

THE CHICAGO SOCIALIST.

"Workingmen of all countries unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains: you have a world to gain."

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The Next Step: A Benevolent Feudalism.

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The next distinct stage in the socio-economic evolution of America may be something entirely different from any of the forms usually predicted. Anarchist prophecies are of course futile; and the Tolstoyan Utopia of a return to primitive production, with its prodigal waste of effort and consequent impoverishment of the race, allures but few minds. The Kropotkinian dream of a communitarian union of shop industry and agriculture is of a like type; and well nigh as barren are the Neo-Jeffersonian visions of a general revival of small farm and small shop production and the dominance of a middle class democracy. The orthodox economists, with their notions of a slightly modified individualism, wherein each unit receives the just reward of its capacity and service, are but worshipping an image which they have created out of their books, and which has no real counterpart in life; and finally, the Marxists who predict the establishment of a co-operative commonwealth, are to say the least, too sanguine in foreshortening the time of its triumph. Whatever the more distant future may bring to pass, there is but little evidence to prove that collectivism will be the next status of society. Rather, that coming status of which the contributing agencies are now energetically at work, and of which the first phases are already plainly observable, will be something in the nature of a Benevolent Feudalism.

Capitalist Accumulation.

That the concentration of capital and the increase of individual holdings of wealth will continue is almost unanimously conceded. Forty years ago Marx laid down the formula of capitalist accumulation which has ever since been a fixed article of creed with the orthodox Socialists. "One capitalist always kills many," is its central maxim. And only recently Prof. John B. Clark, doubtless our most distinguished representative of the orthodox economists, declared in the pages of the Independent, that "the world of the near future will present a condition of vast and ever-growing inequality. The rich will continually grow richer, and the multi-millionaires will approach the billion-dollar standard."

It is a view that needs no particular buttressing of authority, for it is held by most of those who seriously scan the outlook.

Apparent Contradictions.

There are, it is not to be disputed, certain tendencies and data which apparently conflict with this view. There is a marked persistence, and in some cases a growth, of small-unit farming, and of small-shop production and distribution. This tendency is strongly insisted upon by Prince Kropotkin and by the German Socialist Bernstein, and is conceded, though cautiously, by a number of other radicals, among them the Belgian Socialist Van der Velde. That it is a real tendency seems unquestioned on the face of the figures from Germany, France, England and Belgium; and it is not unlikely that further confirmation will be found in the detailed reports of the last United States census. Furthermore, the great commercial combinations are not necessarily a proof of individual increase of wealth. Often, perhaps generally, they result in this individual increase. But the two things are not inevitably related. These combinations are generally, as William Graham pointed out nearly twelve years ago, a massing together of separate portions of capital, small, great and moderate, a union of capitals for a common purpose, while still separately owned. Lipton's great company, for instance, has over 65,000 shareholders; and many of America's most powerful combinations are built up out of a multitude of small and separate holdings.

Economic Independence Decreases.

But though these facts and tendencies are admitted, they do not really affect the foregoing generalization. The drift toward small unit production and distribution in certain lines argues NO GROWTH OF ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE. On the contrary, it is attended by a constant pressure and constraint. The more the great combinations increase their power, the greater is the subordination of the small concerns. They may, for one reason or another, find it possible, and even fairly profitable to continue; but they will be more and more confined to particular activities, to particular territories, and in time to particular methods, all dictated and enforced by the pressure of the larger concerns. The petty tradesmen and producers are thus an economically dependent class; and their dependence increases with the years. In a like position, also, are the owners of small and moderate holdings in the trusts. The larger holdings—often the single largest holding—determine the rules of the game. The smaller ones are either acquiescent, or if recalcitrant, are powerless to enforce their will. Especially is this true in America, where the land

of a corporation is often an absolute ruler, who determines not only the policy of the enterprise, but the personnel of the board of directors.

Elements of Future Castes.

The tendencies thus make, on the one hand, toward the centralization of vast power in the hands of a few men—the organization of industry, as it were—and on the other, to a vast increase in the number of those who compose the economically dependent classes. The latter number is already stupendous. The laborers and mechanics were long ago brought under the yoke through their divorcement from the land and the application of steam to factory operation. They are economically unfree except in so far as their organizations make possible a collective bargaining for wages and hours. The growth of commerce raised up an enormous mass of clerks and helpers, perhaps the most dependent class in the community. The growth and partial diffusion of wealth in America has in fifty years largely altered the character of domestic service and increased the number of servants many fold. Railroad pools and farm implement trusts have drawn a tightening cordon about the farmers. The professions, too, have felt the change. Behind many of our important newspapers are private commercial interests which dictate their general policy, if not, as is frequently the case, their particular attitude upon every public question; while the race for endowments made by the greater number of the churches and by all colleges except a few state supported ones, compels a cautious regard on the part of synod and faculty, for the wisest, the views, and prejudices of men of great wealth. To this growing deference of preacher, teacher, and editor is added that of two more important classes—the makers and the interpreters of the law. The record of legislation and judicial interpretation regarding slavery previous to the Civil War has been paralleled in recent years by the records of legislatures and courts in favor of manual workers, especially in such cases as employers' liability and factory inspection. Thus, with a great addition to the number of subordinate classes with a tremendous increase of their individual components, and with a corresponding growth of power in the hands of a few magnates, there is needed little further to make up a socio-economic status that contains all the essentials of a renaissance feudalism.

Class, not Personal Dependence.

It is, at least in its beginning, less a personal than a class feudalism. History may repeat itself, as the adage runs; but not by identical forms and events. The great spirals of evolutionary progress carry us for a time back to the general direction of older journeys, but not to the well-worn pathways themselves. The old feudalism exacted faithful service, industrial and martial, from the underling; protection and justice from the overlord. It is not likely that personal fidelity as once known, can ever be restored. The long period of dislodgment from the land, the diffusion of learning, the exercise of the franchise, and the training in individual effort, have left a seemingly unbridgeable chasm between the past and the present forms. But though personal fidelity, in the old sense, is improbable, group fidelity, founded upon the CONSCIOUS DEPENDENCE OF A CLASS, is already observable, and it grows apace. Out of the sense of class dependence arises the extreme deference which we yield, the rapt homage which we pay—not as individuals, but as units of a class to the men of wealth. We do not know them personally, and we have no sense of personal attachment. But in most things we grant them priority. We send them or their legates to the Senate to make our laws; we permit them to name our administrators and our judiciary; we listen with eager attention to their utterances and we abide by their judgment. Not always, indeed; for some of us grumble at times and ask angrily where it will all end. We talk threateningly of instituting referendums to curtail excessive power; of levying income taxes, or of compelling the government to acquire the railroads and the telegraphs. We subscribe to newspapers and to publications which criticize the acts of the great corporations, and we fall as a new Gracchus the ardent reformer who occasionally comes forth for a season to do battle for the popular cause. But this revolt is, for the most part, SENTIMENTAL; it is a mental attitude but rarely translatable into terms of action. It is, moreover, sporadic and flickering; it dies out after a time and we revert to our usual moods, concerning ourselves with our particular interests and letting the rest of the world wag as it will.

Ethical Duties of Wealth.

As a new feudalism in this character-

than by a personal dependence. But it differs in still other respects from the old. It is qualified and restricted, and by agencies hardly operative in medieval times. Democracy tends to restrain it and ethics to moralize it. Though it has its birth and nurture out of the "rough and unsocialized barbarians of wealth," in Mr. Henry D. Lloyd's phrase, its youth and maturity promise a modification of character. More and more it tends to become a benevolent feudalism; on the ethical side it is qualified by a growing and diffusive sense of responsibility and kinship. The principle of the "trusteeship of great wealth" having found lodgment, like a seed in the erstwhile barren soil of mammonism, has become a flourishing growth. The enormous benefactions for social purposes, which have been common of late years, and which in 1901 reached a total of \$107,000,000, could have come only from men and women who have been taught to feel an ethical duty to society. It is a duty true enough, which is but dimly seen and imperfectly fulfilled. The greater part of these benefactions is directed to purposes which have but a slight or indirect bearing upon the relief of social distress, the restraint of injustice, or the mitigation of remediable hardships. The giving is even often economically false, and if carried to an extreme would prove disastrous to the community. For in many cases it is a transmutation of wealth from a status of active capital, wherein it makes possible a greater diffusion of comfort, to a status of comparative sterility. But, though often mistaken as is the conception and futile the fulfillment of this duty, the fact that it is apprehended at all, is one of far-reaching importance.

Democracy and Feudalism.

The limitation which democracy puts upon the new feudalism is also important. For democracy will endure, in spite of the new order. "Like death," says Disraeli, "it gives back nothing." Something of its substance it gives back, it must be confessed. For it permits the most serious encroachments upon its rights; but of its outer form it yields nothing; and thus it retains the potentiality of exerting its will in whatever direction it may see fit. And this fact, though now but feebly recognized by the feudal barons, will be better understood by them as time runs on, and they will bear in mind the limit of popular patience. It is an elastic limit, of a truth; for the mass of mankind, as both Hamlet and Thomas Jefferson observed, are ready to endure known ills than to fly to others that they know not. It is a limit which, to be heeded, needs only to be carefully studied. Macaulay's famous dictum that the privileged classes, when their rule is threatened, always bring about their ruin by making further exactions, is likely in this case to prove untrue. A wiser forethought begins to prevail among the autocrats of today—a forethought destined to grow and expand and to prove of inestimable value when bequeathed to their successors. Our nobility will thus temper their exactions to an endurable limit; and they will distribute benefits to a degree that makes a tolerant, if not a satisfied people. They may even make a working principle of Bentham's maxim, and after, of course, appropriating the first and choicest fruits of industry to themselves, may seek to promote the "greatest happiness of the greatest number." For therein will lie their greatest security.

Sources of Power.

