

THE WALK SENDS 1,000 THUGS TO PHILADELPHIA

SUFFERING OF SHIRT-WAIST STRIKERS TOLD BY WOMAN IN RANKS

Courage of Women and Girls Won Against the Union Crushers

BY THERESA MALKIEL

It was only seven in the morning and the great East Side had not fully awakened from the night's sleep when thousands of women young and old of varied types and nationalities, coming from every corner of the metropolis, crowded around 151 Clinton street.

35,000 Strong

From that hour of the morning until late at night they kept coming. Thirty-five thousand young girls and women old enough to be their grandmothers responded to the call to arms sent out the previous night by a little shop girl.

It was a great mystery how they were apprised of it so soon, and still a greater mystery that they came without a protest. These women, who had gone through life as in a trance, had with one gigantic effort torn asunder the fetters of ancient custom and tradition determined for this once to wage an earnest battle for the right to live.

A Vast Concord

It seemed that the very spontaneity of the strike brought about a revolution in their minds, which alone could account for their great unanimity. For, if their walk-out was accomplished on the impulse of the moment, while spurred on by the enthusiasm of the few, their grievances could be traced to the time when shirtwaist making first became a factor in the industrial field.



CLARA LEMLICH

walking skirt and comfortable, yet neat, shirtwaist.

For a time shirtwaist making as a trade did not prosper. The few middle class men who had ventured into the business found it far from profitable, the demand instead of increasing, was falling off at an alarming rate and, naturally enough, the makers had to bear the greatest share of the burden.

The First Union

It was then that a portion of the thousand workers in the trade, mostly men, assembled on the top floor of 3 Rutgers street and organized the first waistmakers' union.

For the first few months the waistmakers rallied around the new organization. A number of small strikes were fought and won. The membership increased rapidly and those at the head of the union hoped in time to gain control of the entire trade.

But after a year or two of indecision, womanhood concluded that the walking skirt and shirtwaist had come to stay. Business in this line boomed up to the highest pitch. The demand for waists grew larger than the supply. Prices were raised, work was steady, wages good and, for a time, the workers considered themselves the masters of the situation.

The panic of 1893 came as a rude shock to their fancied security. The failure of numerous business houses left thousands of women minus employment, they swarmed to the shops and factories offering to do a man's work for half his wage. The employers, affected by the general depression were anxious to curtail expenses and eagerly supplanted their male waistmakers

(Continued on Page Four.)

HOIST MEN TO STRIKE MONDAY

Elevator Starters Act After Bosses Reject Fair Proposal for Peace

Union elevator conductors and starters in downtown buildings will leave the levers of their cars Monday morning if the referendum vote to be taken tomorrow declares for a strike.

Following the refusal of the building managers to arbitrate the question of an increased wage, the executive board of the Elevator Conductors and Starters' union last night decided to submit the question to a referendum vote of the men.

Want Skilled Men

The wage committee of the union, as well as the executive board, recommend the strike as the only alternative for the union. They believe that the strike will be voted for unanimously.

Increase of wages is sought by the officers of the organization, not only because of the higher cost of living, but because they desire to have in the trade skilled men. The present wage scale discourages many efficient men from entering into the work.

Notices of the meeting for the referendum vote to be taken tomorrow were sent out yesterday and today. Every one of the 800 men in the union will be informed before tonight that the vote tomorrow will decide the question one way or the other. The polls will be open all day at the headquarters, 273 La Salle street.

Owes Duty to Men

"The union owes a duty to its men and to the public. Our members cannot live decently on \$60 a month. That is the highest they are paying us. Such wages were inadequate when prices on the necessities of life were 25 per cent lower than they are now."

"We want to make conditions a little more comfortable for our men. We admit into our organization only responsible workers. If the wage will remain as low as it is now we shall not be able to make it profitable for good men to enter the trade, and the elevators will have to be run by irresponsible, dissatisfied and miserable men, to whom it will be dangerous to entrust the lives of people."

The Present Scale

Under the present schedule the elevator men receive \$35 a month for the first six months, \$37.50 for the next six months and \$50 a month after one year. For the third and fourth years of service the conductors are to be paid \$62.50, reaching a maximum of \$65 at the end of five years.

The union declares this scale unfair, because fewer than seventy-five men would benefit by the higher wage in the scale, and should a man be discharged in one building he would have to begin at the bottom in the service of his new position. The scale applies only to men working under the same management.

Objections to the scale were presented to the Managers' association several weeks ago. After many negotiations the officers of the union notified the association that they would not work under such an arrangement. Thursday the managers were asked to have a board of arbitration settle the wage dispute. The managers yesterday declined to make any changes in the wages.

"We did all we could to prevent a strike," declared J. J. McAndrews, business manager of the union. "We wanted to have the managers take the matter before a board of arbitration. They holler about wanting boards of arbitration always, and we wanted to leave the matter to impartial judgment. They refused to even consider a board of arbitration. We are therefore forced to take the only course left open."

The strike will be declared right after the ballots are counted.

2 HUGE MEN-O-WAR PLANNED

Washington, Feb. 25.—Two battleships of the Dreadnought class, greater in tonnage than any heretofore authorized, are to be carried in the appropriation bill to be reported by the house committee on naval affairs.

SWITCHMEN ARE TOIL'S SLAVES

Twelve to Sixteen Hour Day Is the Lot of Those Who Guard the Traveler

Switchmen as witnesses before the state board of arbitration in the wage controversy with the western roads testified to working long periods of time to gain enough money to meet present-day conditions. Maimed hands and arms gave mute testimony to the hazardous nature of the employment.

J. W. Rickert, a switchman for the Chicago Junction railroad, declared that

A SLIGHT OBJECTION--



FROM THE SELF-APPOINTED GUARDIAN OF THE WORKING WOMAN'S 'WELFARE.'

he had worked more than thirteen hours a day for many years.

"What is the longest time you ever worked in a single day?" asked Attorney Darrow for the Switchmen's union. "Twenty-one hours without a break. I was so tired that I couldn't tell which way I was going," was the witness' answer.

"Fucker said he had been hurt five times during his experience as a road employe. He admitted that on one occasion, at least, he had violated rules by taking a chance. He uncoupled two moving cars by hand after the safety lever failed to operate.

Broke Rules

"But you violated the rules of the company," persisted Attorney Silas H. Strawn for the roads.

"Oh, no, the company hasn't any rules of that kind. I violated the law, but that is different from a company rule. We violate the law every day or we wouldn't hold our jobs."

Charles A. Winkelman, another switchman, said he was unable to provide properly for his family of six children by his own exertions.

BAKERY PEACE MOVE BLOCKED

When the lock-out at the bakery of R. J. Bremner, 1276 Clybourn avenue, was almost settled and plans were being made to have the men go back to work, Bremner suddenly announced today that the lock-out was still in force and that he would have nothing to do with the men.

Notorious Detective Agency Sends Scabs, and Troops and Police Aid Them to Crush Toilers

BY H. S. REIS

Philadelphia, Pa., Feb. 25.—Less disorder yesterday. Meeting was held last night by union heads, who decided on a meeting Sunday afternoon to consider general strike. Allied building trades, cigar makers, textile workers, steam fitters, stationary firemen and machinists represented in last night's meeting, besides Murphy, president of the Central Labor Union. Carmen still think general strike unnecessary. Transit company's firemen were to strike this morning, but have postponed action until after Sunday's meeting of the Central Labor Union.

State constabulary seem to be anxious

PINCHOT AIDS "PROSECUTION" OF BALLINGER

Land Fraud Quiz Reopened With Ex-Chief Forester on the Stand

Washington, D. C., Feb. 25.—Interest in the resumption of the Ballinger-Pinchot congressional inquiry today, after an adjournment since last Saturday, centered in the announcement that Gifford Pinchot would be called to the stand as the third important witness for the "prosecution." What Mr. Pinchot would say was problematical. Af-

MINERS AGREE TO MEET OPERATORS IN EASTERN CITY

TAFT BLOCKS SUGAR PROBES

President's Policy Shields the Men Higher Up in the Frauds

(SPECIAL TO THE DAILY SOCIALIST)

Washington, D. C., Feb. 25.—Whisperings of discontent over the failure of the government to bring to the bar of justice in New York the men "higher up" in the \$2,000,000 sugar frauds, may break out on the floor of the House at any moment in the form of a demand for a congressional probe of the entire sugar scandal.

There are now slumbering in the committee on rules, of which Speaker Cannon is chairman, two resolutions providing for an investigation by congress of not only the underweighing frauds of the sugar trust, but of a long list of crimes that have been from time to time charged against the big sugar combine. One of these resolutions, is fathered by Representative Sabath, of Chicago, and the other by Representative Campbell, of Kansas. Sabath is a Democrat and Campbell a Republican.

Those who desire the investigation declare it is a non-partisan question, that they would be pleased to have the committee on rules favorably report the measure of either Sabath or Campbell.

Immunity Bath Offered

Two months have passed now since President Taft asked in his message to congress that there be no congressional investigation of the sugar underweighing frauds on the ground that it might give "immunity" to the men higher up "and otherwise embarrass" the government in its prosecution in New York. As the man "higher up," or in other words, those who would have profited by the \$2,000,000 theft had not their crime been discovered, have not been brought to the bar of justice, many members of congress have abandoned hope that the government will ever send the really big culprits to jail. Therefore they see no reason why a congressional investigation should be further delayed.

Some of the old-timers in congress are recalling to mind, as a result of the quiet talk that is going on in Washington over the probability of a congressional investigation, the probe of the sugar trust by a committee of the senate in 1894. The investigation of 1894 was only half-heartedly pursued, however, and with slight result save in one or two instances. Senator Quay, of Pennsylvania, characteristically admitted that he had speculated in sugar and that his speculations had been guided by his official knowledge of what the senate intended doing with the tariff on sugar. Quay declared he had not allowed his speculation in sugar certificates to prejudice his official action, which remark brought smiles to the faces of the spectators at the hearing.

Trust Is Bipartisan

An instructive feature of the investigation was found in the testimony of Henry O. Havemeyer, who was then and still is president of the sugar trust. Mr. Havemeyer was asked about the relation of his trust to the great political parties, and their state campaign funds. "Did it contribute to the funds of both parties?" "Yes," said Mr. Havemeyer. "We always do that. In the state of New York, where the Democratic majority is between 40,000 and 50,000, we throw it (the trust's contribution) their way. In the state of Massachusetts, where the Republican party is dominant, they probably have the call. Wherever there is a dominant party, wherever the majority is very large, that is the party that gets the contribution, because that is the party which controls the local matters."

The importance of this admission was obvious, when one remembers that what Mr. Havemeyer vaguely alluded to as "local matters" meant the election of senators and representatives to congress, and of judges to the state judiciary.

