PROGRESSIVE WOMAN NEEDS YOUR ASSISTANCE RIGHT NOW. Not to-morrow or next month. But it is necessary that you send in a list of subscriptions today, or a big bundle order, so that we can keep this paper going, and up to the standard we have set for it. It is the ONLY woman's paper that points the way of Socialism to women. For this reason you should make liberal use of it in your regular propoganda work. Through the summer three yearly subscriptions will be given for \$1.00.

Men and Mules, Lions and Lambs, Heads and Hands, Monkeys and Monkeyettes—this is the GREAT FOUR by Ries. 10c each, the four for 35c. The greatest propoganda pamphlet ever published. Millions sold. Order from The Progressive Woman.

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## "The Prophet and The Ass"

Is a rip roarin', ravin, tarin', high kickin', cavortin' monthly magazine, perpetrated by the "Ass" himself. It's about economics, politics, religion, health, and mollycoddles. What room there is left is used in giving plans for regulating the Universe. It is written by the man who originally put salt in the ocean; this man is just now busy putting sand in the capitalists' eye—small chunks of it about as large as coconuts. He is also busy boring holes in workingmen's heads to let the hot air out so they can get in a few economic facts. All kinds of grafters get theirs in large doses, while the preachers and doctors are handled without gloves. If you CAN think, this magazine will interest you; if you CAN'T think; it will help you to learn how—and if you

WON'T think, the ASS will lambast the everlastin' stuffin' out of you 'till you do. It's a hard kicker, but for all that it's cheerful, optimistic and socialistic. It's written for people with brains—(the "ASS" says he hopes this will not fall into the wrong hands)—if not, send 50c for a subscription. (6 months' trial subscription, 25c). It will be the largest little bundle of "hoss" sense, "Ass" sense and nonsense you ever received under magazine covers. JACK LONDON says it's a "live wire." Address

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## WORK OF WOMEN IN THE SOCIALIST PARTY

Continued from page 3

among women, but the general movement as well. The state secretary of Indiana has requested that she be returned to that state for more work, and this has been so arranged.

Mary L. Geffs was authorized to do some special work in Colorado, with encouraging results.



Janet Fenimore.

Janet Fenimore, Prudence Stokes Brown and Madge Patton Stephens have been elected by the committee to serve as woman organizers during the coming campaign.

Among the organizers who have carried on the general propaganda work, special credit is due to Mila Tupper Maynard, Theresa Serber Malkiel,

Ella Reeve Bloor and John M. Work for their earnest efforts to strengthen the movement among the women. In addition to their regular duties, when in the field work, they made a special plea to women to join the party and urged the comrades to elect the women members of the respective locals into committees to carry on the propaganda among women.

They sent in to the General Correspondent the names of the active women along the route, thereby enabling the General Correspondent to communicate directly with these women and explain the work to be done in their locality.

If all our organizers would adopt this plan the beneficial results upon the organizations would soon be felt.

### Woman's Periodicals

The Progressive Woman is the only Socialist publication for English speaking women in the United States. It has a circulation of about 12,000.

This paper has made a valiant fight for its life, and has received all possible support from the Woman's National Committee. It has been a great help to the committee and has been one of the means through which so much work has been accomplished.

During 1911, programs for use in Socialist locals were prepared by the committee and published monthly in the Progressive Woman. In other ways it enabled the Woman's National Committee to carry on its work and it is today the only woman's paper for carrying the Socialist message into English speaking homes.

### Summary

It has taken but two years for the women to demonstrate the great value of their organized efforts in the work of the Socialist party. The Socialist party realizes as never before the absolute necessity of reaching the women with the message of Socialism. The National Executive Committee, the Woman's National Committee and the National Office are sparing no effort in educating them to an understanding of their class interests and in bringing them into the party as dues-paying members, having the same duties and the same responsibilities as the men.

Not only are they educating the women, they are losing no opportunity to teach the men members of the party the senseless futility and the criminal ignorance manifested when one-half of the working class strives to free half in bondage. Women and men, not divided upon a basis of sex, but united upon the basis itself from slavery while leaving the other of working class solidarity, are a necessary part of the working program.