Of the particular forms which this new feudalism will take there are already numerous indications which furnish grounds for more or less confident prediction. All societies evolve naturally out of their predecessors. In sociology as in biology, there is no cell without a parent cell. The society of each generation develops a multitude of spontaneous and acquired variations and out of these by a blending process, of natural and conscious selection, the succeeding society is evolved. The new feudalism is but an orderly outgrowth of past and present tendencies and conditions.

Unlike the old feudalism it is not confined to the country. Qualified in certain respects, though it be, it has yet a far wider province and scope of action. The great manorial estates now being erected along the banks of the Hudson, along the shores of Long Island Sound, and Lake Michigan, are but its pleasure places—its Sans Soucis, its Baginellas. Far from being the foundation of its revenues, as were the estates of the old feudalism, these are the prodigally expensive playthings of the new. The oil wells, the mines, the grain fields, the forests and the great thoroughfares of the land are its ultimate sources of revenue; but its strongholds are in the cities. It is in these centers of activity, with their warehouses where the harvests are hoarded; their workshops where the metals and

woods are fashioned into articles of use; their great distributing houses; their exchanges; their enormously valuable franchises to be had for the asking or the seizing, and their pressure of population, which forces an hourly increase in the exorbitant value of land that the new feudalism finds the field best adapted for its main operations.

Fetters for the Worker.

Bondage to the LAND was the basis of vilenage in the old regime; bondage to the JOB will be the basis of vilenage in the new. The wage system will endure, for it is an incomparably simpler means of determining the baron's volume of profits than were the boom-works, the week-works and the corves of old. But with increasing concentration on the one hand, and the fiercer competition for employment on the other, the secured job will become the laborer's fortress, which he will hardly dare to evacuate. The hope of bettering his condition by surrendering one place in the expectation of getting another, will be qualified by a restraining prudence. He will no longer trust his individual strength, but will protest against evil conditions, or, in the last resort, strike, only in company with a formidable host of his fellows. And even the collective assertion of his demands will be restrained more and more as he considers recurring failures of his efforts such as that of the recent steel strike. Moreover, concentration gives opportunity for an almost indefinite extension of the blacklist; a person of offensive activity may be denied work in every feudal shop from one end of the country to the other. He will be a hardy and reckless industrial vilen indeed who will dare incur the enmity of the Duke of the Oil Trust when he knows that his actions will be promptly communicated to the banded autocracy of dukes, earls and marquises of the steel, coal, iron, window glass, lumber and traffic industries.

Gradations of Caste.

Of the three under-classes of the old feudalism—sub-tenants, cotters and vills—the first two are already on the ground, and the last is in process of restoration. But the vast complexity of modern society specializes functions and for the new feudalism still other classes are required. It is a difficult task properly to differentiate these classes. They shade off almost imperceptibly into one another; and the dynamic forces of modern industry often hurl, in one mighty convulsion, great bodies of individuals from a higher to a lower class blurring or obscuring the lines of demarcation. Nevertheless, to take a feature from geology, these convulsions become less and less frequent as the substratum of industrial processes become more fixed and regular; the classes become more stable and show more distinct differences, and they will tend, under the new regime, to the formal institution of graded caste. At the bottom are the wastrels, at the top the barons; and the gradation, when the new regime shall have become fully developed, whole and perfect in its parts, will be about as follows:

1. The barons, graded on the basis of possessions.
2. The courtiers and court agents.
3. The workers in pure and applied science, artists and physicians. The new feudalism, like most autocracies, will foster not only the arts, but also certain kinds of learning, particularly the kinds which are unlikely to disturb the minds of the multitude. A future Marsh or Cope or Le Conte will be liberally patronized and left free to discover what he will; and so, too, an Edison or a Marconi. Only they MUST NOT MIDDLE WITH ANYTHING RELATING TO SOCIAL SCIENCE. For obvious reasons, also, physicians will occupy a position of honor and comparative freedom under the new regime.
4. The entrepreneurs, the managers of the great industries, transformed a salaried class.
5. The foremen and superintendents. This class has heretofore been recruited largely from the ranks of the skilled workers, but with the growth of technical education in the schools and colleges, and the development of fixed caste it is likely to become entirely differentiated.
6. The vills of the cities and towns more or less regularly employed, who do skilled work and are partially protected by organization.
7. The vills of the cities and towns who do unskilled work and are unprotected by organization. They will comprise the laborers, domestics, and clerks.
8. The vills of the manorial estates, of the great farms, the mines and the forests.
9. The small unit farmers (land owning), the petty tradesmen and manufacturers.
10. The sub-tenants on the manorial estates and great farms (corresponding to the class of "free tenants" in the old feudalism).
11. The cotters, living in isolated places, and on the margin of cultivation.
12. The tumps, the occasionally employed, the unemployed, the wastrels of city and country.

Scale of Rewards.

This, then, is the table of socio-industrial rank leading down from the feudal barons. It is a classification

open of course to amendment. The minor shareholders, it may be suggested, are not provided for; and certain other omissions might be named. But it is not possible to anticipate every detail. And, as for the small shareholders, who now occupy a wide range, from comparative poverty to comparative affluence, it seems likely that the complete development of the new regime will practically eliminate them. Other critics, furthermore, will object to the basis of gradation. The basis employed is not relative wealth, a test which nine out of ten persons would unhesitatingly apply in social classification. It is not comparative earning capacity, economic freedom, nor intellectual ability. Rather, it is the relative degree of comfort, material, moral and intellectual, which each class contributes to the nobility. The wastrels contribute least and they are the lowest. The foremen, superintendents, and entrepreneurs contribute most of the purely material comfort, and their place is correspondingly high. But higher yet is the rank of the courtiers and court agents, the legates and nuncios. This class will include the editors of "respectable" and "safe" newspapers, the pastors of "conservative" and "wealthy" churches, the professors and teachers in endowed colleges and schools, lawyers generally, and most judges and politicians. During the transition period there will be a gradual elimination of the more unserviceable of these persons, with the result that in the end this class will be largely transformed. The individual security of place and livelihood of its members will then depend on the harmony of their utterances and acts with the wishes of the great nobles; and so long as they rightly fulfil their functions their recompense will be generous. They will be at once the assuagers of public suspicion and discontent and the providers of moral and intellectual antidotes for the barons. Such of them, however, as have not the tact or fidelity to do or say what is expected of them will be promptly forced into class 11 or 12, or, in extreme cases, banished from all classes, to become the wretched pariahs of society.

Status of the Producers.

Through all the various activities of these populous classes (except the last) our Benevolent Feudalism will carry on the nation's work. Its operations will begin with the land, whence it extracts the raw materials of commerce. It is just at this stage of its workings that it will differ most from the customary forms of the old. The cotters will be pushed further back into isolation, and the sub-tenants will be confined to the grubbing away at their ill-recompensed labors. It is with the eighth class, the vills of farm and wood and mine that we have here to deal. The ancient ceremony of "homage," the swearing of personal fidelity to the lord, is turned into that of the BESEECHING of the foreman for work. The wage system, with its mechanical simplicity, continuing in force, there is an absence of the old exactions of special work from the employed vilen. A mere altering of the wage scale appropriate to the great noble whatever share of the product he feels he may safely demand for himself. Thus "week-work," "the three or four days' work in each week which the vilen had to give un-recompensed to the lord, and "boom-work," the several days of extra toil three or four times a year, will never be revived. Even the company store, the modern form of feudal exaction, will in time be given up, for at best it is but a clumsy and offensive makeshift, and Jetter and less irritating means are at hand for reaching the same result. There will hardly be a restoration of "retief," the payment of a year's dues on inheriting an allotment of land, or "terret," the payment of a valuable gift from the possessions of a deceased relative. Indeed, these titles may not be worth the bother of collecting; for the vilen's inheritance will probably be but moderate as befits his state and the place which GOD AND THE NOBILITY HAVE ORDAINED FOR HIM.

Suppression of Discontent.

The raw materials gathered, the scene of operations shifts from the country to the cities and great towns. But many of the latter will lose, during the transition period, a considerable part of their greatness, from the shutting up of needless factories and the concentration of production in the larger workshops. There will thus be large displacements of labor, and for a time a wide extension of suffering. Popular discontent will naturally follow and it will be fomented to some extent by agitation; but the agitation will be guarded in expression, and it will be relatively barren of result. The possible danger therefrom will have been provided against and a host of economists, preachers and editors will be ready to show indisputably that the evolution taking place is for the best interests of all; that it follows a "natural and inevitable law," that those who have been thrown out of work have only their own incompetency to blame; that all who really want work can get it, and that any interference with the present regime will be sure to bring on a panic, which will only make matters worse. Hearing this the multi-

Special Mayday Issue.

No. 164 of the Chicago Socialist will be a special Mayday paper. A cartoon by Walter Crane and a poem by Wm. R. Fox will adorn the front page, and special articles will be contributed by comrades May Walden Kerr, May Wood Simons, Agnes Wakefield, Ruth Dick Hall, Marcus Hitch, A. M. Simons, Jos. Wanhope and Ernest Untermann. Get in your bundle orders as soon as possible and distribute as many in your neighborhood as you can.

clude will hesitatingly acquiesce and thereupon subsided; and, though, occasionally a radical journal or a radical agitator will counsel revolt, the masses will remain quiescent. Gradually, too, by one method or another, sometimes by the direct action of the nobility, the greater part of the displaced workers will find some means of getting bread, while those who cannot will be eliminated from the struggle and cease to be a potential factor for trouble.

Their only Fear.

In its general aspects shop industry will be carried on much as now. Only the shops will be very much larger, the individual and total output will be greater, the unit cost of production will be lessened, and wages and hours will for a time continue on something like the present level; but despite the persistence of the unions no considerable gains in behalf of labor are to be expected. The owners of all industry worth owning, the barons will laugh at threats of striking and boycotting. No competitor can possibly make capital out of the labor disputes of another, for there will be no competitors, actual or potential. WHAT THE BARONS WILL MOST DREAD WILL BE THE COLLECTIVE ASSERTION OF THE VILLEINS AT THE POLLS; but this, from experience, they will know to be a thing of no immediate danger. By the putting forward of a hundred irrelevant issues they can hopelessly divide the voters at each election; or, that failing, there is always to be trusted as a last resort the cry of impending panic.