CHINESE TROOPS CHASE GRAND LAMA OF TIBET IN WAR

Calcutta, Feb. 25.—The dalai lama, the supreme head of the lamaist hierarchy, who fled from Lhasa upon the approach of the Chinese troops, has escaped into Sikkim, a state of India to the south of Tibet and adjoining Darjeeling, the British district, in which the fugitive will seek an asylum.

The escape of the dalai lama was a narrow one, for Chinese troops bent upon his capture pursued him to the borders of Sikkim.

Chickens Get Drunk

Minneapolis, Minn., Feb. 25.—As a chicken doctor Joseph J. Rhoads, special policeman, residing at 261 Church street southeast, is something of a success. But all his 150 chickens have a headache today, for in the early morning hours they all became gloriously drunk. The chickens were not to blame for they were all fed whisky when unconscious.

ABSON AND DEATH ATTEND

Point a Pitre, Guadeloupe, Feb. 25.—The strike situation continues serious. Rioting and incendiarism are rampant; plantations have been burned, tele-Conflicts cut and factories destroyed. Conflicts have taken place between the strikers and the gendarmes in various parts of the island.

Plans Now Made for Wage Conference Make Prospects Much Brighter

Peoria, Ill., Feb. 25.—Springfield was agreed on as the next convention city. The legislative committee elected Jay Kelly, W. E. Welsh and John T. Lewis. One thousand dollars was donated to the Western Federation of Miners in their struggle at Homestake and the convention adjourned to 9 a. m. Saturday. Scale committee is not ready to report.

BY E. JAMES

(Daily Socialist Special Correspondent.) Peoria, Ill., Feb. 25.—With President A. J. Moorehead and members of the executive board of the Illinois Operators' Association in Peoria, everything is in readiness for the joint state conference between the operators and miners of Illinois.

President Duncan McDonald, of the Illinois miners, has been elected as chairman of the joint conference, with C. L. Scroggs, of the operators, as secretary, and Frank J. Hayes, of the miners, as assistant secretary.

Although refusing to make a positive prediction as to the course to be pursued by the operators, President Moorehead stated in an interview that the operators are still inclined to refuse to enter an interstate joint conference, as requested by the miners' convention.

To Meet in East

"We understand from the message sent us by the miners," he said, "that we are requested, after the present joint state conference is over, to send a delegation with one from the miners to a meeting in the east for the purpose of considering the calling of a joint interstate conference, at which final settlement of the new scale to be effective April 1 is to be made. Our position right along has been that we would not be a party to an interstate conference, and I do not believe the operators of the state have changed their mind as yet. We believe that the interests of both the miners and operators in Illinois can best be preserved by making our own agreements."

Refused to Co-operate

President Moorehead was shown a press dispatch telling of a meeting in Cincinnati with President Lewis and other mine officials of operators from Indiana, Ohio and Western Pennsylvania for the purpose of talking over the proposed interstate joint conference. He stated that President Lewis had invited the Illinois operators to send a representative to the meeting, but they had refused.

Among the operators in the city are President A. J. Moorehead, St. Louis; Vice President F. W. Lukens, Chicago; Secretary E. T. Bent, Chicago; Commissioner C. F. Scroggs, Chicago, and a number of executive board members including H. N. Taylor and G. W. Traer of Chicago, and Messrs. Hazon, of La Salle and Rathburn, of Streator.

Has 32 Members

The executive board of the Illinois Operators' association consists of thirty-two members, representing a membership of three hundred men who control in the neighborhood of 800 mines in Illinois. It is expected that all of the board members will be present at the conference, as well as any members of the association who wish to participate.

In considering the matters that will be brought before the joint conference, all of which will affect internal differences and will have nothing to do with the negotiatory of a new wage scale, this matter being left by the miners to the proposed joint interstate conference.

BOY CAUGHT AS GIRL'S SLAYER

A story of romance and tragedy and a father's search over two continents for the slayer of his daughter was revealed today with the arrest of a Greek youth on the charge of murdering his sweetheart in his native land.

Peter Damaskis, the father, 1853 Lincoln avenue, with the aid of Mr. Ward Thompson, immigration inspector, caused the arrest of Kleberites Flotis, 20 years old, at Washington and Clark streets. The prisoner admitted his identity and in a written statement confessed to killing the girl, Filippa Damaskis, 17 years old, but insisted the tragedy was accidental.

MINNAPOLIS, MINN., FEB. 25.—As a

chicken doctor Joseph J. Rhoads, special policeman, residing at 261 Church street southeast, is something of a success. But all his 150 chickens have a headache today, for in the early morning hours they all became gloriously drunk. The chickens were not to blame for they were all fed whisky when unconscious.

POLICE ARE LEARNING FAST

Arrest of Mrs. Estelle Harps, a hand-some widow 45 years of age, on charges of disorderly conduct made by her negro maid, Fannie Geisler, today, revealed to the police of the Chicago avenue station a resort hitherto unsuspected. It was at the woman's home, 1549 Dearborn avenue, and seemingly respectable, but in reality a place in which the wildest orgies were carried on after the theater hour, when the residents of the neighborhood had retired.

Men who are familiar on the board of trade, politicians well known to every Chicagoan, and residents of the fashionable district east of Dearborn avenue are patrons of the place, according to information given to Inspector Revere by Dr. Charles Spencer Williams, 1351 Dearborn avenue, who brought about the raid on the house.

Dudes Out Again

Reports that the power houses of the company would be attacked resulted in the detaining of the State Penitentiary guard these structures. The orders that they were not to fire having been withdrawn, these young soldiers say they will redeem themselves for the ignominious fiasco they made in the Kensington district, when they were demoralized by being separated and without the power to open fire on their tormentors.

Tokyo Greets Yankee Tourists

Tokyo, Japan, Feb. 25.—The steamer Cleveland, with 700 American tourists aboard, arrived at Yokohama today. The party was given a splendid welcome by officials of Tokyo and Yokohama.

TAFT REGIME MORE COSTLY THAN OTHERS Executive Department Alone Takes \$329,420 Annually, While Army and Navy Pile Expense

Washington, Feb. 25.—Largely owing to the enormous number of new positions created for Republican politicians...

Where Does the Money Go? A large part of it goes to build up the Republican machine. There are nearly half a million persons in the employ of the federal government...

Trend Toward Militarism The growing trend of our government toward militarism is also a factor in increased expenditures. Just a few years ago the annual appropriation for the navy was less than \$25,000,000...

Executive Expense The president does his share in the establishment of a new record for extravagance. Here are the salary and allowances of the president...

Table with 2 columns: Expense Category, Amount. Total for executive department for one year: \$329,420.

HOLDUP MAN IS ROUTED; FIGHT

William New, 3024 West North avenue, a furniture dealer, last night braved revolvers leveled at himself and five customers by robbers in the saloon of George F. Quinn, 3022 West North avenue...

VLAG IN CITY; LAUDS 'CO-OPS'

Head of New York Business Says That It Is Working Well

The American Wholesale Co-operative, which was recently organized in New York by a number of Socialists, reports remarkable progress.

A Leading Feature In Barre, Vt., as in Belgium, the Socialists, the Co-operatives and the labor unions work as a unit.

The Principle The principle upon which these small stores are organized is to carry as little stock as possible and have the larger part of the orders filled weekly from the Wholesale Society.

Standard Oil Senator Hits Postal Bank Plan Washington, D. C., Feb. 25.—With a parting fling at the public that applauds the "progressive statesman," Senator Bailey delivered his broadside against the postal savings bank bill in the senate today.

Germans Balk Showmen Berlin, Feb. 25.—The statement of Herr Delbrueck, minister of the interior, in the reichstag yesterday that the government had not and would not give material or moral support to the American exhibition of machinery...

AMONG THE UNIONS

The Newspaper Delivery and Mail Drivers union, local 758, will meet Tuesday evening, March 1, at 75 Randolph street, at 8 o'clock.



OPEN SATURDAY EVENING UNTIL 10:30 UNITED WOOLEN MILLS CO. 258 STATE STREET

FUNERALS ARE MADE CHEAPER

Middle Man's Profit Cut Down Now by Makers of Caskets

Undertakers generally seem to be considerably worked up because of the low prices which will be charged for caskets and funeral services...

Changes Methods There is no denying that they are going about the work of molding public opinion in a very skillful and systematic manner.

MILWAUKEE IN READINESS NOW

Milwaukee, Wis., Feb. 25.—The Milwaukee Socialists held their first meeting of their campaign committee on February 21. This committee consists of the secretaries of all the ward and foreign speaking branches...

The first big public meeting of the Milwaukee Social Democratic campaign of 1916 will be held at the Bahn-Fred Turner hall on Tuesday, March 1.

LAST THREE DAYS

TO-DAY SATURDAY & MONDAY

Positively the final wind-up of our very liberal suit with extra Free Pants Offer.

\$20.00 and \$17.50 Suits to \$15.00. We have also reduced all our finest Imported Suits...

SALE POSITIVELY ENDS MONDAY—after that date we will not include an extra pair of trousers with your order.

TAFT BOWS TO PROTEST STORM

Second Class Mail Rates Are Not to Be Changed, the President Says

Washington, D. C., Feb. 25.—Recognizing at last that the postoffice department had been bunched by railroads and that the postoffice had become demoralized...

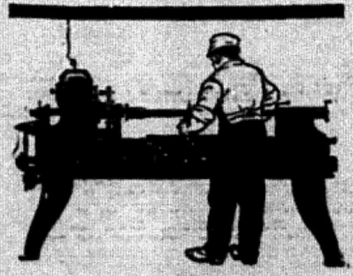
A Hard Fight The publishers had made a hard fight against the increase, and if they should not be heeded in the warning against misuse in the postoffice it is inevitable the effect would be felt in the campaign.

Balks Now The postoffice committee would prefer to try the economizing method first.

PHONE GIRLS DON'T MARRY Washington, D. C., Feb. 25.—If the government has discovered nothing else in its year of examination into the secrets of telephone companies...

PHONE GIRLS DON'T MARRY

Washington, D. C., Feb. 25.—If the government has discovered nothing else in its year of examination into the secrets of telephone companies, it has established the place of telephone service as it affects matrimony.



There Is No Steam To Be Raised

in the shop which uses electric motors operated by current from Central Station. The power is ready, day and night—at any time, and all the time.

The Simple Turn of a Switch sets the machine in motion. Another turn of the switch and it stops.

Commonwealth Edison Company 139 Adams Street

The Curtain Falls AT NOON, SUNDAY, FEB. 27

upon the largest and most successful Clothing Clearance Sale in the history of Chicago. The remains of a mountain of high-class clothing for men and boys will be cleared off the big clothing tables in one last unmerciful sweep.

Only broken size lots and extremely high-grade garments are left, noticeably the lighter colors, suited for early Spring wear, after two weeks of tremendous slaughtering of prices.