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## FRED'S AMENDMENT

Josephine Conger-Kaneko

He was big and young, and shy with women. His budding genius had for some time exercised itself on the "soap box," and his familiarity with Marxian phraseology manifested itself in his everyday speech—for which he, and many another like him, are duly excused.

She was small and young, and womanlike, easily mastered the situation in hand. A shy man in love is about the most easily mastered situation a woman can meet.

The conversation had drifted into channels world-old, and he, unconsciously though enthusiastically, had absorbed the larger part of it. He had helped himself along by assuming the soap-box attitude of striding up and down the narrow room, hands thrust into his pockets and finger nails crushed into the flesh of the palms. She watched and listened, with a smile lurking under the shadows of her eyes.

"I don't see why Fred should not believe that it would be a good thing, under Socialism, for the woman to do the proposing. Fred, being in the romantic span, has a notion that marriage is of much greater concern for woman than it is for man—she renders the biggest service. I'm sure you agree with him in this. Of course, I myself am open to conviction on this point. It does sound plausible, in a measure, and I think I will hold the matter under consideration. Fred, being among the benedicts, can lay claim to a fund of experience that a bachelor cannot. Is the preponderance of evidence on his side?"

"Fred says, too, as did Shakespeare and Shaw before him, that the woman fixes the deal up, anyway, and that—but you know the rest."

She smiled assent to the unspoken point. Flinging himself into a chair, he looked at her, measuring the possibilities, silently.

"It must be an exhilarating condition to be in to know that the woman in the case is drawing the lines about you, tighter and tighter, until there is nothing left to do but to do as every other man has done before you—or wake up, if it has been only a dream."

Her smile again partially reassured him.

"Well, I shall not dispute the point with Fred, until, at least, I can stand on common ground with him. Then, if need be," laughing nervously, "I can hurl my defiance into his teeth. As it is, I must humbly accept what he says—and hope the women com-

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rades will not go after me for saying so—so there!"

"Perhaps most of the women comrades will agree with you. Still, they are used as yet to having the men do the proposing. It would be an innovation, you know, for a woman to try it."

"I wonder, nevertheless and notwithstanding, if we cannot accept the relation between man and woman as being best when there is perfect comradeship, and when each feels his obligations toward the other equally.—Or do such relations exist only in fairy tales? I am inclined to think not, and I am also inclined to think they will grow more plentifully in the coming future. I couldn't imagine Fred and Helen being better off, and I wish all my friends similar luck!"

There was a long pause, in which both relapsed into their inmost thoughts. Then she spoke:

"But is the world ready for perfect frankness between men and women? We women are taught, you know, to hide our feelings, even after the young man 'does a-wooing come.' Otherwise we cheapen ourselves. And as everything seems to have a foundation in fact, even our prejudices, may not this also? Is it not true that too many men are apt to take advantage of a girl's frank confession of—of admiration or affection for him? Can she always depend upon his being as deeply sincere as she is? And can he not easily put her aside after considerable mischief has been done, with the excuse that she is 'too easy'? I have heard of such things. Maybe—some day—there can be perfect frankness and perfect comradeship.—But, not to be too serious, why not be consistent and bring all these weighty matters before the convention in May? You might introduce this as 'Fred's Amendment to Our Principles!'"

They both laughed. "Well," he said, "I certainly am willing to vote for Fred's amendment, but I think it would give it a tone of dignity, as well as make it easier to pass, for the women to introduce it. Don't you think you might use your influence to have the woman's committee appear to take the initiative? I promise my vote for it.—"



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"Anyhow, considering the girl I was with when Fred made his suggestion (she is a comrade, too), I am more than satisfied that it is a grand idea. It is especially altruistic, coming from Fred, since he is already married, very happily, so that he cannot be accused of having personal, ulterior motives. Coming from me—especially considering the girl I was with—it might seem so. It might seem so, anyway, coming from a bachelor. I think I'll let the women introduce this amendment."

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He was on his feet again, tossing about the room, aimlessly examining the pictures and bric-a-brac. She had never known such a man before, but she kept herself well in hand. A leather-covered volume of Stephenson's "Virginibus Puerisque" absorbed his attention for a fleeting moment.