Practically all industry will be regulated in terms of wages, and the entrepreneurs, who will then have become the chief salaried officers of the nobles, will calculate to a hair the needful production for each year. Waste and other losses will thus be reduced to a minimum. A vast scheme of exact systematization will have taken the place of the old free competition, and industry will be carried on as by clockwork.

Reigned to Drudgery.

Gradually a change will take place in the aspirations and conduct of the younger generations. Heretofore there has been at least some degree of freedom of choice in determining one's occupation, however much that freedom has been curtailed by actual economic conditions. But with the settling of industrial processes comes more and more constraint. The dream of the children of the farms to escape from their drudgery by migrating to the city, and from the stepping stone of a clerical place at \$3 a week to rise to affluence, will be given over, and they will follow the footsteps of their fathers. A like fixity of condition will be observed in the cities, and the sons of clerks and mechanics and day laborers will tend to accept the environment of birth and training and abide by it. It is a phenomenon observable in all countries where the economic pressure is severe and it is certain to obtain in feudal America.

Strenuous Life for Politicians.

The sub-tenants and the small unit producers and distributors will be confined in smaller and smaller limits, while the foremen, the superintendents and the entrepreneurs of the workshops will attain to greater power and recompense. But the chief glory of the new regime, next to that of the nobles, will be that of the class of courtiers and court agents. Theirs, in a sense will be the most important function in the state, "to justify the ways of God (and the nobility) to man." Two divisions of the courtier class, however, will find life rather a burdensome travail. They are the judges and the politicians. Holding their places at once by popular election and by the grace of the barons they will be fated to a constant see-saw of conflicting obligations. They must, in some measure, satisfy the demands of the multitude, and yet, on the other hand, they must obey the commands from above.

A Republic in Name.

The outlines of the present state loom but feebly through the intricate network of the new system. The nobles will have attained to complete power, and the motive and operation of government will have become simply the registering and administering of their collective will. And yet the State will continue very much as now, just as the form and name of the Roman Republic continued under Augustus. The present state machinery is admirably adapted for the subtle and extra-legal exertion of power by an autocracy; and while improvements to that end might be unquestionably made, the barons will hesitate to take action which will needlessly arouse popular suspicion. From petty constable to Supreme court justice the officials will understand, or be made to understand, the golden mean of

their duties; and except for an occasional rascally Jacobin, whom it may for a time be difficult to suppress, they will be faithful and obey.

The manorial courts, with powers exercised by the local lords, will not, as a rule, be restored. Probably the "court baron," for determining tenancy and wage questions, will be revived. It may even come as a natural outgrowth of the present conciliation boards, with a successor of the Committee of Thirty-six, as a sort of general court baron for the nation. But the "court leet," the manorial court for punishing misdemeanors, wherein the baron holds his powers by special grant from the central authority of the state, we shall never know again. It is far simpler and will be less disturbing to the popular mind, to leave in existence the present courts so long as the baron can dictate the general policy of justice.

One Concession to the Workers.

Armed force will, of course, be employed, to overthrow the discontented and quiet unnecessary turbulence. Unlike the armed forces of the old feudalism, the nominal control will be that of the state; the soldiery will be regular and not irregular. Not again will the baron risk the general indignation arising from the employment of Pinkertons and other private armies. The worker has unmistakably shown his preference, when he is to be subdued, for the militia and the Federal Army. Bready speaking, it is not an unreasonable attitude, and it goes without saying that it will be respected. The militia of our Benevolent Feudalism will be recruited as now mostly from the clerical class, and it will be officered largely by the sons and nephews of the barons. But its actions will be tempered by a saner policy. Governed by those who have most to fear from popular exasperation it will show a finer restraint.

Alter Et Idem.

A general review of the new society will present little of startling novelty. A person leaving this planet today and revisiting the "pale glimpses of the moon," when the new order is in full swing will find from superficial observation see but few changes. Alter et idem—another, yet the same—he will say. Only by closer view will he mark the deepening and widening of channels along which the powerful currents of present tendencies are borne; only so will he note the effect of the more complete development of the mighty forces now at work.

Functions of the "Intellectuals."

So comprehensive and so exact will be the social and political control that it will be exercised in a constantly widening scope and over a growing multiplicity of details. The distribution of wages and dividends will be nicely balanced with a watchful regard for possible dissatisfaction. Old age pensions will be the most faithful employees, such as those granted by the Illinois Central, the Pennsylvania, the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, or the Lockwood will be generally distributed, for the hard work will be done by only the most vigorous, and a large class of destitute unemployed will be a needless menace to the regime. Peace will be main desideratum, and its cultivation will be the most honored science of the age. A happy blending of generosity and grandeur will characterize all dealings with open discontent. But the prevention of discontent will be the poster study, to which the intellect and the energies of the nobles and their legates will be ever bent. To that end the teachings of the schools and colleges, the sermons, the editorials, the stump orations, and even the plays at the theater will be skillfully and personally molded. And the questioning heart of the poor, which perpetually seeks some answer to the riddle of the earth, will meet with a multitude of mollifying responses. These will be: From the churches that discontent is the fruit of atheism, and that religion alone is a solace for earthly woe; from the colleges that discontent is ignorant and irrational, since conditions have steadily bettered in the last one hundred years; from the newspapers that discontent is anarchy; and from the stump orators that it is unpatriotic, since this nation is the greatest and most glorious that ever the sun shone upon. As of old these reasons will for the time suffice, and against the possibility of recurring questionings new apologetics will be skillfully formulated, to be put forth on occasion reforms. On all sides will be observed a greater respect for power, and the former tendency toward rash and bitter criticism of the upper classes will decline.

Literature and Art.

The arts, too, will be modified. Literature will take on the form and tone

(Continued on page 4.)

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The fact that a signed article is published does not commit The Chicago Socialist to all opinions expressed therein. Contributions and items of news concerning the labor movement are requested from our readers. Every contribution must be accompanied by the name of the writer, not necessarily for publication, but as an evidence of good faith.

PHONE: RANDOLPH 122.

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Arrangements have been made to hold the annual picnic of the Socialist party at Calumet Grove, on August 17th, 1907. The transportation facilities for this year have been vastly improved, trolley cars being run at intervals of five minutes to the grounds. The grove itself has also been improved and is now one of the finest places of popular recreation to be found. Branches are requested to make no conflicting arrangements upon or six weeks or so before that date.

Hardly a week passes but somebody discovers a "paramount issue" for Democratic use in 1904. This time Henry Watterson of Kentucky has unearthed it. The Republican policy in the Philippines is to be the central point of attack in the next national platform. In 1900 the Democratic party stood for the practical abandonment of the islands; in 1904 the "paramount issue" according to Watterson will be the securing of a "stable government" in the Philippines under United States rule, which the Democratic party will contend it alone can give. In other words the "paramount issue" so far as the Democratic party is concerned reduces itself to a plea for participation in the management of the affairs of the big capitalists. Socialists have often pointed out that something of this sort was the only means by which the Democratic party can continue as a political factor in the future and Watterson's suggestion if adopted will go far to verify their prediction in this respect.

Referring to the case of the two workmen killed in the explosion at the Illinois Steel Company's works last week the president of the Company declared that there was no attempt to hide anything. But there were many things he didn't know. One of these was the number of men killed annually in the plant. He didn't know, because there were no available reports. Nobody was rude enough to ask him if there were any reports whatever, and if so why they were not "available." If the Company had no desire to "hide anything" it would be the easiest matter in the world to keep an account of these fatalities. In such a plant there are reports to the minutest details on everything that has to do with the production and output of steel. The cost and amount of coal, charcoal, oil, ore, transportation, labor and the wear and tear of machinery, is figured down to the last cent and always "available" when wanted by the right parties. Doubtless full information is also available on the number of employed men who were NOT KILLED in the plant; it is necessary to count them carefully. But the record of slaughter is another matter altogether, and so far as that is concerned, "don't know" is an unanswerable answer.

OUR FRONT PAGE ARTICLE: For many years opponents of Socialism have utilized Herbert Spencer's pamphlet on "The Coming Slavery" as an arsenal from which to equip themselves with arguments (such as they were) against the advocates of collectivism through the processes of social evolution, but it is not at all likely that they will desert it for the weapons to be found in Mr. W. J. Ghent's forecast of the future, "Benevolent Feudalism" which we reprint from "The Independent" on the front page of this issue.

This article should be read no doubt will be published in every socialist journal throughout the land. Professedly an outline of a future society, it represents society substantially as it is today. The means by which Mr. Ghent's "Benevolent Feudalism" is to be preserved and continued are now in operation, perhaps not quite so perfected improved and thoroughly adapted as the writer depicts, but still here, and being employed by the present ruling class in society just as they will be used by the future "barons" whom Mr. Ghent portrays as the benevolent rulers in the days to come. Indeed there is sufficient in the article itself to justify the suspicion that the writer, under the pretence of dipping into the future has taken the opportunity to expose the structure of society as it now exists, a few minor and unimportant details being used to give the finishing touches entitling the picture to pass as an outline of future society.

Little space therefore need be devoted to pointing out the possibility or impossibility of Mr. Ghent's conception. As he himself recognizes in it the product of a ceaseless economic evolution, it suffices to say that he can hardly regard his "Benevolent Feudalism" otherwise than as a transient stage through which the world must pass. Reasons for believing it to be even destined for a long duration can only be obtained by ignoring certain economic facts, or which is the same thing, assuming their non existence—and the writer has of course duly ignored and assumed. It was a necessity imposed upon him through the exigencies of completing his picture.