At this writing we have left just \$68, and there will be plenty of salesmen on the floor to help you select a bargain that will excel your wildest expectations.

By all means come and investigate this final opportunity to pick out a Spring suit or a next Winter overcoat.

Advertisement for clothing sale with four lots: LOT 1 -- \$5.95, LOT 2 -- \$9.95, LOT 3 -- \$12.95, LOT 4 -- \$16.95.

BENSON & RIXON MILWAUKEE AVE. AT PAULINA ST.

W. SOX SPECIAL LEAFETS FRIDAY THE 25th. Advertisement for W. Sox baseball team.

Old Underroof Whiskey Has Stood the Test of Time. Old—Pure—Rare—Rich in Flavor.

AMUSEMENTS MAY TODAY 25c 50c. AMERICAN THE STAR BOUT.

GARRICK SPECIAL MAT. LEW OLD "Some Fields in Dutch Channel."

RIGHT GOODS RIGHT PRICES AT THE SOUTH END DEPARTMENT STORE. Cor. 119th and Peoria sts.

Boys' All-Wool Suits \$3.95. Continental Safety Razor Blades 21c.

Central Drug Co. STATE & WASHINGTON STS. 100 STATE STREET. CUT PRICES Prevailing at Chicago's Largest Drug Store.

FRIDAY AND SATURDAY ONLY. DRUG DEPARTMENT. 25c Sedlitz Powders, 12c.

TOILET DEPT. LARGEST IN CHICAGO. 50c Pompeian Massage Cream, 20c.

Every woman is looking for a cleanser of this kind. It will clean and scour sinks, bath tubs, floors, etc.

RUBBER DEPARTMENT. \$2.00 Chamoux Vests, \$1.40.

GRAND PRIZE MASQUERADE BALL. Saturday, Feb. 26, Commencing at 8 P. M.

PRIZES IN VALUE OF \$100 WILL BE DISTRIBUTED. WATCHES!

FRANK JANSKY, 3704 W. 26th STREET.

A Combination Offer Save Money on Your Subscriptions. Every Socialist should be a subscriber to the International Socialist Review.

# Woman's Day at the Garrick Theater

Next Sunday morning will be one of the most important public meetings of the year. All believers in the real progress of the human race should make a special effort to be present. A big program will be presented; music, speeches and resolutions. Doors open at 10:15; meeting begins promptly at 10:30.

The meeting will be presided over by Laura Dainty Pelham. Lida Parce, the well known author, will present resolutions and explain their relation to the woman question as presented in the national platform of the Socialist party. The two principal speeches of the meeting will be delivered by May Wood-Simons, chairman of National Socialist Woman's Committee and Associate Editor of The Chicago Daily Socialist, and Alice Henry of Australia, Woman's Editor of the Chicago Union Labor Advocate. May Wood-Simons will speak on "The Emancipation of Women," and Alice Henry on "Working Women and the Ballot." Einar J. Hendrichsen will give selections on the violin, accompanied by Emma Pischel, and Hester Hall Schoeninger will sing classic selections.

## To the Regular Attendants.

As Garrick lecturer, I wish to urge all the regular attendants at the Garrick meetings to be sure and attend next Sunday. "The Workers' University" stands, and must stand, four square for the emancipation of women, and your attendance at this meeting is the least you can do to show that your support does not consist merely of empty phrases and pious opinions. Let us all see to it that the Garrick is packed to its capacity next Sunday.

Yours fraternally  
ARTHUR M. LEWIS.

## The Darrow-Lewis Debate.

Orders for this great debate in the double number of "The Evolutionist" for March are coming in splendidly, and if they keep up we shall be able to get out an immense edition. In this debate the philosophy of Karl Marx was set squarely in opposition to the non-resistance theory of Leo Tolstoy, and the printed report will be great reading. An exceedingly generous rate is made for this great double number—six copies for 25 cents; twelve copies for 50 cents. All who send \$1.00 for 25 copies will be listed in this half page as members of the "Dollar Club." Send your dollar at once; or, failing that, do the best you can. Send all orders to "The Evolutionist," 180 Washington street, Chicago.

## A Change of Time.

"The Readings from Favorite Authors," which were to be given next Sunday afternoon, will now be given in the evening at 7:30. The place is the new headquarters of the Twenty-first ward branch at 16 West Ohio street. This is only four blocks north of the river and half a block from State street. This will be "a feast of reason and a flow of soul." Admission free.

**Note.** We shall be greatly obliged to anyone who can send us the address of Mr. Saner, who electrified the Garrick audience with his splendid singing last Sunday morning. Send it to A. M. Lewis, 180 Washington street, Chicago.



ALICE HENRY



MAY WOOD-SIMONS

## ANTIEN BILL IS SOUGHT BY U. S. LABOR UNIONS

### A. F. of L. and Farmers Seek Law to Check Stimulated Immigration

Washington, D. C., Feb. 25.—Appearing before the committee on immigration and naturalization, Arthur E. Holder, chairman of the legislative committee of the A. F. of L., read resolution after resolution drafted by conventions of farmers and conventions of trades unions showing a unit in opposition to the enormous influx of immigrants.

That this attempt to restrict the flow of foreign labor into the United States will be fought at every step was made plain by the bitter opposition of Representative Kusterman, from Wisconsin, who, immediately upon Holder's conclusion of a resolution from the Musicians' Union stating that "the American musician is in nowise protected by the contract labor law," fairly raged in his opposition to trades unions.

**Banker Angry**  
"The resolutions are an outrage," belittled the congressman-banker from Wisconsin, "and, what's more, they are an eye-opener as to all the other demands that your unions are making. Do you mean to ask the committee on immigration to keep all artists out of this country so that we may be driven crazy by the discords of American bands?"

"If the gentleman is referring to the Musicians' Union, when he speaks of discordant American bands, I shall inform him that there are 60,000 members in that organization, the best musical talent in the United States, and that they are fighting for their bread and butter when they oppose the unrestricted entrance to this country of cheap musicians who slip in under the guise of 'artists,'" was Holder's pointed reply.

larly curious as to the numeral strength of the farmers' unions and their relations toward the American Federation of Labor. Close attention was given to the union man's statement that a joint convention of representatives from the American Federation of Labor, the railroad brotherhoods, and all the farmers' unions would be held in Chicago on March 8.

**Labor's Demands**  
"The demands of organized labor," concluded Mr. Holder, "are for a comprehensive literacy test, a money test, and an increased head-tax. We are opposed to assisted immigration, except by immediate members of the immigrant's family, and reaffirm our position as to the exclusion of Japanese and Koreans in addition to that of Chinese." Charges of a leak along the Mexican border line brought quick demand from Representative O'Connell for proof, and this phase of contraband immigration will be investigated at the next session of the committee.

### CHANGE TIME OF LEWIS 21ST WARD MEETING ON SUNDAY

The meeting at which Arthur M. Lewis will appear in the Twenty-first ward on Sunday has been changed from three o'clock in the afternoon until 7:30 o'clock in the evening. This change has been made necessary by the conflict with other meetings, and it is hoped that the evening gathering will bring out a bigger crowd.

**Half Dead; Asks Who Won Bout**  
Spanish Fork, Utah, Feb. 25.—An endurance record of high rank was made by Fred E. Fahey, who was found yesterday by a rescue party in a deserted cabin in the mountains.

Without fire or food he lived six days in zero temperature. His only shelter was the rude hut and his only sustenance some salt mixed with snow water melted by the heat of his own body. When a searching party found him his hands and feet were frozen and he was in a comatose state.

Fahey's first question on regaining consciousness was not for Gerhardt Siebel, his companion, who perished in the storm, but: "Who won the Nelson-Wolgast fight?"

## MARKETS

WINTER WHEAT—Up 1/8c. Sales, 6,999 bu. No. 2 hard in store, \$1.14 1/2. SPRING WHEAT—Steady. No. 1 northern in store, \$1.15 1/2. Sales local and trans-Mississippi billings: No. 1 northern, \$1.16 1/2. DURUM WHEAT—Firm. Sales local and trans-Mississippi billings: No. 2, \$1.02 1/2. No. 3, \$0.98 1/2. CORN—Steady to 1/8c higher. Sales 140,000 bu. Sales local and trans-Mississippi billings: No. 2 yellow, 42 1/2c; No. 3 white, 41 1/2c. OATS—Steady to 1/8c higher. Sales 300,000 bu.—standard in store closed at 47 1/2c. CONCESSIONS of most of the advance secured for steers the previous day. General trading was at low decline, and in some instances weighty steers sold 10 to 15c off, although favor was shown medium grade

light dressed beef classes, and many of these sold at an unchanged basis. HOGS—Although opening hog prices were about steady with Wednesday's general prices, the market weakened later and closing sales were down fully 5c, while some extreme bids went as low as 12c. SHEEP—There was an active market in the sheephouse for all arrivals, and while sheep were strong, lambs were fully steady. Receipts were estimated at 10,000, but supply was uncertain, as many trains were back at a very early hour. There was a scarcity of strictly good kinds on sale, especially good lambs. Prime western wethers again made 17.00, and good to choice kinds went at \$7.50 to \$7.80, while ewes made 16.00 to 17.50 and yearlings topped at 18.50. PRODUCE—The egg market was strong on account of smaller offerings and better demand. Prices advanced 1/2c per dozen all around. Receipts were 274 cases, against 8,892 cases the same day last year. Butter was firm at the recent advance. Receipts were 2,244 tubs. Live fowls were up 1/2c. DAIRY PRODUCTS—Eggs, fresh gathered, extra, 27 1/2c; prime fresh, at market, cases included, 26c; butter, extra creamery, 26c. POULTRY—Live, per lb.: Turkeys, 16c; fowls, 17 1/2c; chickens, 15c; spring chickens, 17c; ducks, 16 1/2c; geese, 9 1/2c. New York, Feb. 25.—Standard copper, 41 1/2c; all positions up to end of May, \$1.87 1/2; 2 1/2c in London, \$2.10 to 4c; futures, 25 1/2c; locally, lake copper, \$1.62 1/2; electrolytic, \$1.25 to \$1.50; cast, \$1.15 to \$1.25. Tin—Spot, \$21.80 to \$23.25; February, \$22.80 to \$24.00; March, \$23.15; April, \$23.00 to \$23.25; May, \$22.90 to \$23.10; in London, spot, \$21 1/2; futures, \$21 1/2 to 2d.

## CLASSIFIED

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# WOMAN TELLS STRIKE STORY

## Theresa Malkiel Describes Great Fight Won by the Shirtwaist Makers

(Continued From Page One)

with young girls willing to work for less.

### Became Sweaters

The discharged workers flocked to the union for redress, but the latter was unable to combat the growing evil. Then the idle men realized that their future existence would depend on the survival of the most unscrupulous and, with the heartlessness born of despair, they turned into human vultures.