"But what is the use of arguing this point, anyway? So long as they marry and live happily ever after, what difference whether one or t'other moves an eyelash more than the other? Why split hairs—of an eyelash (my, that's horrible) over it? The chief point is, they are married. Aside from which profound observation, let us say that a great deal passes between a man and woman that neither is cognizant of (only the third person, who makes a study of a *great many instances*—ahem!), and each is entirely innocent of any amount of little trifles, each thin as air, yet which, taken together, make that vast difference between the special lover and all others. Not so? This is where EXPERIENCE tells—*experience in watching others*. They may not fall in love at first sight, as Shakespeare would have it, but they do make a special impression on each other. Perhaps they spend the first hour, after separating, in mental stock-taking, the new acquaintance having acted as a wave of fresh air. They meet again, perhaps accidentally. But they know each other. Neither this time, nor for a few times to come, can they conceal the interest they have for each other. Then comes the period of conscious arrangement and prearrangement. They now fence. Each, perhaps unwittingly, is striving to get the whiplash of affection over the other. But just when one or the other is about to triumph the bottom feeling asserts itself, and all simulation is cast off. Then comes a period of frankness and naivete, when they accept each other as sweethearts, and then they begin to search for kindred threads of thought and sentiment. Then comes the final consummation, when they are sure they are one." He faced her nervous, smiling. "Now, how is that for the psychology of love?—Oh, there is nothing like holding aloof and watching the poor, dear souls go through their joyful contortions. Eh?"

"Well—some people must be VERY close observers. One would think you had put in most of your time reading the Marxian philosophy until one had heard you discuss the 'psychology of love.' Then—well, I must confess I never met so careful a reader of OTHER people's romantic experiences as you seem to have been."

He winced under her square look. "Well, as I said before, considering the girl I was with—"

He resumed his seat, apparently crestfallen. She bent her head and rested her elbow on her knee and her chin on the palm of her hand. For a moment she gazed silently into his flushed face.

"Do you know," she said, slowly, "I would MUCH rather be the girl you were—*thinking* about, than the girl you were with—when Fred made that proposition."

After two or three long minutes, when she was putting her hair in order and he had come down a little to earth again, he said (a "soap-boxer" must always have the last word), "At least, after the old, old way, a woman *disposes*, even if she doesn't *propose*. I certainly SHALL vote for 'Fred's Amendment To Our Principles.'"

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## THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD

Continued from page 7

free of charge, to the operatives; it has a hospital ward; it is supposed to be really fire-proof—fire escapes all around the plant; filtered drinking water, perfect ventilation in summer as well as in winter—in short, it is an ideal place to work in. It may be; we will not dispute the facts.

But reading the account of this costly "uplift factory," one cannot help but ask this simple question: "How about the wages paid to these girl workers?" For let it be known that the sanitation and roof garden and all the other beauties of this model factory do not and cannot amount to much for the girl workers if they don't get a wage sufficient to live on!

What good will the roof garden enjoyment do the girl worker if at the end of the week she has not even enough to pay her board?

And it is rather doubtful whether the employers of this expensive plant *will* pay a decent wage. For let it be remembered that while they (the owners of the factory) were willing to go to such an expense in erecting this fine factory, they are still in business—not for love, but to make profits, and big profits at that.

It therefore follows that while the employers of the Nemo Corset concern have spent such an enormous amount of money in building that magnificent plant, and while they are getting and will get all the credit and fame for being unselfish and "humane" employers, yet the woman and girl workers *will be those who will pay for everything*—pay with their sweat and blood, if you please! Yet all their credit will amount to will be a starvation wage.

With the sanitary factories must go a living wage, otherwise they are useless in so far as the working girl is concerned.

Let us hope that the working women of the Nemo Corset Company will see the necessity of organizing themselves into a union and thereby forcing the employers to pay a decent wage. Then, and then only, can we appreciate the efforts of the employers to have all these comforts for their employes.





The following are among those who helped in the good work of bringing Socialism to women in the past month:

Inclosed is \$2.50. Please extend my bundle a few months, and send me "The Flower Shop," "Little Sister of the Poor" and a dozen post-cards. The Progressive Woman is good. I notice some I have loaned have brought subscriptions. Good luck to you. Burt Johns, Chicago Junction, O.

My heart is with you in your work. . . . Please find enclosed \$2 to pay for the enclosed list of names. Your comrade and brother, G. W. Harris, Farmington, Mont. P. S.—Look for another Montana list soon.