It was necessary to pass by in silence the absolute dependence of the capitalist system upon an ever expanding market for its ever increasing surplus products. It was necessary to assume that the entire question of production and distribution could be permanently solved within the limits of capitalism. It was necessary to ignore the growing numbers and power of the revolutionary proletariat at present; necessary to assume the permanent ability of capitalism to assure an existence to its slave within his slavery" as Marx long ago pointed out. With these and other factors eliminated, Mr. Ghent's "Benevolent Feudalism" begins to put on a definite and concrete form. He who would construct stable societies in the future, must of course reject all disintegrating elements.

But the value of the sketch, lies: as before intimated in its being a faithful mirror of "status" as it exists at the present day. In it the journalist, poet, clergyman, lawyer, physician, college professor, and politician can see, not the "base uses" to which he must come in the future, but those for which he is actually being used now. Into the mouths of these apparently future parasites and timeservers, Mr. Ghent puts the identical phrases which they now employ as advocates of capitalist class rule. As he says, discontent will be branded by the clergy as the "fruit of atheism"; the college professor will decry it as irrational and ignorant, the politician denounce it as "unpatriotic," and those who can invent and "skillfully formulate" new arguments against it will receive the reward of their services, which, as the writer points out, will be proportioned to the relative degree of comfort, and we might add security, which their efforts contribute to the "nobility" of the new feudal regime.

We venture to say that but few of these "professional men" can study their horoscope as planned by Mr. Ghent and regard it as entirely descriptive of their future status in society. They can hardly escape recognizing that the writer is really under cover of predicting their future, actually telling them the conditions of their existence at present. And from the fact that he has depicted their position as one of the most abject humiliation and degradation, we can but hope that his biting satire may to some extent lead them into intelligent revolt against a system that can only use them in the capacity of liars, panders and prostitutes.

As for the workingclass, outside the small advanced section that are fighting in the Socialist ranks, there are probably few who will ever hear of the destiny in store for them as depicted by Mr. Ghent, and so may be considered as on the whole impervious to the shafts of his contempt. The avenue to their intelligence lies mainly through the stomach, which it safe to say the "benevolence" of the future can no more satisfy than that of the present. Such trifles as permitting them a choice as to the method of their execution when their benevolent masters decide upon employing armed force as

an answer to their discontent, can in the long run hardly be regarded as a mollifying influence. In the nature of things they will some day at least, object to being shot, without taking into consideration the "status" of the shooters. As for the other beatitudes in store for them in the coming regime it need only be said that they will scarcely be regarded as novelties, most of them existing in the wage slavery of the present.

Dependence on the "job", a subsistence wage, impotent strikes and a potent blacklist, may perhaps become more rigid, more intensified and extended, but that they are pronounced features in the industrial system of the present, will hardly be denied.

One thing however, and one thing alone as the writer distinctly recognizes and states, can prevent the realization of this by no means ideal picture of future society. Twice he repeats it. Let us quote: "WHAT THE BARONS WILL MOST DREAD IS THE COLLECTIVE ASSERTION OF THE VILLEINS AT THE POLLS. And again—THE COLLECTIVE POPULAR WILL THAT IT SHALL NOT BE". Is not this the message of Socialism to the workingclass? It is being urged now by thousands of "villains" in all capitalist countries on the face of the globe. The writer admits its power—how does he stand upon the question? Does not its success mean quite as much to him as to the "villains"—the modern wage workers?

For no matter how much Mr. Ghent may emphasize the "benevolent" features of the future class rule which he has so strikingly depicted, he will hardly contend that were it realized it would be "benevolent" enough to allow him to write as he has written. By his own showing, nay to use his own words, he would become a "wretched pariah of society." Are we left to suppose that he can complacently accept the situation? No more independent writing in the "Independent"—nothing to do except wait resignedly until his benevolent masters adjust his muzzle so tightly that he cannot speak or write except as they direct. No alternative between "elimination" and becoming the hired mouthpiece of a robber class.

Leaving Mr. Ghent to settle this matter with himself, we would say in conclusion that the Socialist press is indebted to him for a most original and powerful sketch of things as they really are today under capitalism, and which can hardly fail to attract attention. He says to the wage workers in effect: "As you are now so shall you always remain: hewers of wood and drawers of water to the class which holds in private ownership your means of livelihood, unless you use the only power that your masters dread—your collective assertion at the polls that it shall not be." He has placed the question squarely before them—Socialism or Slavery, and while he may apparently doubt their intelligence he recognizes to the full that the power to falsify his predictions lies solely in their hands.

THE MONOLOGUES OF A MILLIONAIRE

Or Mr. Rockefeller's Soliloquies

Soliloquy No. 16. Workingmen should listen well to what I have to utter: Let well enough alone! I say, attend to bread and butter. Let others talk of wiser laws to better your condition. To do away with social caste, Plebeian and Patrician. The common ownership of land, the factories and machines. For history has always taught that labor can us learn. If competition is the game, you have no cause to kick. When wages drop a notch or two, to suit the players' trick. You need us to direct your toil, to fix the sliding scale; God meant that we should mind the head, while you hang on the tail.

For us the farmer sows the grain And reaps the harvest bright. For us the ranchman on the plain Guards herds by day and night.

For us the deliver in the mine Brings forth the shining ore. For us the seaman on the brine Sails all the wide world o'er.

For us the spacious halls of state Are filled with cringing knaves. For us the lackeys keep the gate. Our most obedient slaves.

For us the products of the shop, The factory and mill, The workers' wares, the planter's crop, Are ours to take at will.

For us the colors of the hills, The forest, sky and main, The artist's glowing canvas fills Our patronage to gain.

For us the toiler's grimy hands Build mansions of delight. For us each court of justice stands To guard a vested right.

For us the stary banners wave Beneath the shining sun. For us the nation sends its brave To point the deadly gun.

For us the children of the poor— Arc reared in hovels bare, And hunger, want and pain endure, That we may richly fare. FRANK FINSTERBACH.

SNAP SHOTS BY THE WAYSIDE

At last the Chicago Chronicle has secured a journalistic flair of almost equal ability to those employed on its contemporaries. This genius in a clever editorial devoted to showing the decline of municipal ownership in European cities, states that Paris is about to discontinue municipal lighting in the future, and has already let it by contract to a private company. The government of Paris, he says, is virtually in the hands of the Socialists, and such has been the failure of municipal ownership that the Socialist city program for the elections that take place next month contains no reference to municipalization of public utilities.

This is a good specimen of how truth can be impressed into the service of falsehood. While it is true that the Socialists are in a majority in the municipality of Paris, the claim that they control the city government is fallacious, Paris being really governed by the National Legislature which meets there, and has a veto upon every measure proposed by the municipal councilors. It is this fact that the Chronicle's new treasure conceals by a judicious use of the word "virtually." As to the statement that the local Socialist platform contains no reference to municipal ownership, this is easily explainable in view of the facts above cited, and for another reason that the Chronicle man judiciously omitted.

The reason is to be found in the fact that the program of the Socialists of Paris includes the complete transfer of capitalist into collective property, and so thoroughly is this known, that reference to the "municipalization of public utilities" becomes ridiculous because superfluous. But in attempting to show the special connection between Socialism and municipal ownership the Chronicle man makes a blunder so absurd that only the ignorance of the readers concerning Socialism saves him from exposure. He states that the reason why Paris will discontinue municipal lighting lies in the fact that it has been found too expensive. The inference that the Parisian Socialist proletariat is running things in the interest of the property holding class and trying to lessen their taxes, is about the limit of ingenious misrepresentation, and a good example of the ability of the Chronicle's new find to distort Socialism and deal municipal ownership a smash at the same time.

Republicans of Oregon nominated a ticket on April 1st, and put forth a platform declaring that the sovereignty of the United States should be maintained in the Philippines. The next clause stated that "in the war which President Roosevelt has inaugurated against the gigantic combinations of incorporated capital, he has the united support of the Republican party of Oregon." We had started to comment upon this remarkable declaration, but forbore in consideration of the date of its appearance.

Citizens of the Northwest Side are combining to resist the payment of compensation for the use of space under the sidewalks, as was recently enacted by the city council, and will ask for an injunction against the enforcement of the ordinance. It will be interesting to watch the result of the little business men's attempt to wield weapons that properly belong to the big corporations.

Following the example of Illinois the Texas judiciary has declared the Anti-trust law of the state unconstitutional. Texas was the only state in the union that had succeeded in making any headway against the trusts, and for two years its attorney-general waged unremitting and successful war against the business combinations at which the law was aimed. Now, however, the end is in sight, and John D. Rockefeller will get busy once more in Texas, one of the having the anti-trust law removed by principal combinations that succeeded in having the anti-trust law removed being a branch of the Standard Oil Company.

It will require a table 50 miles long to accommodate the half million London "poor" who will partake of the "hand-out" at the coronation of Edward VII. Formed into a procession four abreast the hungry ones would stretch 70 miles. Some idea of the poverty of London it might be thought could be gained from these figures, but we are informed that even this mighty horde will be "selected" by local committees who know the applicants personally and who are entrusted with the task of selecting the "King's poor."

Mark Hanna and Sam Gompers were the principal speakers on April 5, at the closing session of the sixth annual meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science held in Philadelphia. After the usual declaration that "capital and labor should be friends" Hanna made the astounding statement that he "first became interested in the amicable adjustment of differences between the employer and employee, during the Ohio coal strike in 1874." No man in America knows Hanna's record better than Gompers but he didn't contradict his partner when he said that. He only contradicted himself by stating that "while a strike of laboring men was to be deplored such action was the highest civilized form of discontent among workmen." We wonder how much longer the organized workmen of this country will stand the antics of these two knavish clowns?

"A word to the wise is sufficient." Sub card.

The Manager's Column



A Dialogue.

Pluck—Say, Luck, have you ever heard of the Greeley expedition?