Every fifth man discharged became a sweater. Some placing a few machines in their small, ill-ventilated homes, others contracting to do the work inside the factory, accepting the low wages offered and paying much less to the hands employed by them.

The sweater divided the waist into many sections, so that it could be made by unskilled labor and hired girls of fifteen to do the work. These young and healthy children entered the factories with the atmosphere of childhood still clinging to them, but they were doomed soon to lose youth, health and ambition in the mad struggle for a miserable existence.

Every incoming season saw a decrease in prices until finally a whole waist was made for four cents. To earn a dollar a girl had to make ten dozen pair of sleeves, eight hundred yards of tucks or five dozen bodies. The average worker succeeded but seldom in earning a dollar a day at a time when work was plenty.

### All Women Need

This decline in prices was not due to a decreased demand or lessened value of product—the shirtwaist had become a necessary adjunct in every woman's wardrobe. Beginning with the thirty-nine-cent waist of the shop girl, who herself received only four cents for its making, to the dainty lingerie creation of the society lady, which is valued at many dollars and paid less for comparatively than the cheap waist.

During these years of rise and decline in the earnings at waistmaking, the union kept up only a semblance of existence. This was partially due to the fact that the army of waistmakers, whose numbers had risen to forty-seven thousand, consisted mostly of women.

The employers were fully aware of the elements that went to fill their work rooms and lived in security. Nay, for further assurance they had concocted a scheme of binding the workers to their respective work rooms. They had organized shop clubs, the dues paid in to the treasury by each worker were to serve as a sick benefit fund. But each member forfeited his money upon joining the union or leaving the work room for another place.

The workers rebelled against this new despotism, it was more than even their meek characters could stand. Thus it happened that the last winter season saw the first skirmishes of the later conflagration. The workers of Rosen Brothers were the pioneer rebels. They won their fight and their example was followed by fifty Russian girls employed by the firm of Leiserson & Co. and a number of other smaller concerns who were in time fortunate, except the Leiserson girls, to gain a recognition of the union and a better scale of wages. The organization re-

vived once more, its membership was counted by the hundreds, many of the shops being on the fair list.

### Labor Makes War

One day in the latter part of September the union office was besieged by eight hundred waistmakers—the locked out employees of the Triangle Waist company. Organized labor welcomed these shopless waifs into its ranks, looked into their grievances and declared war against the firm.

The locked out workers were organized into picketing squads and stationed near the factory to persuade others from taking their places. The unfortunate guards did not realize what confronted them. Their former employers hired thugs who beat and insulted them, afterwards handing them over to the police for arrest. The firm seemed to have a great deal of influence, when the abused girls were brought before the judges; they were censured and fined without being given an opportunity to state their side of the case.

Aroused by the terrible injustice, a number of society women and college girls, members of the Woman's Trade Union league, took the place of the exhausted pickets. Thus it happened one morning that a city magistrate was shocked to find the prisoner before him was none other than the president of the Women's Trade Union league, an heiress and society leader. She was, of course, discharged.

### Young Girl Abused

Next in line came another picket—Lena Barsky, a modest, childlike looking girl of sixteen. That morning while talking to another girl she felt herself suddenly in the grip of a pair of strong hands; a torrent of vile epithets was showered upon her and before she had a chance to realize what had happened she was thrown into a pasty wagon, brought to court and arraigned before the city magistrate. The latter without taking note of the youthful prisoner fined her ten dollars.

As the weeks passed by the war between the employers and their workers grew harsher, the persecuted lock out suffered terrible hardships. The incoming season brought with it a new reduction in prices. Some of the firms employing union labor threatened to break their agreements; the entire trade was in a ferment. Unable to cope with the conditions the union called the since then famous mass meeting that took place on Monday, Nov. 22.

Long before the hour of opening the eager workers crowded around the doors of Cooper Union. They were anxious to hear the final word from the lips of Sam Gompers. Tired and exhausted from the day's work they hung close to one another, the evening was cold and their clothes threadbare. As the fingers of the big clock pointed toward eight their lusterless gaze gave way to a brighter expression, within was warmth and there they would hear the words of the orator.

### Gompers' Speech

At last, rushing, pushing and stepping on each other's toes, they took all the available seats and covered every inch of ground in the large auditorium. In another few minutes he came. They greeted him with a war yell that was heard far into the street.

Mr. Gompers walked to the rostrum, signed at the audience and suppressed a sarcastic smile. He was facing row upon row of be-ribboned, be-feathered and be-bowed hats worn by the young girls in the audience. A moment later he was talking to them, talking about his experience at the convention, about organized labor abroad and many other things. The tired heads bent to one side, the weary eyes closed—the audience was disappointed. Suddenly the ear caught the familiar slogan "waist makers." Mr. Gompers was saying that he could not dictate to the waist makers any specific method of procedure, for they alone knew the real conditions they were laboring under.

### A General Strike

"I'm tired of this! I move that we call a general strike!" came a high-

pitched feminine voice from the audience.

"Seconded!" arose the shouts from all over the hall.

The hour had come, the bent heads were raised, the weary eyes were closed no longer—they were ready for the call. In another minute the motion was adopted by acclamation and Clara Lemlich, the maker of it, became the woman of the day.

The executive committee of the union spent many sleepless hours that night, planning the campaign. The prospect was not encouraging. The employers were, as a rule, shrewd business men with little or no scruples so far as their workers were concerned. They owned the tools of production and were well supplied with money. On the other hand, the majority of the waistmakers were young, inexperienced girls more suited for the school bench. They were penniless, had never belonged to any labor organization, were of different racial and nationalities, did not know what solidarity of interests meant and were not prepared to make a great sacrifice for a cause.

But early the next morning, these men were confronted by a brave, powerful army that had since surpassed all expectations. The mystery of it all was heightened by the fact that the employers, astonished by the suddenness of the blow, had urged their workers to remain, promising them more favorable conditions and steady employment.

The few men in the little office of the union were completely overwhelmed and sent out a call for help. It was answered from different quarters. The members of the Woman's Trade Union league came at an express speed. They were followed by walking delegates from the different trades, members of the Socialist party, individual settlement workers and suffragists. All anxious to form that wild mob into an organized body. Every available hall in the neighborhood was engaged by the union. The crowd was subdivided into groups belonging to the same work room and the enlistment of the soldiers that were to constitute the army of the waistmakers commenced in earnest.

### A Great Hope

The organizers were bewildered by the enthusiasm displayed by the girls, so suddenly lifted from the monotonous drudgery of the work bench and placed face to face with the grim necessity of waging battle. When notes were compared and books added up that evening, it was found out that nineteen thousand were enrolled as members. Thirty-six hours after the strike was decided upon, every factory within the precincts of greater New York had some of its workers within the ranks of the strikers.

Hence the assertion: Of a big and small strikes that were ever fought within the boundaries of our Metropolis, there was never a similar uprising. The waistmakers' strike was a sign of the times, a woman's rebellion against the long and persistent oppression of ages.

The officers of the union remained at their post day and night, nor were they the only ones. In this, like any other battle, the silent heroes were numerous. There was work for all. The information bureau was steadily besieged by strikers, whose inquiries had to be answered and demands satisfied. The smaller employers, pressed by the necessity of keeping their capital in circulation, hurried to the headquarters ready to sign agreements, thus requiring a special force to attend them, for during the first day of the strike four thousand workers went back under union conditions. Speakers and organizers were in great demand, the law committee, too, was kept busy.

Unable to break the striking lines by individual promises and threats, the employers assembled at the Hoffman house and organized the Employers' Protective Association. Its sole object was to crush the waistmakers' union. They resorted to the most outrageous devices, hired thugs, ruffians and prostitutes who abused and insulted the defenseless girls. They secured the good graces of the police and the latter arrested the pickets on the least pretext. The police judges, too, were very prejudiced against the young rebels and fined them heavily.

Broken in health by the years of super-human toil in their factories, bowed under the weight of their suffering, enraged by the inhuman treatment accorded them, these prospective mothers of our future citizens thronged around the only place where they still hoped to find protection—the union office.

Day in day out from morn till night their tales of woe were poured into the ears of the volunteer assistants; the complaints come in faster than the clerks could take them down. Demolished wearing apparel, pulled out hair, knocked out teeth, broken noses, swollen faces and bruised heads were there in plenty. Pathetic, piteous pleas for assistance were a constant occurrence, but the silent sufferers were there, as well.

### Enemies of Humanity

The names of Judges Cornell and Harris were steadily upon the lips of the strikers, for the former two had openly placed themselves on the side of the employers and punished the girls, regardless of their guilt or innocence. Judge Harris, sitting in the night court, had subjected the girls to great indignities, keeping them locked up for hours alongside of drunken depraved women, who tried to avenge their own suffering upon the young girls.

The strikers were appalled by the ordeals they were compelled to undergo and angrily remonstrated with the union officials, demanding redress and protection, but even in their angry remonstrances there was always a note of despair and suffering, for the third week of the strike had already found the majority on the point of starvation. A few hours with them and their

sorrow, a glance at their squalid homes and one did not need any further proof that their demands were timely.

They did not ask for luxuries or riches, only a little more bread, for at times there was more than one mouth to share it. They wanted a respite from their weary labors and union protection. They needed it badly—these lone children, without a mother country. It was only natural that their sad plight should arouse a great deal of sympathy. It was inevitable for the human heart to ache at the contemplation of their life long misery.

Pathetic indeed it was to see them in the half dark, dingy halls huddling to the little stove, telling each other of their experience while on picket duty, relating their sorrow and tribulations, seasoning their words with torrents of tears and at times shouts of laughter.

They were still young and the joy of living was not yet all crushed out of them. This was clearly expressed by the occasional dances that took place amidst all the sordid surroundings. But—at the sound of the chairman's gavel a hush fell over the entire assembly and to the amazement of the outsider the gay dancers would bend their heads in grave consultation over the means of carrying on a further campaign.

### Unions Won

The fourth week of the struggle found fourteen thousand back at work under union conditions, but fully as many were still swarming the hall of the great East Side, crowding the police courts and landing even at the work-house.

At this juncture the flag of truce was raised, but the arbitration committee failed to accomplish its mission—employers were false to their promise of arbitration. They would not hear about the recognition of the union. And this was the most vital point that the workers hoped to gain. The variety of strikes and their constant change necessitates a frequent readjustment of the wage scale, which the union alone could guard from abuse and exploitation.

The suffering strikers assembled at Grand Central Palace and after listening earnestly to the report of their arbitrators, decided to remain on strike regardless of the terrible hardships that they were undergoing—hardship and suffering seemed to be their lot; they had become used to it almost from the very cradle.