The bundle of your March issue sent me has been thoroughly introduced by our ticket sellers to the Lyceum Course, and you doubtless have heard from Pueblo through the lecture bureau. Send another bundle, and we will push them at the last lecture, April 25th. I am sure we can aid your worthy paper in this way. Very truly, C. B. Anthony, Pueblo, Colo.

Emily Kientz, St. Louis, Mo., sends \$2 for subscriptions.

M. J. Dvorshak, Dodson, Mont., sends \$1.20 for post-cards and a bundle of The Progressive Woman. He says: "I am well pleased with the post-cards and The Progressive Woman, my only regret being that I cannot do more for the P. W. and the cause."

J. E. Houghton, Toronto, Can., sends five six-months' subscriptions.

Enclosed find \$1.60 for five subscriptions to the P. W., and one dozen post-cards. I am well pleased with your paper, and with your success.—Mrs. G. W. Andrews, Gravette, Ark.

Flora M. Boselack, Milwaukee, Wis., sends \$8.50 for bundle of April P. W.

Mrs. Victor L. Berger sends 50c and asks that the P. W. be sent to her at Washington, D. C.

Enclosed find two yearly subscriptions to the P. W. The article on woman suffrage by James Black in the January issue is the best one I've read on conditions here. M. A. Bonwell, Devonport, Auckland, N. Z.

Stanley Curtis, East Providence, R. I., sends \$1.00 for two yearly subscriptions.

Kindly send me to Girard extra copies of The Progressive Woman for April. Stamps enclosed. I appreciate fully your consideration, always kind and generous, in giving me first place in this unusually excellent number. Your comrade, Eugene V. Debs.

Mrs. W. J. Evans, Richmond, Ind., encloses \$1.00 with an order for three yearly subscriptions.

J. Garland Flowers, Sandia, Texas, sends his subscription and asks for sample copies to distribute among his school friends.

Ida Ginsburg, Omaha, Nebr., sends for a bundle of forty and says: "The Socialist Party of Omaha has voted to secure a bundle of the P. W. each month for an indefinite period. The proceeds derived from this goes toward more literature in advancing the cause."

C. Hanson, Colorado City, Colo., sends \$1.00 for three yearly subscriptions.

W. H. Hawks, Manette, Wash., sends eight new names for our list.

S. S. Osasto, Monessen, Pa., sends \$2.50 for a bundle of the April issue.

Gertrude H. Pierce, Chicago, sends \$2.00 for 12 six-months' subscriptions.

Myra F. Payne, Clearwater, Calif., sends \$1 for six half-year subscriptions.

J. A. Phillips, St. Louis, Mo., sends \$2.00 for subscription cards.

Marie Ricker, Philadelphia, Pa., sends four new names for our list.

Please send 75 copies of April issue of magazine for sale at our meeting next Sunday night. . . . We will not only sell the P. W., but will try how many subscriptions we can get that night. Good cheer and success. May M. Strickland, Dayton, O.

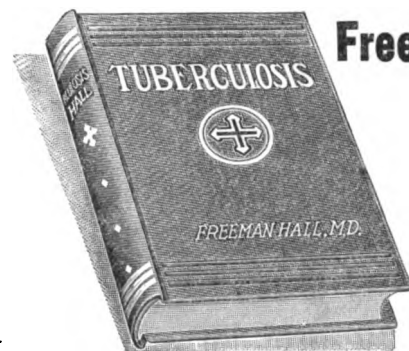
I am instructed by Local Dayton to inform you that we have taken up your proposition to try and induce the women of this locality to help us in this great cause of human emancipation. So we have decided to ask you to send us a bundle of The Progressive Woman to do some canvassing with. Later we will order subscription cards. As soon as we get the work started the woman comrades will take the matter up with the assistance of the men, and we have hopes that much good will be accomplished. Yours for the revolution, W. J. Atkins, Recording Secretary, Dayton, Ky.

L. G. Atkins, Suman, Wash., sends \$1.50 for a bundle, and says: "Our work is a little new here, and we scarcely know what to distribute, but, considering that we have many women in our local and that they are fully enfranchised in this state, it occurs to me that the P. W. cannot come amiss."