Luck—Yes, that was in 1881. Lieutenant Greeley and 24 men set out to explore the arctic regions, to collect specimens and to make observations of certain magnetic electric and atmospheric phenomena peculiar to those latitudes.

Pluck—It cost several million dollars to fit him out, didn't it? Rather a heavy investment to make for our business society, for something that didn't promise any dividends.

Luck—Well, these things come high, of course. But bourgeois society feels the necessity of spending some of the surplus values for so-called "ideal aims," especially as it cannot spend them all in riotous living. It looks well, don't it? And helps to impress the wage slaves with the idea that their "glorious country" is always in advance, even in the field of scientific research.

Pluck—Greeley and his men were lost weren't they?

Luck—The expedition met with disaster. Nothing was heard of them for a long while, and finally, "our own Schley was placed in command of an expedition to hunt them up. Several million dollars more were spent for the rescue of 20 foolhardy patriots and scientific dreamers.

Pluck—Did Schley rescue them?

Luck—He succeeded in finding Greeley and five other survivors and bringing them home in triumph. A great fuss was made about the polar heroes. When the fumes of patriotic excitement had passed off the loss account of arctic explorations had added a few more millions to the ten millions sunk in the polar ice, and the arctic graveyard had the honor of counting a few more civilized bones among the common and uncultured Eskimo remains.

Luck—For the sake of what?

Pluck—For the sake of finding out that there is nothing much worth finding out in the polar regions.

Pluck (sarcastically)—Ah, but think of the possibility of being the first to stand in latitude zero, longitude zero three hundred and sixty. To see this globe spinning around under your feet like a top, and watch the sun, moon, planets, fixed stars, comets going round and round like a merry-go-round, some of them absolutely refusing to sink below the horizon for anything short of six months. To see a pendulum swing through all thirty-two points of the compass in twenty-four hours—

Luck—It's too costly an amusement for me to joke about. Knowledge of terrestrial magnetism, atmospheric electricity, curvature of the earth's surface, and a thorough understanding of all such scientific points, have a certain value for the human race. But it is a criminal waste to throw away hundreds of human lives and millions of wealth for the sake of computing certain figures accurately to the eighth or ninth decimal, when we only need three or four decimals for all practical purposes of astronomy, navigation and geographical surveying. It seems like lunacy to die among the icebergs and polar bears, when we can get these figures safely, cheaply, and comfortably in our own backyard. How many striving proletarians might have been saved for that money, how many sufferings alleviated!

Pluck—But it's worth the money to the capitalists. How nicely it helps the wage slaves to overlook the connection between such items as these clipped from the Sunday edition of the "Chicago Daily Star." PAGE 1. A dividend of ten million dollars was recently divided between the stockholders of the X and Z railroad. PAGE 3. A little tot five years old was mangled yesterday by an express train on the grand crossing of the X and Z railroad. PAGE 2. Marshall Greed & Co. are building a new sky scraper to accommodate their enormously growing business. PAGE 4. A painter fell from a scaffold on the outside of Marshall Greed & Co's new building fifty feet to the pavement and was instantly killed. PAGE 3. Mark Hanna and Sam Gompers are holding another peace conference. PAGE 5. The ship carpenters and boiler makers in Mark Hanna's shipyard in Cleveland, O., are on strike, and he absolutely refuses to meet a committee of the strikers or recognize their unions.

Luck—Here's another pair of clippings from the "Evening Nuisance." PAGE 2. The Swiss government is about to call a conference of the great powers to consider the protection of animals employed in war. PAGE 7. During the last year 225,678 men, women and children were killed and wounded in three of the principal industries of the United States.

Pluck—That isn't plain enough yet for most of them. Luck, what you want to

do is to get some posters printed with the largest type you can find in the office of the "Chicago Yellow Jinge" TEN BILLION DOLLARS SUNK IN ARCTIC EXPLORATION DURING THE PAST CENTURY. WHO CREATED THE WEALTH? THE WAGE SLAVES. TEN MILLION WAGE SLAVES WERE KILLED IN NATIONAL INDUSTRIES DURING THE SAME TIME, BECAUSE THEY WERE SO CHEAP THAT IT DIDN'T PAY TO PROTECT THEM.

Luck—That wouldn't interest the wage slaves at all. They're perfectly satisfied, when they can only read that another prize is coming, and that Mrs. Cornelius Vanderbilt senior is getting ready for his reception by trying to prevent Mrs. Cornelius Vanderbilt junior from using her own name on her own cards.

Pluck—Suppose we advise Mrs. C. V. senior to get up an injunction restraining Mrs. C. V. junior from using the name of her own husband?

Luck—That would be the latest in injunctions. Well, there's at least one injunction which the capitalist judges will never be forced to issue.

Pluck—What's that?

Pluck—An injunction restraining the wage slaves from doing their own thinking.

Pluck—By Cholty, it looks that way. But if the boys will take the 1500 spare copies of No. 181 off our hands, and if each ward branch will order 200 copies of No. 163, such an injunction may soon become necessary.

CORRESPONDENCE

On Comrade Price's Letter.

Editor Chicago Socialist: The saving feature of Comrade Walter Price's letter in the Chicago Socialist of March 22, is his frequent repetition that perhaps he does not understand the Socialist movement in Chicago. The "misrepresentations or misstatements" that his letter gives evidence of having gone forth from some quarters, show foolishness or downright ignorance on the part of persons who might better let their energies run in capitalistic reform channels than polluting the stream of Socialist truth. How can any man with brains in use accuse Chicago Socialists of being opposed to public schools or any public institutions that are or can be of benefit to the working class? The stand that the Workers' Call took in regard to free transportation of children to and from school in country districts and in advertising and abating public meetings to urge the adoption of free textbooks in the schools; the part it took in helping to bring to public attention the attitude of the Chicago Federation of Labor on the street railway franchise question, by publishing the full report of the Federation's committee on the subject in behalf of the police men's organization; all give testimony of unwavering faithfulness to the interests of the working class on the part of the Chicago Socialists. The Socialists of Chicago have announced time and again that if successful at the polls the public schools would be put on the highest possible standard of efficiency; that sufficient teachers at sufficient pay would be provided, free textbooks furnished, and to those who required them free meals and clothing, besides a system of instruction that would tend to make free citizens of the people. Such a declaration why should it pass resolutions demanding from the hands of a capitalist party in power a few minor concessions such as such a paper as the Chicago American is clamoring for? Why should we chime in our "me too" to the reformers of the capitalist class?

As regards our opposition to municipal ownership, inferred by Comrade Price's reference to the Appeal to Reason's attitude toward that question, the question arises "Does the fact of the decision of the Socialist Party of Chicago refusing to endorse a municipal ownership resolution, mean that the party opposes municipal ownership?" In other words, does following our own flag instead of deserting it to follow one that resembles ours, carried by the enemy, mean that we are opposed to our own flag? The Socialist Party of Chicago has refused to desert its colors because some in its ranks imagined that the enemy's flag would fetch a larger rally and somewhat resembled our own; but emphasized the principles which must be adhered to in order that any lasting benefit may come from a system which principles are entirely eliminated from the program of the capitalist advocates of municipal ownership.

The march of industrial evolution, coupled with the teachings of pure Socialism has compelled the toilers of the United States to put on their thinking caps, has prepared the soil for the climax of revolution. This revolution it is the aim of Socialism to bring about. To this end all true Socialists are striving, and the Socialist Party of Chicago counts itself among those true Socialists. By so doing the capitalist schemer who sees a way to prolong the process of evolution, and offer a plan, giving the shell and retaining the substance. And, as these schemers anticipated, a goodly number among the Socialists who are fully grounded in the principles of Socialism, fell into the trap laid for them, and were entrapped, they call to the others to follow their course, and meet at them as being narrow and flies on the wheels of progress, because they do not do so. Surely the capitalist schemers have secured a valuable ally.

The municipal and governmental ownership in effect in Europe, have been given by the powers that be as sops to these very same kind of Socialists, still the true Socialists work on these with their "narrow" program, and the results may be gathered from the reports coming from Belgium, France and Italy. And the "broad" Socialists papers in this country instead of informing themselves of the true state of affairs over there, are continually prating of municipal ownership and governmental ownership in Germany, Belgium, New Zealand and Glasgow, giving out the inference that the Socialists in those countries have worked to accomplish those reforms. How can results be expected from such tactics? The last national election here showed what small results come from a large circulation of reform literature given out under the guise of Socialism. Of what use is it to say, "Do not waste your vote on Bryan, but vote for Debs and Harriman," while at the same time advocating Bryan's principles? The vote on election day registered the high, set in the strongly organized Socialist districts, where uncompromising revolutionary Socialism has been inculcated into the minds of the working class.

Pluck—That isn't plain enough yet for most of them. Luck, what you want to

Socialist Pointers

Take your corners—for the street corner agitation.

Election is over, but for the Socialists there is always another one coming.

Whether we gained or lost votes does not affect the truth of our proposition.

Workingmen in the employ of the city need expect few favors. It is a "reform" council.

We will never get Socialism by sitting around and telling ourselves that we can never get it.

In looking for a place to live next year you will observe that the landlord is master of the situation.

Get a few friends to read the Chicago Socialist during the summer and thus cinch their votes for the fall.

Board of trade operators want bucket shops abolished. Big exploiters have no patience with the little exploiters.

The Prince of Wales threatens to come over and give our idle rich a chance to spend some of their money.

Democrats are looking around for an issue with which to fool the people and judging from experience any old thing will do.

The allied third party will do well if it has as many votes in the next election as it had delegates to the convention.

reform members of the city council do not appear to think that the recent referendum meant anything in particular.

Socialists should be careful about nominating their best men because some day an accident is going to happen.

Mark Hanna can secure more immediate demands for the workmen in a minute than they can by several pages of platforms in a year.