### \$6 a Week

Today in view of the high prices paid for the necessities of life it is hard to comprehend how a person could get along in this big city on five or six dollars a week, and these earned only seven or eight months of the year. The suspicious mind may conclude that there is more than one way by which a woman could earn a living, but it is only necessary to become acquainted with their struggles, to examine the food they are eating, the homes they are inhabiting and the pleasures they are enjoying to understand how they manage it.

The more wonderful the courage they were displaying all along. When sent to the workhouse they returned with a smile on their faces, hiding deep in their hearts the abuse and indignities that they had to undergo there. Ill-clad and hungry they went out in the bitter cold to sell the special edition, that all may get some benefit. And when offered at the headquarters of the league hot coffee, bought on the money received for these very papers they said: "Not yet; give the money to those who are sick, or have small children to feed."

### Learned Fast

They were no longer the same girls who had left the factories but a few weeks ago. During these weeks of enforced idleness they were learning things and thinking thoughts they knew nothing about before the strike, their horizon broadened and they came to live with and for one another. It was evident that these little daughters of the people had a great amount of natural intelligence which remained in a dormant state, but at the first given opportunity they were exercising it with a remarkable agility.

But with every new victory for the union, with every other display of courage and initiative on the part of the strikers, the enemy devised a new method of torture. When only seven thousand were left on the battle field agents of the employers were sent to the homes of the strikers during the latter's absence, instigating the down-

### Our Meat Prices

have astonished the entire city. Never before have our prices been so low. We serve the meat consumer with the best quality the market can produce at a price that gives us a reasonable profit. Every man, woman and child must live and most every one loves choice meats. We realize that in order to secure your trade in meats that we must have quality and low prices. The price to save money is where your trade is appreciated, where sanitary conditions prevail, where you receive attention and due respect, in all it makes you feel welcome, that you will call again, your attention is called to

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- Sticks, lb. 14c
- Rib Roast, 12c, 14c, 16c
- per lb. 12c, 14c, 16c
- Porter House Steaks, per lb. 18c, 20c
- Lamb and Veal Chops, per lb. 15c
- Mutton Chops, fancy, per lb. 12c
- Spring Lamb hind-quarter, per lb. 13c
- Mutton Leg, Southdown, per lb. 12c
- Pork, 10c
- Leg of Pork, 15c
- Veal, lb. 15c

### Sausage of all kinds.

- Old Abe, our special, per lb. 15c
- Hams, country cured, per lb. 20c
- Bacon, country cured, strip, lb. 30c
- Egg, strictly fresh, per doz. 32c
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- Barrow Uud. Co.—Phil. L. Oruse, Tel. Calumet 36 124 E. 22nd-st.

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heard, suffering parents against their own children. With the result that the unfortunate girls were not only abused by thugs and the police, but in their own homes by their fathers and brothers who did not see the necessity of their striking.

### The Cry for Bread

And still the girls stood out. Then a new settlement was proposed by which the employers promised to give in to all the demands of their workers but the recognition of the union. The strike had been going on for six weeks, most of the strikers were destitute, the union treasury was exhausted, the officers of the union were tired out and could no longer witness the terrible suffering of the men, women and children who crowded their office daily asking for a little help to still their hunger. The cry for bread roared louder and louder, from early morning until late at night people were crowding every floor of 151 Clinton street, trying to gain admittance to the office where benefits were being paid out. Hundreds of strikers were ill in bed either from colds caught while on picket duty or from beatings and imprisonment.

It seemed that a gloom and despondency had fallen over all. Those were the conditions when the union officers decided to call a number of meetings in order to take a referendum upon the last proposition of the enemy.

It was not hard to get them to come to any meetings, but on that day every single man and woman involved in the strike, whether well or ill, put in an appearance. The halls were overcrowded, people stood on window sills, tables and hung onto the banister. "Somebody wants to sell us out" was heard now and then, when the speakers happened to utter a word favorable to the opposition, and when finally the chairman put the motion before them for their vote they voted it down unanimously.

### Labor Aided

Their undaunted bravery aroused the interest of organized labor and assistance started to come from all sides. The season had by this time reached a time when orders were to be delivered without delay and gradually victory was becoming a certainty. The Employers' Protective association could not protect its members for they had deserted their ranks and signed agreements with the union. When the battle was already drawing to an end the remaining employers resorted to the last means of defense—they took out an injunction against a number of women members of the Trade Union league. The latter laughed at the threat of arrest for contempt of court; they were fearless as the girls themselves, and went on with their wonderful, inestimable assistance.

The end of the eleventh week saw the remaining thirteen employers, comprising 1,000 girls, give in and sign their agreements in a body.

There is still one phase of the strike that had been left in the dark: From the very first the seven or eight thousand men involved did not take the right standard. And all along the girls had this unnecessary evil to combat. Men hid behind women's skirts, play-

ing coward and deserter at every opportunity. The girls have proven in spite of all the obstacles in their way that they could plan, fight and conquer. What effect this struggle will have on the industrial status of woman only history will tell. But woman will surely benefit by the experience gained and lessons learned.

### SAY DICKINSON AIDS RAILROADS

Washington, D. C., Feb. 25.—All is not well between the Illinois Manufacturers' association and Secretary of War Jacob M. Dickinson, according to developments that came to light here today. The manufacturers have been importuning the secretary to adopt sternly repressive measures against various railroads and Mr. Dickinson has refused to comply. As a result the Illinois captains of industry are complaining that the former general counsel of the Illinois Central railroad now ruling the war department is unduly kind to the railroads.

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John M. Glenn, who is in Washington with La Verne W. Noyes, president of the association, had an extended conference with Mr. Dickinson today, which is understood to have developed considerable heat of argument. Dickinson was general counsel for the Illinois Central railroad.

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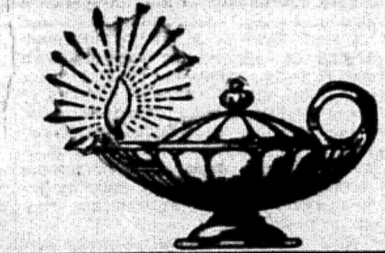
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NOTE TO NEW SOCIALISTS READ SOCIALIST BOOKS

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To sell you one suit of clothes and never see you again is not what I am in business for. The treatment you will receive in my store when you buy the first suit will be so good I will sell you your clothing for years afterward. What I sell you must be good. The alterations must be made so that the garment goes out of my store a credit to me as a merchant. My responsibility does not stop there: After you have worn the suit, raincoat or whatever it may be, if it does not give satisfaction I want you to bring it back, for I (Tom) am responsible for that garment.

This is the way I have made my reputation, and I don't propose to lose it by that honestly earned reputation. Millionaires can afford to lose their reputations. I can't, for my reputation is my capital. These silk lined fancy worsted gray and navy suits I am selling this season at 15.00 and 20.00 are great wearers to the Chicago clothing trade. I want you to see them. You can pay 25.00 for no better suits; when you do you are paying 5.00 or 10.00 extra for some trade mark, the advertising expense of some maker's name. My name and reputation back of any suit of clothes I sell you is all you need. Why should you pay for a maker's label, when you don't wear it outside where your friends can see it? Why should you not trade with me, or at least give me a chance at your clothing purchases?

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Tomorrow—yes—and every day this spring I will sell all 2.00 new stiff and soft hats at 1.85; by using your head you can save 35 cents. Tomorrow only—a lot of 50-cent new knitted silk four-in-hands at 25 cents (only 6 to a person). A lot of 2 for 25-cent fast black seamless socks at 6 cents (6 pair to grown persons only). A lot of new fresh platted bosom fancy shirts worth 1.50 to 2.00, not old stuff, but new shirts, new styles, tomorrow's price 95 cents. Another great lot of fresh, new fresh goods, patent leathers, vic kids, box calfs, almost all kinds of leathers, blacks and tans at 2.50. I don't sell these bargains for the benefit of other merchants, for that reason I am obliged to limit the purchases. The bargains are for you to make you a regular customer. If you keep on reading my ads in time I will make a customer of you. Won't?

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# CAPITALIST WOMEN ARE CLASS CONSCIOUS

BY LUELLA TWINING

In an argument the other day a Socialist woman said to me: "I consider the interests of women before those of my class. I am a woman first and then a Socialist." Let us see what sort of company this woman finds herself in. In Cherry, Illinois, the day before the mine was unsealed I stayed five hours at the shaft talking to the dis-tracted widows who hovered around the sealed tomb night and day waiting, waiting for the mine to be unsealed.



LUELLA TWINING

I finally went down to the depot to get warm. On the platform stood a well dressed woman and man. The woman looked at me in a defiant way and said, "These folks are coming here trying to make the miners wives think we are to blame for the disaster. The militia will quiet the women down, though. We'll fix them."

This woman owns stock in a mine near Cherry. She is a class conscious woman. She is the woman whom sex conscious Socialist women choose as

helpmates rather than men and women of their class.

Women are employers of labor as well as men and both protect their interests with all the weapons they can command.

Not all capitalist women are vulgar and disagreeable. Many are kind and polite. Probably many of you have read Miss Edith Wyatt's article on "Heroes of the Cherry Mine" in the March number of McClure's.

I met Miss Wyatt in La Salle, Illinois. She was then on her way to Cherry. Miss Wyatt is a lovely woman, but her father is a mine owner. Her article is a cold one for she could not describe the scenes in Cherry, without blaming the mine owners and she is a class conscious woman and would not do it.

Capitalist women are class conscious. They stand with their class. It is a disgrace for Socialist women to refuse to stand with the working class. In fact, they are not Socialists who refuse to stand.

They deny the class struggle when they say their interests are with members of their sex instead of the working class. When they join the Socialist party they sign a card affirming their belief in the class struggle.

I have been from New York to San Francisco within a year. I have spoken before many meetings held under the auspices of the Socialist Women's committees. The women are doing good work, but many of them are making a serious mistake in directing their attention to a study of the woman question almost exclusively and disregarding the study of Socialism. We are members of the working class, not because we are women, but because we are workers.

We weaken our position when we demand attention as women. Men and women have been divided in their work too long and that is the reason that the women look contemptuously upon the work of women and that we have sex conscious women.

Women's Socialist Committees will do much more effective work if in addition to a study of the woman question, they will study the Communist Manifesto, From Utopia to Science and other good Socialist works.

# SOCIALISM AND SUFFRAGE

BY ANNAH FINSTEBACH

In a number of articles on the relation of the Socialist woman to the organized suffrage movement, we are urged to co-operate with the suffragists and the resolutions passed by the New York Socialist women scored as showing a narrow and intolerant spirit.

What is the basic idea underlying co-operation? Is it not a union of those who have a single purpose—who will work in harmony to accomplish that purpose?

The purpose of the suffragist is to secure the franchise for women in any way possible; the most practicable being to endorse candidates of any political party who favor suffrage.