# Tuberculosis

Its Diagnosis, Treatment and Cure

Free



## NEW TREATISE ON TUBERCULOSIS

By FREEMAN HALL, M. D.

This valuable medical book tells in plain, simple language how Tuberculosis can be cured in your own home. If you know of any one suffering from Tuberculosis, Catarrh, Bronchitis, Asthma or any throat or lung trouble, or are yourself afflicted, this book will help you. Even if you are in the advanced stage of the disease and feel there is no hope, it will instruct you how others, with its aid, cured themselves after all remedies tried had failed, and they believed their case hopeless.

Write at once to the Yonkerman Co., 5434 Water St., Kalamazoo, Mich., they will gladly send you the book by return mail FREE and also a generous supply of the new Treatment absolutely Free, for they want you to have this wonderful remedy before it is too late. Don't wait—write today. It may mean the saving of your life.

Grace W. Bentley, Secretary Woman's Committee, Schenectady, N. Y., sends 12 new names for our list, and says: "We have taken up the work of introducing this magazine among the women as part of our propaganda work."

Thos. H. Cowens, Los Angeles, Calif., sends 10 three-months' and one yearly subscription.

Clara E. Dover, Sequim, Wash., sends six new yearlies.

Mrs. Anton Hewlett, Grove City, Pa., sends \$2.75 with a list of names.

Mary A. Hammon, Rochester, N. Y., sends \$1.50 for a bundle to distribute at a meeting.

J. W. Hammell, Vancouver, B. C., sends \$7.00 and a list of 14 new names.

During the summer months there will be no end of picnics and street meetings. At every one of these should be women comrades with bundles of The Progressive Woman to sell. We are making you a special rate of 2½ cents a copy on bundles and you will find it easy to put money into your treasury by selling hundreds of copies. Three yearly sub cards for \$1.00.

# ECZEMA

Also called Tetter, Salt Rheum, Pruritus, Milk-Crust, Weeping Skin, etc.)

ECZEMA CAN BE CURED TO STAY, and when I say cured, I mean just what I say—C-U-R-E-D, and not merely patched up for awhile, to return worse than before. Remember, I make this broad statement after putting ten years of my time on this one disease and handling in the meantime a quarter of a million cases of this dreadful disease. Now, I do not care what all you have used, nor how many doctors have told you that you could not be cured—all I ask is just a chance to show you that I know what I am talking about. If you will write me TODAY I will send you a FREE TRIAL of my mild, soothing, guaranteed cure that will convince you more in a day than I or anyone else could in a month's time. If you are disgusted and discouraged, I dare you to give me a chance to prove my claims. By writing me today you will enjoy more real comfort than you had ever thought this world holds for you. Just try it and you will see I am telling you the truth.

DR. J. E. CANNADAY, 798 Park Sq., Sedalia, Mo. References: Third Nat'l Bank, Sedalia, Mo. Could you do a better act than to send this notice to some poor sufferer of Eczema?

**50 Socialist Songs**  
with music, 25 cts. postpaid. By  
Bouck White. New; handsomely  
bound. For Labor Meetings,  
the Home, etc. Stamps or coin.  
Address, Socialist Literature Co.,  
"Dept. H", 15 Spruce Street  
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# Try "BROWNATONE" Hair Stain FREE

**"Brownatone" Quickly Stains Light Spots, Gray or Streaked Hair, and Restores It to a Natural Brown or Black. Let Us Send You a FREE Bottle That Will Prove It**

## What "Brownatone" Will Do

**Don't Hesitate to Use It FREELY**

BROWNATONE is absolutely harmless to both hair and scalp and produces the most beautiful rich brown (or black if you prefer). Simple and easy to apply, immediate in results and does not rub off.

BROWNATONE contains no sugar of lead, sulphur, silver, mercury, peroxide or other ingredients that are so often found in "dyes."

We will send absolutely free, for a short while only, a trial bottle of BROWNATONE if you will send us your name and address, accompanied by 10 cents to help pay postage and packing. This offer is made for you to try BROWNATONE Hair Stain, and find for yourself just how superior it is to all so-called "dyes," "combs," etc., etc.

BROWNATONE is free from all odor and is absolutely free from grease. You apply it with your comb. Send the coupon today and try this wonderful hair stain FREE. It will take away those streaks of gray, remove the light spots and restore unnatural or faded hair to a beautiful brown (or black if you prefer).