Several St. Louis aldermen have been sent to jail, thus making room for several more who will do just the same only they will be more careful.

Boston brewery workers are on a strike, but as the bosses are not being especially injured Mark Hanna has not telegraphed down a settlement.

While he is viewing the industrial development of the South, will President Roosevelt be taken around to see the babies at work in the cotton mills?

Clerks complain that little has been accomplished by their union. They went at things wrong. Let them try the ballot box.

During his trip South President Roosevelt did not go out of his way to assure the black men that they would be guaranteed a vote regardless of their color.

Dowie is going to form a new political party. Elijah II. is just wise enough to know that he will be respected as soon as he makes a showing on the political field.

Thousands of workmen in South Africa will have to toil that Cecil Rhodes' bequests may be carried out and Cecil get the credit. Are those toilers fools?

The street railways have not decided yet whether they will obey the decision of the court in regard to issuing transfers. None of the officers have been sent to jail for contempt of court either.

Who is the real Mrs. Vanderbilt? The mother-in-law or the daughter-in-law? This is the momentous question which is agitating New York's "400" at the present juncture, and "society" we are informed is watching with bated breath the conflict between these pampered females for the possession of a name. Here is an opportunity to "save society" which may never occur again. Here is a "paramount issue" ready to hand. Will the Democratic party rise to the occasion?

A Socialist Temple.

built, owned and managed by Chicago Socialists, is one of the most pressing IMMEDIATE DEMANDS. The Scandinavian Socialist Sick Benefit Society will give a picnic for the benefit of the temple, building fund on July 13th, 1907. Watch for the advertisement in this paper and help to make the picnic and the temple a success.

Two workmen were burned to death last week in the Illinois Steel Works in South Chicago, by the explosion of a blast furnace. At the inquest the Company was "censured" for the occurrence. Let justice be done though the heavens should fall!

John Alexander Dowie is reported to be forming a new political organization known as the "Theocratic Party." John Alexander himself will constitute its "paramount issue."

The fund for the New York Socialist daily now reaches a total of \$2,117 in pledges and \$45 in cash.

Are you still hunting for subscribers?

NAILING A LIE.

What the German Socialist Deputy, Singer, Writes About the Record-Herald's Correspondent.

Under the following heading this dispatch was recently printed in The Record-Herald of this city:

SOCIALISTS IN GLOOM

Disappointed by the Warmth of America's Welcome to Prince Henry.

HERR SINGER SPOKESMAN.

Leader in the Reichstag Joins the Ranks of Critics of the United States.

Berlin, March 9.—"You Americans are all swindlers; yes, all swindlers!" This was the rude greeting the correspondent of the Record Herald received on meeting Paul Singer, the socialist leader, as he emerged from the Reichstag in an animated conversation with Herr Bebel regarding Prince Henry's visit. This salutation was surprising, as the correspondent had met Herr Singer but a few weeks ago at his home, and he showed the utmost courtesy and expressed the most profound admiration for the United States, while he contrasted the blessings of freedom in the United States with the subservience of the people and the press in Germany.

"Why are the Americans swindlers?" "Because we can never tell where you are," was the evasive reply.

JOINS YANKEE HATERS.

He went on account of the American way in which the Americans are paying court to Prince Henry. This is the reason he has changed from a rabid pro-American and joined the ranks of anti-Americans as a "yankee hater."

A few hours later was picked up a leading socialist paper, containing the answer which Herr Singer refused to give. It appears that the alleged humility and excessive obsequence of the freedom-loving Americans before the "great German prince, who rarely figures in public at home," has shattered the ideals entertained by the socialists. It is now hard to tell who are more bitterly criticizing Americans—the agrarian tariff warriors or the socialists.

Singer, Bebel, Richter and other democratic luminaries cannot understand why royal boxes were erected for Prince Henry at the opera or so many thousands of dollars expended for him when the people were celebrating the birthday of Washington.

The radical organs are also sending brisk broadsides at the government for taking funds for Prince Henry's trip and the Hohenzollern banquet from the finance reserves instead of from his majesty's private bank account, inasmuch as the visit is not political, but purely personal.

Knowing from experience that capitalist papers are very unreliable sources of information on anything relating to socialism, we sent the above clipping from the "Record Herald" to Comrade Singer. He writes as follows:

"Dear Comrade! Thanks for the clipping. I have had a hearty laugh about it. It proves once again what a supreme 'cheek' some of the fellows have who make it their trade to write for newspapers. Many 'authentic' reports of capitalist papers cannot be beaten for richness of imagination and wrong conclusions. To this class of reliable news belongs the literary product of the young fellow, whose salute I answered with the laughing remark: 'You people are carrying on a nice game with the visiting prince!' Of course that does not mean all Americans are swindlers, but simply characterizes the charlatan fuss and the wantonly lavish feasts with which the billionaires and the snobocracy celebrated the 'great event' of having a live prince in their midst."

That is all. My views about the political and economic situation in America I had communicated to the reporter on some previous occasion, when he interviewed me much against my will.

I regard the visit of the prince as the expression of a "traveling policy" which cannot be taken seriously. It is simply a symptom of that suddenness and quick resolve which marks our imperial policy.

With cordial greetings to the comrades in America.

PAUL SINGER."

John H. Chase, ex-mayor of Haverhill, Mass., will address Local 194, Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators, at their hall, 486 Milwaukee avenue, on Tuesday, April 22, at 7:30 p. m. sharp. The subject of his address will be "The Class Struggle and the Future State," and the great working class battle in the political and industrial field in which the speaker bore a prominent part will be graphically depicted. As Brother Chase speaks from actual experience and is known to be fully qualified to treat on economic subjects, a large attendance is earnestly requested.

A window cleaning trust is the latest business combination in Chicago. Its first result has been to reduce wages from \$5 to 20 cents per hour. Its second, to notify a number of employees who were preparing to organize, that they must give out. The Chicago Federation of Labor will tackle the new octopus and assist in the organization of the 150 men who follow the occupation of window cleaning.

OUR PREDICTION VERIFIED.

Hearst's Chicago American Again Takes up "Socialism," Now That the Election is Over.

If there are any people on this earth who are justly entitled to use the over-worked phrase, "I told you so," it is the Socialists. The accuracy of their predictions would indeed be startling if it were not for the truth that (Socialist) prophets have no honor in their own (capitalist) country. This is merely a prelude to a little bragging which we intend to do on our own account as to our skill in prophecy. In our issue of March 25th we called attention to the game that is being played by that popular and widely read journal, Hearst's Chicago American, upon its trustful and unsuspecting working class readers. It was shown how that paper dropped its "Socialist" editorials a few weeks before election and urged the working class to vote as usual for capitalist class interests. At the time we ventured the prediction that it would "again preach socialism to the patient and long suffering toilers—IMMEDIATELY after election."

Election day, very appropriately for those who swear by the Hearst editorials, came around on the first of April. Capitalist politicians were elected to office, and the usual "victory of the people" was accomplished.

But the American fast no time in getting once more into the Socialist harness and continuing once more the "good work" which had been temporarily interrupted by the exigencies of capitalist class rule. On April 24, the day after the election, it built up a Socialist editorial around the incident of Reginald Vanderbilt having lost \$125,000 in one night's play in a New York gambling house and rising from the table "with a smile of good natured indifference."

This action was contrasted with the life of a laboring man who wields a crowbar or pick on the New York Central railroad for \$1.25 per day and a cartoon depicting both was added to increase the contrast.

It was pointed out that young Vanderbilt for his own amusement dissipated the labor (wages were meant of course) of 100,000 men and that Vanderbilt never earned a dollar in his life.

These statements were put in caps and italics so that the reader might be properly impressed.

The rest of the editorial continued as follows: The capitalists are our: Is Reginald Vanderbilt a bad, vicious boy? Not at all. HE SIMPLY TAKES WHAT OUR STUPID SOCIAL ORGANIZATION GIVES HIM—THE LABOR OF OTHER MEN. He tries to get what pleasure he can out of life and what excitement he can for his nerves.

Not young Mr. Vanderbilt is to blame for our social ills. He is to blame for the horrible injustice of turning over the earnings of a hundred thousand men, the railroad wealth of a great state, to a foolish, dissipated boy. It impresses even on the dullest minds the gross STUPIDITY OF A SYSTEM WHICH COMPELS THE MANY TO WORK AND SUFFER THAT THE FEW MAY BE DISSIPATED, RUINING THEMSELVES WHILE THEY DEPRIVE OTHERS.

The editorial ended with an adjuration to the workmen to remember this when they went to the ballot box. Now that is what appeared in Hearst's paper the day after the workmen had cast their votes. Are we justified in saying that it would take up its series of Socialist editorials "immediately after election"?

The one party that stood in that election for the abolition of the "stupid system" which the American now inveighs against was the SOCIALIST PARTY. The one party that tried to "impress upon the dullest mind" BEFORE election what the Chicago American talks of AFTER election was the SOCIALIST PARTY. The one party that urged the working class BEFORE election to abolish by their votes the system that the American howls against AFTER election was the SOCIALIST PARTY. This is worth repeating and worth remembering.

We are not "attacking" the American. It is no more to blame than Reginald Vanderbilt. Like him it is neither bad nor vicious. It is, like him and the "vampire" that got his stuff, "a product of conditions." It profits by the continuation of the present system, but finds it necessary and profitable to pretend to condemn that system the day after the workmen have voted for its preservation.

But maybe the American was only playing an April fool joke on the workmen after all—just a harmless necessary joke that by the mere chance happened to be a day late. But isn't it a trifle curious that we were able to forecast it several days before it actually came off?