Of course, desiring suffrage right now, the endorsement of Republican or Democratic nominees would be logical and the Socialist woman, if in earnest in her desire to co-operate, would join in this endorsement; otherwise her co-operation would be futile. Could she and retain her membership in the Socialist party?

The purpose of the Socialist is to capture the powers of government in the interest of the working class by the use of the ballot of the Socialist political party. Every member of the Socialist party severs his or her connection with others political parties.

The sort of co-operation to secure certain ends, mentioned by the Comrades as precedents, were parliamentarian after candidates had been elected, as I understand it.

Suppose two classes of men wished to co-operate in building a house, one class stood for a brick home, one for stone and neither could give up to the other, that house would never be built co-operatively.

Can there be any whole-hearted co-operation between those who utterly ignore the idea of class and those who believe in the class struggle?

The stand of the English women in ignoring class lines was commended by one writer. In another article we read that when Miss MacArthur, the English suffragist, asked for the obliteration of class lines in America, it was Mrs. Belmont who objected. Would

it not, therefore, be true that the Socialists would meet with an impassable barrier in the attitude of the suffragists themselves?

Socialists can co-operate with the trades union movement, for it is a class movement and non-political. The trades unionist to a man believes in equal suffrage, but we will not do this in the case of the employing class for the very good reason that it is well for them to have a disfranchised class of wage earners.

One of the Comrades advanced the argument that it was absolutely necessary for women to have the ballot before the advent of the co-operative commonwealth, otherwise she would not stand on an equal footing with man. Would not this be at variance with the Socialist philosophy? Does that not stand for the economic freedom of every individual and would not economic freedom imply equal suffrage?

Besides, does not every Socialist platform contain a declaration for woman suffrage and have we any cause to believe that our Comrades would play us a trick?

How does co-operation with the suffrage organization work practically when tried? This way:

The Socialist woman is cordially welcomed by the members, but immediately muzzleed. She can talk temperance, religion, anything but Socialism. The entire membership have their eyes on her and seem to be in constant fear of what she may say, in fact, seem to read into all she says even the most innocuous remarks, a veiled threat aimed at the present system.

Active work in the suffrage organizations by the Socialist woman is so much time, energy and money taken from the "Great Cause." The only practicable form of co-operation is to work with the woman's committee of the Socialist party, in the Socialist leagues or clubs, to interest women in the movement to better their condition—the only movement that teaches them that there is a way for them to enjoy complete economic freedom. If we could draw to the Socialist movement any noticeably large number of women, the capitalist would hand over the ballot to women in a hurry, to stem the rising tide of Socialism.

Minneapolis, Minn.

# THE LESSON OF WOMAN'S DAY

BY AGNES H. DOWNING.

Bellamy made many fine forecasts; some of them have come true, some of them partly true.

The one about the strikers always fascinated me. In this he gave a pen picture of the characters, among all others of our time, that future generations would consider most worthy of honor.

The characters were the strikers: rough, strong men who laid down their tools and turned single handed to face a world of wrongs and injustice—a world that was maled and shielded and armed.

And the high minded generations of the future, Bellamy said, understood them. The master sculptor of the year 2000 chiseled them in stone, and the statue was placed in the most prominent square of Boston where thankful hosts brought their children to "kiss in gratitude the rough-shod feet of those who made the way for us."

At this picture of the prophet I always felt triumph mingled with regret. Triumph because the strikers were at length vindicated—their mission understood. Regret because of the part played by women. For in the statue described by Bellamy three splendid resolute men had thrown down their tools and were gazing defiantly at the world of greed, saying: "It is better to starve than live on the terms you give us."

Near them, and making their sacrifice bitter to bear were two women—the one

kneelt with her starving child and pointed imploringly at the tools, indicating her prayer that he should take them up. The other plucked at the sleeve of her husband to draw him back from the bold stand he had taken.

Looking at the women of Bellamy's time perhaps his picture was true. It was also pitiless. It seemed not enough that women should live lives of obscurity and suffering self sacrifice to their own families but that they should be embalmed in history as specimens of race progress. It seemed not enough that society should confine them to one narrow cell, shut out from the world by walls of prejudice and slow built custom, but that they must be blamed for not seeing over the walls. Not enough that society had dwarfed them, they must be reproached for being small.

But history had been, and I know that nature is unfeeling. Nature will find some way, in rocks or books, to record what has been, but will never give an extension. So if we would have the records tell what is better of us we must do what is better.

But again and almost without our conscious thought, necessity is making our story. This forecast of Bellamy's is one that is only partly true, for the striking men of his day, with weeping women as a dead weight at their elbows did not draw the line. They could not, brave and devoted though they were.

But the "Song of the Shirt" has been sung so clear of late, and with such a note of triumph that a new hope dawns. Women will help the cause of the race. Clara Lemlich moving the general strike, scores of girls going to the workhouse that the union funds might give strike benefits for others, hundreds of girls tramping hungry, and

could sell The Call, and striking girls everywhere withstanding brutal police and corrupt magistrates with scenes that striking workmen will never face. This and here and there the hero stuff that made young girls combat father and brothers at home rather than "scab," these are events that awaken us to a new day. The slogan, "It is better to starve quick than slow," is telling.

Nor is that all, the signs are more obvious. The devoted Socialist women of New York gave in their deeds the social lesson. From the first day of the strike they stood in the shadow to watch and plan and organize, to write and work, to entreat and stimulate and inspire, to do what must be done for success means labor and sacrifice. And were it not for the clear Socialist insight into cause and effect, were it not that our side, comrades of New York could see the line of march and the ultimate aim, the result might easily have been otherwise.

# MARRIAGE AS A TRADE

BY CICELY HAMILTON  
Reviewed by Alice Henry

Miss Cicely Hamilton has put every living woman in her debt and possibly every living man, too, though the indebtedness of his side might not at first glance be so evident.

I know of nothing on the general philosophy of the woman question which has come from any pen so fresh, so vivid and so inspiring since "Women and Economics" was written. And though the two-books are totally different, there is something very reminiscent of our own dear Charlotte Gilman in the way in which the English woman handles the subject. It must be the cheerful, pleasant way in which both writers present their absolutely startling indictments against society, against man for ruling and woman for consenting to be ruled. The book is absolutely stuffed full of good things. On every second page is felled some dear conventional opinion, which made me say to myself, "Why did I never think of that before?"

While on every alternate page is some bare fact presented with a remorseless accuracy and truth to fact that made me sigh, "How often I, too, have thought of that."

No satire is intended in the title. It is merely a statement of the subject, wifehood and motherhood considered as a means of livelihood for women. And the writer's contention is that since "it will not be disputed that the manner in which a human being earns his livelihood tends to mold and influence his character, to warp or improve it," so "the trade of marriage tends to produce its own particular type, and that woman, as we know her, is largely the product of the conditions imposed upon her by her staple industry."

A contention certainly in full harmony with the Socialist philosophy, though never before worked out in such detail.

Quotation from such a book is tantalizingly unsatisfactory. But I will attempt it in the hope that readers will feel so satisfied and so dissatisfied that they will turn to the book itself. Some of the quotations are, from considerations of space, abridged.

"I am always suspicious of those degrees of providence which run parallel to the interests of persons who have taken it upon themselves to expound providential wisdom, and I am inclined to doubt whether there exists in every woman an overpowering maternal instinct which swamps all other interests and desires. But even if, for the sake of argument, the universality of an overpowering maternal instinct be admitted it is legitimate to point out that housework and its unpaid drudgery is not only performed in the interests of the children. Further in the numerous households, where husband and wife go out to work (as in the factory districts), the woman, on returning home, has to cook and clean and sew in the time which her husband can employ as he chooses. And these household duties are left to her simply because her husband considers them tiresome or unpleasant and therefore declines to perform them. There is, so far as I can see, only one way in which woman can make her self more valued and free herself from the necessity of performing duties for which she gets neither thanks nor payment. She must do as men have always done in such a situation, shirk the duties."

I have shown that the trade of marriage is ill paid largely because it is compulsory, that in accordance with economic law the wife and the mother will be held cheap for just so long as she is a drag in the market.

I suppose that in the recent history of woman nothing is more striking than the enormous improvement that has taken place in the social position of the spinster. Some of us are even proud of the fact that we have fought our way in the world without aid from any man's arm. At any rate, we no longer feel it necessary to apologize for our existence, and when we are assured that we have lost the best that life has to offer us, we are not unduly cast down.

So far as I can see nothing like the same improvement has taken place in recent years in the position of the average married woman. So far as I can see the average husband, actual or to be, still entertains the conviction that the word helpmeet, being interpreted, means second fiddle, and acts in accordance with that honest conviction. He will make no allowance for the duty of his wife to respect him on the ground that he did not happen to be born a woman. He still considers it desirable that his wife should not be overwise.

Myself I have not the least doubt that such improvement as has already been effected in the status of the wife and mother has originated outside herself, and is to a great extent the work of the formerly contented spinster. I do not mean that the spinster has labored always to that end intentionally; I mean, rather, that as she improves her own position, she takes advantage of its greater freedom, its less restricted opportunities, its possibilities of pleasing herself and directing her own life, she inevitably, by awakening envy, drags after her the married woman who once despised her and whose eyes who has opened to the disadvantages of her own dependent situation.

Marriage as a Trade, Cicely Hamilton. New York: Moffat, Yard & Co., 1909.

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# WHERE WOMEN FIND EACH OTHER

BY LEONORA PEASE

Once at a social gathering of progressive, advanced women who were pushing Socialism in their several ways and with their different means—a veteran comrade, who like one crying in the wilderness, had preached class consciousness and sex consciousness for twenty years. She understood with the wisdom of coordinating sympathy and knowledge, with the rare gift of imagination and the unquestionable lessons of experience, the heart of woman; that deep, dumb heart, so long suppressed, so long denied, so long appeased with flattery or silenced with despair. And because she knew them and loved them, upbraided and encouraged them, despised their littleness and glorified their greatness, and, most of all, pressed their wrongs, they most of all followed her. She was a "woman's woman," whom the homage of men and the blessings of fortune and the pride of intellect bestowed upon her in large measure, had not corrupted. She saw with Ward in his gynaeocentric theory, and from the old plateau of the matriarchate to the shining heights of the evolved goddess woman—the Minerva and Juno and Venus de Milo types of the future, her vision passed over the depressing swamp of woman's travail between. Her face lighted as she looked around that group, animated by the spirit of camaraderie and the exchange of that high order of wit and reason the progressive woman breathes in and out so abundantly, and she exclaimed, "The greatest discovery of the century is that women have found each other."

Long have we recognized the need of the man, of child for child, of women separated in so-called homes, or allowed them to come out of their seclusion on condition of "keeping silence in the churches." By restriction to the long enjoined "home sphere," by preaching the ancient and beautiful "ladylike" suppression of her individuality; the rivalry of biddings for the master of her one condition of existence, the fiction of her innate meanness toward her sex—so have we kept women from women.