## A Few Extracts From Thousands of Letters

Telling of the Pleasure and Complete Satisfaction "Brownatone" Affords

- San Antonio, Texas:—"Brownatone is a decided success."
- Marbledale, Connecticut:—"It is the best I ever tried."
- Detroit, Michigan:—"I can recommend it to anyone."
- Dennison, Iowa:—"Have used Brownatone for some time with perfect satisfaction."
- Louisville, Ohio:—"I like your Brownatone. It works fine."
- Milwaukee, Wisconsin:—"Brownatone is just it."
- Denver, Colorado:—"I have used a great many hair stains, but Brownatone is the best."
- Lynchburg, Virginia:—"I am more than pleased with Brownatone."
- Waukegan, Illinois:—"It is all you claim it to be."
- St. Louis, Missouri:—"The immediate effect is wonderful."
- Ann Arbor, Michigan:—"It is the only thing I ever tried that gave perfect satisfaction."
- Sandusky, Ohio:—"Brownatone is just what I needed and have been looking for."
- Jersey City, New Jersey:—"I think it is really splendid—the best I have ever used."
- Cedar Falls, Iowa:—"I have used hair dyes for many years, but I pronounce your Brownatone the best of all."
- Los Angeles, California:—"I think it is excellent. It is clean and does not rub off."

**Bottled at the "Fountain of Perpetual Youth" and a Friend of All Those Who Value Their Personal Appearance**



## The Most Beautiful Woman in America

would quickly take a "back seat" if she permitted the streaks of gray to become visible, or if she did not keep her hair the rich and luxurious brown that is so characteristic of BROWNATONE Hair Stain.

All faded or "worn out" hair is instantly restored to brown (or black) by

the use of this wonderful stain. One trial (sent free) will convince the most skeptical, and prove how far superior this one bottle preparation is to all of the old style "dyes," "combs," etc.

Just send the coupon for a free trial bottle.

**Every Woman's Duty Is to "Keep Young"**

No Woman Now-a-Days Need Appear Old Under Ninety

It is undoubtedly not only the right, but the duty of every woman to keep herself attractive and young looking just as long as possible.

Nothing gives either a man or a woman the appearance of age more surely than gray, streaked or faded hair—and nothing lends such an air of freshness and youth as a suit of beautiful brown (or black) hair.

## "Brownatone" Is the Greatest Foe to Old Age

Just a touch now and then with your comb or brush, and, presto! Youth has returned again.

The brown-haired girl is beyond question the most universally admired type of beauty.

The staining of the hair to a brown or black, can never be detected, while bleaching and strong dyes are usually so noticeable as to be conspicuous.

Send for the coupon (or write) for a free trial of BROWNATONE and find out for yourself how easily it is applied and what beautiful shades it gives to your hair.

## There's Nothing Like "Brownatone"

Nothing Else Has Ever Been Known to Give Such Uniformly Good Results in Every Case

BROWNATONE is so far ahead of all other preparations that have been offered for staining the hair that there is nothing else that can reasonably be compared with it.

The results in thousands of cases have been so uniformly good and so universally satisfactory that it is only fair to caution everyone to BEWARE OF SUBSTITUTES.

Remember that BROWNATONE is the one hair stain that positively does not contain a particle of peroxide, mercury, silver, sulphur, sugar of lead or other ingredients usually found in "dyes."

Send the coupon and learn all about BROWNATONE.

## No Obligation to This Free Trial

We do not want you to feel that you are being placed under any obligations to us whatever by sending the coupon for a FREE TRIAL OF BROWNATONE.

All that we ask is that you give it a fair trial and convince yourself that our claims are true.

Then, if you wish to order more we will be glad to send you the full-sized bottle—but you are under no obligations to buy so much as one penny's worth from us.

## FREE TRIAL BOTTLE COUPON

The Kenton Pharmacal Co., 125 East Pike Street, Covington, Ky.

Please send me your trial bottle of BROWNATONE HAIR STAIN. I enclose 10 cents (silver or stamps) to help pay postage and packing.

Do you wish light brown, dark brown or black. State shade desired.....

Name .....

Street Address or R. F. D. No.....

City .....State .....