The April "Comrade"

In the April issue of the Comrade the place of honor is given to an article by Eugene V. Debs, entitled "How I Became a Socialist." The article is the first of a series to be published during the year and they cannot fail to be of permanent value and interest. This article is perhaps the finest thing Debs has yet written and will be read everywhere with great interest. It is illustrated with a capital portrait of Debs and two other pictures reminiscent of his incarceration in Woodstock jail. Leonard D. Abbott writes briefly, but sympathetically, of the work of Veretichin, the great Russian artist, at present in this country, and the editor of the Chicago Socialist, the editor of the Chicago Socialist, the editor of the Chicago Socialist.

supplemented by excellent illustrations. Indeed, in the quality and number of its illustrations, this issue marks a distinct advance upon all its predecessors. The frontispiece is a fine half-tone presentation of Andrew Carnegie, by J. H. Mortier, in which that worthy is depicted as in part an angel of philanthropy, laden with free library gifts, and in part as an industrial fiend, with a rifle guarding Homestead. No more effective cartoon of Carnegie has appeared in recent years than this. The same artist contributes a suggestive cartoon "Labor still hypnotized; an echo of the recent Industrial Peace Conference," a theme of which the editorial treats in an interesting comparison, between it and the other "Peace Conference" at The Hague.

Caroline H. Pemberton writes a most entertaining and suggestive paper on "The Cigar-maker's place in Modern Industry," also illustrated, and the two serials, "Forty Years," by Tolstoy, and "News from Nowhere," by William Morris, are continued.

Other items worthy of mention are: "Where Next?" a drawing by F. Dahane, a page of interesting "Views and Reviews," and a couple of excellent poems by W. R. Fox and J. D. Steel respectively. "The Proletariat," by the last-named writer, is really a fine piece of Socialist verse. The publication of a "Portrait Gallery of Socialist Workers," will add to the popular interest of the magazine.

Altogether the Comrade is a splendid production of which the publishers and the Socialist movement may well be proud. 11 Cooper Square, New York City. Price 10 cents per copy or \$1.00 per year.

THE RECENT ELECTION.

Official Returns Show an Aldermanic Vote of 6,500 for the Socialist Party.

Complete returns of the election show that the aldermanic vote cast for Socialist candidates on April 1st was 6,412 with one ward, the third, unrepresented. The town ticket in this ward being in the neighborhood of 90, the total aldermanic vote may therefore be taken as about 6,500.

So far as we are aware, no official canvass of the vote in towns has been made. The first returns though like the aldermanic, incomplete, showed upwards of 6,800 votes. Allotting therefore the same rate of increase to the town as to the aldermanic vote, which is an entirely reasonable calculation, the maximum vote in towns would approximate 7,200.

The official returns of the aldermanic vote by wards are as follows: 1st ward—51; 2d—84; 4th—49; 5th—54; 6th—49; 7th—142; 8th—529; 9th—104; 10th—82; 11th—168; 12th—181; 13th—123; 14th—133; 15th—338; 16th—139; 17th—221; 18; 19th—103; 20th—76; 21st—152; 22d—257; 23d—168; 24th—117; 25th—204; 26th—230; 27th—347; 28th—294; 29th—291; 30th—96; 31st—313; 32d—304; 33d—577; 34th—41; 35th—185.

It will be seen by this list that the 33d is the banner Socialist ward of the city with its 577 votes, followed by the 28th with 529, the 27th, 15th, 31st, 32d and 24th following in the order named.

Most of the wards show a substantial increase over the aldermanic returns of last spring, though several have lost slightly. The tenth ward, however, has declined in a most startling manner, the aldermanic vote of 1901 showing 219 for the S. D. P. and 95 for the S. P., or a total of 314; the official returns now give this ward but 82, or a loss of 199 votes from last year.

Proportionately the vote of the Socialist Party amounts to three and a quarter per cent. of the total cast. Last year it was considerably less than two per cent, so that the relative increase measured upon this basis amounts to between 60 and 70 per cent.

THE NEXT STEP: A BENEVOLENT FEUDALISM.

(Continued from page 1.)

of the good-natured days of Charles II, instead of poetry, however, the innocuous novel will flourish best; every flowery courier will write romance, and the literary darling of the renaissance will be an Edmund Waller of fiction. A literal descendant of the famous Lewis, who . . . on animal canvas stole

The sleepy eye that spoke the melting soul," will be the laureated chief of our painters; and sculpture, architecture and the lesser arts, under the spell of changed influences, will undergo a like transformation.

The only Preventive:

This, then, in the rough, is our Benevolent Feudalism to-be. It is not precisely a Utopia, not an "island valley of Avilion," and yet it has its commendable, even its fascinating features. "The empire is peace," shouted the partisans of Louis Napoleon; and a like cry, with an equal ardency of enthusiasm, will be uttered by the supporters of the new regime. Peace and stability will be its defensive arguments, and peace and stability it will bring. But tranquil or unquiet, whatever it may be, its triumph is assured; and exigent forces are carrying us toward it with an ever accelerating speed. ONE POWER ALONE MIGHT PREVENT IT—THE COLLECTIVE POPULAR WILL THAT IT SHALL NOT BE. But of this there is no fear on the part of the barons, and but little expectation on the part of the underlings.

Send a club of ten this week.

Election Reports.

Sheboygan, Wis.

Sheboygan, Wis., election returns show that the Republicans and Democratic parties together polled 2,113 votes, the former receiving 1,002 and the latter 1,111. The Socialists polled 1,492 votes and elected four of their aldermanic candidates and would have elected more had not the Reps and Dems in many wards united as usual to defeat them.

Battle Creek, Mich.

Election in Battle Creek, Mich., resulted in the return of two Socialist aldermanic candidates, F. A. Kulp and Charles A. Jackson, for the first and second wards respectively.

Rock Island, Ill.

The following returns of the election held in Rock Island, Ill., have been sent in by Comrade Singleton. Aldermanic vote: 1st ward, 8; 2d ward, 17; 3d ward, 8; 5th ward, 8; 6th ward, 16; 7th ward, 117; a total of 173. The candidate for supervisor, H. J. Brandt, received 110 votes. This is the second election in Rock Island in which Socialists have participated.

Des Moines, Iowa.

Municipal returns from Des Moines, Iowa, show that the Socialist nominee for mayor, John M. Work, received 200 votes on March 1st. The Citizen's ticket was blank except as to the mayor, and auditor. Socialist candidate for the last named office received 33, other candidates on the ticket ranging as high as 875. The vote cast for Comrade Work's candidacy thus represents the uncompromising Socialist vote of Des Moines, and is an increase of about 75 per cent on the previous election. The other votes show gains of several hundred per cent.

Lincoln, Neb.

According to the Omaha Workers' Gazette a Socialist vote of 592 was cast last Tuesday in the election at Lincoln, Neb.

Town of Ramsey in Bergen county, N. J., cast 39 votes for the Socialist ticket in the recent election.

Village of Catskill, N. Y., cast 27 straight Socialist ballots in the recent election. Many split tickets were voted the highest of these for the Socialists reached 66. The straight vote has been increased by four since the last election.

Socialist vote in Sedalia, Mo., has more than doubled since the last election. Comrade Behrens, the candidate for mayor, polled 555 votes on April 1st. Last year the vote was 200.

At the recent election held in the district of Ebling, Marienwerder, Germany, the Socialists scored a decisive victory, defeating the Agrarian candidate and electing the Socialist, Koenig, to the Reichstag. The Socialist vote in the district grew from 4,713 in 1898 to 5,340 this year.

At the recent Parliamentary election in Wakefield, England, Snowden, the candidate of the I. L. P., which may be described as the opportunist wing of the British Socialist movement received 1,970 votes, his Liberal-Unionist opponent securing the seat by a majority of 981.

TO BE OR NOT TO BE.

Municipal Ownership Vote May Possibly Result in Formation of New Fake Political Party.

Unless all signs fail in local politics, the Socialists of Chicago will be confronted with a situation in the next municipal campaign which will test their intelligence and coherence to the utmost. Every element and incentive necessary to the formation of a heterogeneous municipal ownership quasi labor party, is already here and without doubt will be utilized by capitalist politicians as a decoy for the laborers when next their votes are needed to secure office.

Those one hundred and forty thousand votes on the referendum for municipal ownership constitute a rich political mine which will be worked for all it is worth by the political tools of the capitalistic class. The additional fact that the Socialist party has also increased its percentage enormously will set as a further incentive to that end.

That municipal ownership vote has no other value whatever than for this purpose. Every capitalist journal in the city was careful to announce that it meant nothing more than an "expression of public sentiment" on the question, and was not to be taken seriously, showing just what weight is attached to "public sentiment," which does not coincide with the majority of property interests. The Traction companies themselves displayed not the slightest interest in the matter. On the day of election North Chicago Traction stock stood at 217. On the day after it still remained at the same price.

When the capitalists are ready, "municipal ownership" will come and not before. And when it does come it will not alter the conditions of life for the working class one particle. But, agitating for it, can be and will be used as a means for diverting the attention of the workers from their own interests, and the votes cast in favor of it afford the necessary nucleus for a new political organization with that object in view.

The Socialist party will probably lose most of its step-at-a-time, take-what-you-can-get friends and sympathizers to the new combination, which, if it does not label itself "Socialism," will most likely pose as "something just

as good." The platform of the prospective new party will no doubt afford an interesting study of culled lumber in the shape of "planks," with which we are all more or less familiar.

Of course, this is only a forecast. It may not come true, but then again it may, and the odds are that it will. At any rate, it seems about time that our capitalist friends should come forward with an outside justification of the "narrow class conscious revolutionary," whole hog or none, attitude of the Socialist party.

Boston Brewery Men Out.

A strike of 1,500 brewery workmen and other employees has closed down the 25 breweries in Boston. The employers demand the exclusive right to hire and discharge men, and brewers, bottlers, drivers, engineers and firemen are out. Local teamsters or bartenders will also probably strike in sympathy if necessary, and all New England may be affected.