Out of all this mental murk and moral falsity has she dimly discerned, feebly touched and at length discovered the mighty fact of her sex solidarity. Fearfully she came first into the consciousness of it, led inexorably by her giant benefactor—Steam; came under bidding and displacing her master; came through that innocent and much maligned portal, the woman's club; as that white ribbon, having suffered past obedience; as the revived and noble Amazon, demanding enfranchisement and equal rights under the law. With the light of a free and educated father's mind burning in her brain she pushed irresistibly into the colleges and on to the forbidden domain of the professions. Not without cost. Groping with her hand for her own sex, she clasped a groping sister's hand, and thereafter hers was the strength of the unsoldary. So she came to march

double-breasted, triple-breasted, four-breasted, by rights and twelves. So she looked into another's eyes and saw: "Because you are a woman you know the secret of my sex; you alone may understand me."

Sometimes we see the baby child who has known only its devotedly enslaved elders confronted suddenly by the presence of a child like itself. And instantly, with a surgle of joy, goes the child to it; dejects father, mother and kindred and goes to its own. That which man has never lacked with man, and which has advanced him to mastery, is a new and inspiring experience with women. The vanguards of women have found each other; the army is coming up.

It is this finding of each other which is the explanation of the puzzling "girl bachelor" development, the astounding spectacle of thousands of independent, happy and splendid unmarried women; of the independent married women, sick of dependence or herself supporting the dependent; the divorced woman, an, revolted. It has shown itself most significantly and unexpectedly in the late New York and Philadelphia shirt-makers' strikes, where women stood by women regardless of class.

To be blind to the spring tide of sex-consciousness today is to be on the stupid level of those who deny class awakening. To refuse to become one of the drops that swell it is to be one of the drops that die on the sands like those streams of Nevada, having perished in vain. From all countries it swells; from Finland and Norway and Denmark and England and Australia; even in our own sluggish backwater, the United States, it is rising.

"Shall the foxes have holes and the birds of the air have nests and the son of man have not where to lay his head?" A class cry that, going up from the stars and coursed, But shall the foxes and birds and the son of man have the forests and the rivers, the trail and the open sky, the chase and the contest, the fulfillment of the law in their places of evolving creature, and the daughter of man have none of these? A sex cry this, the cry of the imprisoned, the wasting, "contempt" that is the crux. For man may fight armed and in ranks for his cause, and his class, and his betterment; but without the ballot and the consciousness of her sex solidarity women must fight unarmed and scattered.

To behold the humiliating sight of the dependent woman clinging to the man who no longer loves her, for the sake of support; the small spirited woman imposing her smallness upon a world-conscious man because he can not desert the helpless, the sorceress woman who destroys her victimizer with herself; the fearful specter of naked sex that walks the street at night; must stir and shame and drive into the woman's army any woman who realizes that to humiliate, weaken and degrade a part of womanhood humiliates, weakens and degrades all womanhood. To perceive the woman who has gained and will have mastered and achieved, whose heart has strengthened and sweetened, whose spirit prophesies of all women's development and transfiguration is to enter vowed into the crusade.

Having seen and understood, the aroused woman will not be deterred by force or falacy. She knows that her class struggle and her sex struggle are the parts of a whole, which is the emancipation of humanity. She knows that the one supports the other. And she knows that having begun her march, woman advances whether she knows or no into the great, human liberating philosophy of Socialism, where she is to find her salvation. Eventually she must awaken to the consciousness of this, too—to give the deeds of her hands and the dreams of her soul to the accomplishment of its program. That accomplishment will be of many days—how many who shall tell? It is in these lightning, brightening, heroic days that the women on the firing lines are finding and halting each other.

# SOCIALIST WOMAN ON THE BALLOT

(Speech of Marion Craig Wentworth of Salem at Legislative Committee Hearing on Bill for Equal Suffrage, State House, Boston, Feb. 23, 1910.)

It is incumbent upon me as representative of the Socialist group of women to state why Socialist women want the vote. The Socialist women might present a petition, as in times past, on the basis of abstract justice, on the basis of interest, desire or reason. But the time has gone by for that. Why? Because of radical social and industrial changes in our civilization. These changes have affected the life of woman, her interests and activities. She is now a permanent factor in the industrial life. Man has the ballot, and through the ballot the power of determining whether the industrial life shall deal justly or unjustly with him. But the woman has no such safeguard. She has no self protection, no self defense in the industrial life, no means of retreat above the juggernaut of industry, no means of changing iniquitous laws that operate against her well being in the industrial life.

I wish to emphasize this point, that the suffrage is no longer a matter of theoretical and abstract justice, but of practical necessity for self-protection in the industrial fields in which she labors. More than self defense, it is a necessity in order that she may obtain better conditions, better factory laws, shorter hours, better wages.

In the largest cotton mill in the world are employed 15,000 operatives; 7,000 of these are women. The 8,000 men employed can vote, can determine right conditions relative to their welfare, but what can the women do? They are helpless in the field of industry because they have no weapon. If woman wants a wrong righted, no one will listen because she is not a political entity, she has no vote.

She is in the position we are in tonight. The Socialist woman has a definite purpose in view in asking for the vote. She has a definite program for which she desires to vote. She wishes to initiate and vote on every measure that would ameliorate the conditions of the working class at large, as well as the class of working women and working children.

She wishes to unite her efforts in the great movement of the century, which is the most worth while and significant movement of today, namely, the abolition of poverty, with all its attendant ills and crime and misery.

She wishes to aid in establishing a true industrial democracy, a social order of justice, equity and beauty, a cooperative commonwealth in which the resources of life, the land and machinery upon which all people depend, shall be owned in common.

I know well that the reasons I have set forth in my brief statement may not appeal to you, gentlemen of the committee, but I am speaking tonight—indeed we are all speaking—to the larger audience outside these walls, the people of Massachusetts, knowing ultimately that they will respond and send representatives to this hall, who will see—

do of the necessity for woman having the ballot and vote, care, as well as the resources of life, the land and machinery upon which all people depend, shall be owned in common.

# The Present Agitation Among Women From a Socialist Viewpoint

BY B. BERLYN.

The question of the sex right in society is a very important one. Many misconceptions exist in regard to it. The same as on the labor question. Many of our woman comrades, feeling the deprivation which their denial of participation in political action puts upon them, in their eagerness to obtain the right of suffrage, get a misconception of their duties in the ranks of the Socialist movement as expressed in the Socialist party. The Socialist party is a branch of the international movement and is the militant expression of the class struggle. It is militant only when it is uncompromising.

In the language of our late Comrade Liebknecht, "No compromise; no political trading." What is obtained through the Socialist movement, to have value, must be obtained through the force of the expression of the movement; not by coalition, not by dickering, but by its positive stand.



B. BERLYN.

The comrades the world over have forced from time to time concessions from the dominant element in society which were thrown to the working class with a view of diverting them from the Socialist movement and we have always been able to point out these concessions were obtained, not by compromise, but by virtue of our growing strength. Wherever the Socialist movement is virile, where its expressions are clear, such concessions have from time to time appeared, and while it is very desirable, in fact necessary, to have the representatives of the Socialist movement in the halls of representation and in place of power, that in itself has no value unless obtained on the clear out program of Socialism.

At present some of our woman comrades seem to be led astray by the curious phenomena of a very trifling incident that has occurred in New York and Philadelphia in the Shirt Waist Makers' strike, because certain women of the ruling class have become sympathetic during that strike, have contributed money and expressions of sympathy to the strikers, and I will concede even contributed to the ultimate success. Then our woman comrades become enthusiastic and at once attrib-

ute the entire success of the Shirt Waist Makers' strike as the result of the sentimental actions of some of the women suffragists of the capitalist class. The contribution of money—it is simply ridiculous to take that into consideration. "How did they get it?" Can it be spoken of in one breath with the contributions given by wage workers out of their meager pittance?

Yet it will not dispel the aid that may have come from these sources in the economic struggle of the Shirt Waist Makers. But that does not warrant even a suggestion of an alliance with these elements in the purely political domain.

The Socialist party believes in co-operation OUTSIDE of the political domain as is evidenced in the Haywood Conference, and in the Political Refugee Conferences, where they co-operated with trade unionists and anarchists and all the alleged reform and progressive organizations that could be dragged into them. And right here I desire to call attention to the absence of the Woman's Suffrage association from both of these conferences.

Let our sisters be assured that their enfranchisement will come much sooner through the class action of the working class as expressed through the Socialist party and working class organizations in general than by any other means.

In the Socialist party and in the Trade Unions we know of no sex distinctions. The vote of a woman comrade in the party counts for as much as a man's vote. A woman comrade is as eligible for any position in the party as any man. And let us make our party the best expression of organized action and the returns will soon come. The true Socialist woman will pin her faith to the party. Those who cannot see this ought to find a home in the Woman's Suffrage organization. In the Socialist movement woman's suffrage is an incident. Those of the sex who consider the suffrage the whole but in the Woman's Suffrage organization.

Some of the party members have so little Socialism in them that they said that the Socialist women were so determined to the Shirt Waist Makers' strike, that public opinion was won to the waist makers because they had obtained the support of the Woman's Suffrage association. Now the fact is the capitalist motto which was expressed over twenty-five years ago by the late unlamented William H. Vanderbilt, "The Public be Damned" is one that governs all capitalists. Strikes are not won or lost by the wielding of public opinion to one side or another. But the whip of hunger on one side and the solidarity on the other are the contending forces.

When the solidarity of the union men and women in New York prevented scabbing by giving their support, keeping the shirt waist makers from starving on one side and discouraging scabbing on the other, the whip of hunger was turned on the capitalists. Profits began to disappear and they yielded, not to the Woman's Suffrage association or public opinion, but because of their desire to at least get some profit.

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THE CHICAGO DAILY SOCIALIST

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Economic Equality the Basis of Political Equality BY MAY WOOD-SIMONS.

The emancipation of women is one of the great problems that society has to deal with. But it is not peculiar. It is in fact but part of the greater social problem, the problem of the removal of exploitation and economic subjection.

The working woman understands something different, when she works for emancipation, than does the woman of the well-to-do class who speaks of woman's rights and woman's equality with man.

What would that mean? Equality to be exploited as the working man is exploited. Equality to receive the same low wage, the insanitary conditions, to be out of work as the working man is.

In all these things she is equal for today. Is this effort to gain equality with the working man the thing the working woman is interested in? Does she think it worth while to spend her time struggling to be on the same political footing with the man slave—this and nothing more?

The well-to-do woman, when she speaks of political equality with men of her class, is not troubled about the question of economic equality—a question that to the working woman should be, and is, the one of the greatest moment.