The New England Brewers' Association, recently organized to fight the union, is behind the employers. The workmen have made a startling exposure of articles of agreement drawn up between employers which established a system of blacklisting against the men and provided for mutual support in case of a strike. The master brewers attempted a repetition of the Cincinnati embroglio by offering the engineers and firemen the discharge clause denied the brewery workmen, but the former refused to be and choiced of the conspiracy. Unions of Boston are solidly supporting the strike which has every prospect of being won.

W. MAILLY.

Wants to Strip Strikers.

Judge Baker, of Indianapolis, is unflinching in his efforts to teach striking workmen the fact that the proposition they are up against takes the form of a struggle between classes. Recently when the Rockwood Mfg. Co. applied to him for an injunction, restraining striking ironmolders from interfering with their employes, the judge in granting it, gave the company the following gratuitous suggestion:

"I want you to change your bill of complaint. I want you to include in it a prayer for damages. It does not matter whether these men have any property or not. I will appoint a special master to fix the damages, and if you secure judgment against these strikers, officers can, if the men are caught in bed, take away their clothing. They can have no property exempt under the state laws. The judgment will keep them in insolvency as long as they live, or until the judgment is paid."

Verily, from him that hath not shall be taken, even that which he hath, and Judge Baker seems not only willing, but eager that this scripture shall be fulfilled to the letter. But why does the judge ask his masters to "pray" for damages, when even if they forget, he prompts them to use him to literally strip the strikers of their clothing?

Illinois State Notes.

Comrade John W. Saunders, our State organizer, will start on April 14th for another trip which will result in a large increase in the number of Socialist locals. His route is arranged tentatively, and any comrades in unorganized towns within fifty miles of any of the counties here named are invited to write at once to the State Secretary, Charles H. Kerr, 36 Fifth avenue, if they desire a visit from Comrade Saunders and are willing to entertain him while in their respective towns.

July, April 15th; Coal City, April 15th; Pontiac, April 16th and 17th; Chenoa, April 15th; Bloomington, April 16th; Towanda, April 20th; Lincoln, April 21st; Clinton, April 23d; Decatur, April 24th; Springfield, April 25th; Taylorville, April 27th, and Pana, April 28th.

At the desire of the Pana comrades, the organizer will work for a week and possibly longer at Pana and the neighboring towns, where there seems to be an unusually favorable opening for the Socialist Party.

Commune Festival Report.

RECEIPTS. Walter Bar \$16.75 Main bar 125.10 Basener bar 183.25 Ticket sales 12.50 Wagon hire 1.00 Lunch privilege 30.00 Tickets sold Chicago Socialist office 1.75 Total \$478.69

EXPENDITURES. Hall rent \$225.00 Wardrobe expenses 15.00 Wm. Kerster sign 2.75 B. Berlyn, cigars 40.59 Star Brewery 53.75 Bern Uhlrich, ice 1.80 Eight bartenders 42.90 McIntosh Stereograph Co 39.00 Abendpost, Max Faller 4.00 O. Gerlach and service 4.00 C. O. Overlund, express box 3.50 W. J. Lemp Brewing Co 24.43 Lauterbach, whiskey and exp 6.31 Jas. S. Smith, expenses90 Daily News 2.75 Matches 4.00 Max Faller, beer 2.00 Carfare and service 4.00 Arbeiter Zeitung 7.00 Wine and whiskey 18.32 Beer 6.25 Kerwin Bros 60.00 Soda and seltzer 9.25 Singing 2.90 Total \$748.95

An attempt to organize street car employes is being made by G. H. Shoaf, who has secured the assistance of the Chicago Federation of Labor in the project.

For State Committeemen.

In accordance with Article 3, Section 1 of the State Constitution, which reads: "There shall be elected a State Committee, consisting of one (1) member from each senatorial district, for the term of two (2) years, or until their successors are elected," and upon request of the Provisional State committee your executive committee hereby issues a call to the membership of Local Chicago to assemble in their senatorial districts for the purpose of electing one (1) state committeeman for each district.

First Senatorial District:

All members residing in the first and second wards shall assemble at 2513 Wentworth avenue (headquarters of new central division) on Friday, April 11th, 8 p. m., and proceed to elect one committeeman for the first senatorial district.

Second Senatorial District:

All members residing in the 20th ward and all members of the 11th ward who reside north of the center line of 15th street, and all members of the 12th ward who reside north of the center line of 16th street, and east of the center line of California avenue, shall assemble at the Socialist Temple on Sunday, April 13th, at 3 o'clock p. m., and elect one (1) state committeeman for the second senatorial district.

Third District:

All members of the Third ward and all members of the Fourth ward who reside east of the center line of Halsted street, and all members of the Sixth ward who reside north of the center line of 43d street, shall assemble at the new South Side headquarters, 2513 Wentworth avenue, on Sunday, April 13th, at 3 p. m., and elect one (1) state committeeman for the third senatorial district.

Fourth District:

All members of the 29th and 30th wards shall assemble at Schell's hall, 51st and Wentworth avenue, on Sunday, April 13th, at 3 p. m., and proceed to elect one state committeeman for the fourth senatorial district.

Fifth District:

All members of the Sixth ward who reside south of the center line of 43d street, and all members of the Seventh ward except those who reside south of the center line of 63d street, to Cottage Grove avenue, and east of the center line of Cottage Grove avenue and south of 63rd street, shall assemble at 662 E. 63d street, on Sunday, April 13th, at 3 p. m., and proceed to elect one (1) state committeeman for the fifth senatorial district.

Sixth District:

All members of the 24th and 25th wards and all members of the 23d ward who reside west of the center line of Halsted street, shall assemble at Social Turner Hall, 8 & corner Paulina street, and Belmont avenue, Sunday April 13th at 3 p. m., and proceed to elect one state committeeman for the sixth senatorial district.

Seventh District:

All members of the Fifth ward and all members of the Fourth ward who reside east of the center line of Halsted street, and all members of the 12th ward except those who reside north of the center line of 16th street to California avenue, as far south as the C. B. & Q. R. R. line, shall assemble at 2513 Wentworth avenue (new South Side headquarters), on Sunday, April 20th, at 3 p. m., and proceed to elect one state committeeman for the seventh senatorial district.

Eighth District:

All members residing in the 31st and 32d wards shall assemble at Lindquist's hall, corner 61st and Morgan, Sunday, April 13th, 3 p. m., and proceed to elect one state committeeman for the eighth senatorial district.

Ninth District:

All members of the Fourth ward who reside east of the center line of State street, and all members of the 12th ward except those who reside north of the center line of 16th street to California avenue, as far south as the C. B. & Q. R. R. line, shall assemble at 2513 Wentworth avenue (new South Side headquarters), on Sunday, April 20th, at 3 p. m., and proceed to elect one state committeeman for the ninth senatorial district.

Tenth District:

All members residing in that part of the Seventh ward lying south of the center line of 63d street, to Cottage Grove avenue, and east of the center line of Cottage Grove avenue from 63d street south, and all members of the 8th and 3d wards shall assemble at the Turner Hall, 75th street and Dobson avenue, Grand Crossing, on Sunday, April 13th, at 2:30 p. m., and proceed to elect one state committeeman for the tenth senatorial district.

Eleventh District:

All members residing in the 31st and 32d wards shall assemble at Lindquist's hall, corner 61st and Morgan, Sunday, April 13th, 3 p. m., and proceed to elect one state committeeman for the eleventh senatorial district.

Twelfth District:

All members residing in that part of the Seventh ward lying south of the center line of 63d street, to Cottage Grove avenue, and east of the center line of Cottage Grove avenue from 63d street south, and all members of the 8th and 3d wards shall assemble at the Turner Hall, 75th street and Dobson avenue, Grand Crossing, on Sunday, April 13th, at 2:30 p. m., and proceed to elect one state committeeman for the twelfth senatorial district.

Thirteenth District:

All members residing in the 31st and 32d wards shall assemble at Lindquist's hall, corner 61st and Morgan, Sunday, April 13th, 3 p. m., and proceed to elect one state committeeman for the thirteenth senatorial district.

Fourteenth District:

All members residing in the Ninth ward south of the center line of Maxwell street to Johnson street, and east of the center line of Johnson street to 14th street, and south of the center line of 14th street from Johnson street, and all members of the 10th ward who reside south of the center line of 14th street to Throop street, east of the center line of Throop street to 16th street, and south of 16th street from Throop street, and all members of the 11th ward who reside south of the center line of 16th street, shall assemble at Ferge's hall, corner Maxwell and Jefferson streets, Monday, April 14th, 8 p. m., and proceed to elect one state committeeman for the 14th senatorial district.

Fifteenth District:

All members of the 15th ward and such members of the Ninth ward who reside north of the center line of Maxwell street from the river to Johnson street, and west of the center line of Johnson street, from Maxwell south to 14th street, north of the center line of 14th street from Johnson street, shall assemble at Ferge's hall, Monday, April 14th, 8 p. m., and proceed to elect one state committeeman for the 15th senatorial district.

Sixteenth District:

All members of the 12th and 34th wards and all members of the 12th ward who reside east of the center line of California Avenue to the C. B. & Q. railroad line, and north of the C. B. & Q. railroad from California avenue west, shall assemble at the Socialist Temple on Sunday, April 13th, at 3 o'clock, and elect one state committeeman for the 16th senatorial district.

Seventeenth District:

All members of the 17th ward who reside west of the center line of Green street, from Kinzie to Milwaukee avenue, and south of the center line of Milwaukee avenue from Green street to Cornell street from Milwaukee avenue to Holt street, and west of the center line of Holt street from Cornell to Augusta street, and all members of the 35th ward who reside south of the center line of Chicago avenue from Kedzie Avenue to Park avenue, and east of the center line of Park avenue from Chicago avenue to Lake street, and south of the center line of Lake street from Park avenue west, shall assemble at the Socialist Temple on Sunday, April 20th, and proceed to elect one state committeeman for the 17th senatorial district.

Eighteenth District:

All members of the 16th ward who reside west of the center line