The working woman must go far beyond this in her demands for emancipation. She must obtain a change in conditions that will emancipate her from the oppression of the class that is exploiting both men and women.

Women who have no knowledge of the meaning of this struggle of the classes will not be able to grasp this conclusion. The class struggle may not be a beautiful thing, but it is here, and the Socialist woman should realize that it is the basis of the Socialist movement.

The Socialist philosophy does not fail when it comes to dealing with the woman question. Here also the truth holds that her position politically is the result of economic conditions.

When woman became a real economic factor she felt the need of the ballot just as the working man has felt it, but this has not blinded the great body of the working women to the fact that the vital thing in their struggle is the exploitation of the class of which they are members.

This solidarity of the workers is being shown on the economic field. The girls in the trades are finding that they must stand together with the men in their struggles against their employers.

In time the women of the Socialist party will see equally clearly that the really broad, far-reaching position for them is to unite unreservedly with their class and to secure the economic and political emancipation that the working woman requires.

And this is not narrow. This movement stands for the liberation of the working class, for the final freedom of all society.

"SEX CONSCIOUSNESS"



MILA TUPPER MAYNARD

The appeal to women to become "sex-conscious" is most unfortunate. As Socialists we emphasize the term "class-consciousness" and so it was when the need to arouse the women of the working class was felt strongly the analogous expression should have been brought into play.

Ask a class-conscious workingman and he would answer promptly: "Give every unemployed man a job at as big wages as possible." That answer would have all of Socialism in it. All the rest would follow.

That is why Socialism is scientific; because we start from the facts of working-class conditions under capitalism and from the economic interests of such a class and what will surely follow when this class comes to act of itself, by itself and for itself.

There is no such significance in sex-consciousness, no such assurance that it can be aroused, no inevitable results of such emphasis as all in line with what we desire. What is meant is not sex-consciousness at all. Ibsen's Nora was sex-conscious before her awakening.

Why attempt to make useful a term which for a generation has been used to represent all we wish to outgrow? There is a woeful lack of perspective in our Socialist interest in women.

A chairman of a Socialist meeting once introduced me as follows in all seriousness and with all respect: "Ladies and Gentlemen—Capitalism has forced women to plead for womanhood. It has forced them out of the home, where they belong, into the factory, the shop and the store."

Let the party educate, educate, educate, until its advocacy of freedom and political power for women shall be something more than an academic approval of something inevitable in their theory, but a practical, enthusiastic effort to overcome all prejudices and barriers that hedge women in from her full birthright as a human being.

A Plain, Homely Talk to Men and Women Who Criticise the Socialist Attitude Toward Women

BY GERTRUDE BRESLAU HUNT

In my journeyings as a lecturer I meet over and over dozens, even hundreds, of times a certain set of objections which are raised by men and women to our efforts to induce women to join the party and help emancipate the working class.

Then they frequently go on to say that "women don't want to vote, anyway"; that they "don't know how to vote," "taint in their nature," and sometimes I get the sugar-coated, anti-suffragette dose that "voting is too great a burden to add to those of wife, mother or shop worker."

Some men wax warmer and tell me increasing exploitation, whether the helpless section be negroes, foreigners, women or children. All members of the producing class must be educated to stand and work and strive together for the emancipation of all.

It cannot be done. Don't you suppose—know, in fact—that these heroic shirtwaist and laundry girl strikers have learned the same as men strikers that the toilers need to control the laws, executives, courts and the governmental machinery that is now used to beat us into submission?

When the capitalist hires a man to do a piece of work he knows he must pay the man enough in wages to enable him to buy food, clothing and shelter to renew the life energy which he has expended; but when he turns the man out and puts a woman in, he knows he can beat her wares below the living point; that, while many—he can easily spare a few—will starve, steal or commit suicide, a great many can be forced out upon the street to try to piece out their precarious living.

We can, as women, do nothing about it now but talk and write, hence the master class used us to beat down the standard of our living, men, the standard for the whole class is lowered. That is the sound principle on which this position of the Socialist party is based.

As to women "knowing enough," etc. Well my friends smile at my way of reasoning upon this, your way if you like, but here it is: Eight years or more ago the United States government appointed a commission to gather the industrial statistics for us. At the head of that commission was Carroll D. Wright.

Doubtless the report was not perfect, but additional reports show it to be not over stated. Mr. Wright showed us that at that time, before our machinery was as highly developed and before our more perfect organization of industry had eliminated many avenues of waste, even then, we were producing an average of \$2,500 per year. That's what your labor power was producing, but you maintained a system that forced you to receive an average of only \$447 a year.

It takes a man to drive a fool bargain like that. We women have been bargaining too long. I don't believe you could get the women of Chicago, Kalamazoo, Bird Center or Pumpkintown to go to the ballot box year after year and vote for a system that would force them to sell a \$2,500 article for \$447, whether our grandfathers did or not.

Again you are mistaken about us taking your jobs, brothers. You haven't any jobs, the capitalist has the jobs and he can say who shall use them, on what terms and when.

When you get ready to own your own jobs, the machinery of production and distribution, you may and none can put you out, but only the Socialists understand and strive for this and they call to all workers, men and women of all color, race or creed, "Workers of all color, unite; you have nothing to lose but your chains, you have a world to gain."

As to the idea that a woman's place is at home. You know, do you not, that ideas grow out of material conditions? This idea came to being when woman's work was at home, when her carding and spinning, knitting and weaving, sewing and baking, canning and curing, cheese and butter making and the education and raising of her children were all done at home.

As to our being "mixed up in politics," you know there are two phases of this. Voting is not all there is of politics. Your vote determines our industrial system and the laws and institutions to sustain and enforce it.

We women are half the human family, half the robbed, overworked, underpaid, homeless, landless, toothless working class, and we have never been permitted to help determine the industrial and social institutions under which we live, but we have had to bear our full share, and more, of the evils. We were mixed up in the consequences of your voting, but given no chance to protect ourselves at the ballot box.

You say women don't want to vote? Well, I know men who boast that they have never voted. That is no reason why we should deny you and others who want to vote the ballot. Capitalist women, leisure class women, don't feel much need of voting, truly.

TO DRAG DOWN OR UPLIFT?

BY ELIZABETH H. THOMAS

It is an old story that slaves, however weak and helpless they may be, have one great power—the power to drag down those who enslave them.

Students of Roman history know that it was not "luxury," but the slaves of Rome, that swamped her republican institutions.

So it need not surprise any one that the slaves of the slaves—the wives of the workmen—have this same terrible dragging down power. Nor is it astonishing that they often exercise it. Who dare blame them? But the pity of it—oh the pity of it!

Of all the dolorous tragedies of our present society there is none more sad than this which at times we have all witnessed. A young Socialist starts out full of enthusiasm and energy. But his wife, indifferent to the Socialist movement, or directly hostile, slowly undermines his hope. She has his ear in his weary hours.

And the very heart of the tragedy is that the poor woman does not know that thus she has helped to tighten the fetters of capitalism on herself and on the children she loves.

But it is our duty to tell her. The Socialist movement will never triumph till it reaches the wives of the workmen. With women of the middle class we have had some success. But the workingman's wife must be won! The march of progress is waiting for this. It can not go forward without her.

And we must realize that she is sufficiently valuable to the movement to be worth a special effort. Special appeals, special propaganda must be used to win her over. It is foolish and cruel to talk to her of surplus value and economic determinism—she who has lived all her days in her dark home and knows nothing but its privations—and then expect her to understand all this by some miraculous flash of intuition.

Then the movement will go forward on two feet with just twice the speed of a merely one-sex movement. Then the children of the working class will be early taught the ethics and principles of Socialism and will be inspired with its ideals and aspirations.

In short, then we shall win.



ELIZABETH H. THOMAS



GERTRUDE BRESLAU HUNT

A FAIRY STORY AND THE SHIRTWAIST MAKERS' STRIKE IN NEW YORK

BY DR. ANTOINETTE F. KONIKOW

Some fairy stories carry us away from our sordid surroundings, take us upon the wings of imagination into a land of color, music, beauty and rejoicing.

My fairy tale is a different one, but the story did not tell whether good neighbors discussed the question just how much the woman had a right to get daily from the girl. Was any one indignant about the cruel stepmother? Did any one try to save the poor child? Such were the questions I wondered at, when yet a child myself.

The girls working in shops and factories give their life blood to their stepmother—the exploiting capitalist. And, strange to say, the main question of people interested in the working girl seems to be just how much of the precious fluid ought to be extracted daily from the exhausted body of the girl.

What magician gave the proprietors of the shirtwaist shops, or any other shops and factories, the wonderful power to extract life's very essence from the working girl and change it into gold?

Fortunately, in real life, there is no black art about it. The boss owns and controls the machines and all things needed to make a waist. If the workers would own all means needed for the production of waists and other wares there would be no boss in existence to extract profit, each worker would get all he produced.

How to remove the bandage of dependence entirely. This bandage is in real life quite complicated, for the power of the boss is strengthened and supported by the might and influence of the government, as the girls had chance to see and feel when encountering the brutality of the police and the prejudice of the court.

The enemy of the worker is not a magician, but his power is great and based mainly upon the ignorance of his victims. To overcome his might and prowess the girls, following the example of their men comrades, have to gather strength from the union of their trade, get the weapon of political rights to be able to use the power of the government, and then work for the realization of the principle: Not one drop of blood to the exploiter.

The story of the working girl's life is sad, but it will have a happy ending, different from my fairy story. It's finale depends entirely upon the pluck, courage and intelligence of the girls.

The wonderful self sacrifice, enthusiasm and strength displayed by the shirtwaist strikers in New York have convinced me that the working girl knows how to struggle and is worthy of the great prize to be won. In this strike the girls received support from other classes of society, but the time will come when they will have to rely only upon themselves and the help of their fellow sufferers.

Three weapons must they wield to tear off the bandage of dependence. None used alone will help. These weapons are: Organization into unions, suffrage and Socialism.

Oyster Soup Smith—How do they raise oysters, anyway? Mrs. Smith—Why, in the cradle of the deep, of course.



DR. ANTOINETTE KONIKOW

Financial Report of Chicago Socialist Women's Committee

Table with columns for RECEIPTS, EXPENDITURES, and Balance on hand. Includes items like Nov. 3, 1909, Balance on hand \$13.29, Nov. 4, 1909, Received for leaflets sold to Philadelphia 2.00, etc.

THE GRATITUDE OF THIRSTY PLAINS

That comparatively little of the area of New Mexico has felt the influence of civilization is shown by the fact that of its 78,000,000 acres of land less than 500,000 acres are under actual cultivation. But its river valleys, once their famished sands are satisfied with draughts of water from the big irrigation lakes, reward the irrigator in a thousandfold. Water is the only magic necessary to transform them from parched deserts of hot sand to fertile bowers of wealth-producing vegetation.