

THE CHICAGO SOCIALIST.

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

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SIXTH YEAR—NO. 271

CHICAGO, ILL., SATURDAY, MAY 14, 1904.

PRICE ONE CENT.

AN ANALYSIS OF TRADE UNIONISM.

BY D. DONOHUE.

It is frequently asserted that the trade unionist increases his wage at the expense of his unorganized fellow-workers; and the assertion is sometimes made by those who have labored long and earnestly to promote the trade union movement as well as by the biased critics and avowed enemies of that much maligned institution. As a foundation of true principles is indispensable to the success of the labor movement in both the political and economic fields, or either of them, the propagandist who addresses an audience of wage-workers should at least be cognizant of the facts of the subject which has received the best thought and most loyal support of such a large number of workmen.

The union man believes his struggle to be directed solely against his employer, and it will not promote the solidarity of labor to denounce the unionist as an exploiter of his defenseless brother. The man behind the button will deny the accusation and the non-union man who finds that his meager wage brings him an ever-diminishing quantity of the necessities of life will be apt to look upon the wage scale of the union as a "Chinese wall" which separates him from the objects of his desire.

The history of wage labor in this country does not support the assertion that the standard of the unorganized worker's life has lowered proportionately as that of the trade unionists has risen, but, rather, reveals the fact that all dependent workers are united by imperative economic law which precludes the possibility of any enduring change in the standard of life of any group of the working class without causing a corresponding change in that of the entire class. If this were not so, if trade unionists could continue to improve their standard of life at the expense of the unorganized, they would ultimately achieve economic freedom while the unorganized division of the working class would still wear the yoke of class oppression, which would be a very unexpected result of the trade union movement.

Because of the crude tools and methods of industry which were in use during the early life of this country the relative cost, in labor time, of producing labor power, compared with the cost to-day, was necessarily high. The wage worker of that period received a larger percentage of the value of his product than does his successor in these days of vaunted prosperity; but from the beginning of the wage system the purchasing power of the laborer's wage was strikingly like that of the unorganized workers of to-day in that it barely sufficed to maintain the standard of life dictated by the social and physical conditions of environment.

Competition in the labor market during the first half of the last century was somewhat relieved by the accessibility of free arable land; but with that outlet rapidly closing the shorter work day became inevitable. In 1825 the first of the ten-hour strikes began, and from that time until 1850 they were quite numerous. In 1835 there were eleven and in 1836 nine strikes against working from "sun to sun," or, rather, for a ten-hour day.

The general demand for an eight-hour day, which so many of the trades already enjoy, is a continuation of the early struggle to lessen the competition which forces down the laborer's wage and standard of life.

The trade unionists, as such, are not responsible for the present system of land tenure which deprives the wage worker from free access to the soil, nor are they responsible for the congested condition of the labor market.

They cannot initiate production, but they are doing all they can, in their own way, by shortening the working day—to give to as many workers as the present system of industry permits an opportunity to earn a livelihood.

Uncertainty of employment, that terrible specter that haunts the wage worker, is not born of the trade union movement, but springs from the class character of society which the trade unionist is blindly but valiantly struggling against.

Labor power is a commodity, and while it continues such the cost of its production and the relations of supply and demand on the labor market will govern its price. The cost of producing labor power, or its value, "is the value of the means of subsistence necessary for the maintenance of the laborer."

and shelter, which vary with the climatic and other physical conditions of the country, there are the so-called necessary wants which are determined by the habits and customs of the working class and the degree of intelligence to which it has attained. Those social factors introduce into the value of labor power an historical and moral element which does not enter into the value of other commodities, nevertheless, at any given time and place the value of labor power is quite accurately known and as the supply of labor power usually exceeds the demand the non-union laborer is forced by merciless competition to accept such terms of employment as a greedy master may dictate, with nothing to check the employers' greed but a selfish desire for efficient labor power. Consequently in those lines of industry which the trade union has not invaded and where competition holds relentless sway and especially where little training or a minimum degree of physical strength is required the subsistence wage is likely to prevail or the wage may, in some industries, fall so low that the means of subsistence necessary to maintain the laborer in a normal state of efficiency are no longer procurable.

However, amidst all the accidental and ever-changing relations of supply and demand on the labor market the persistent tendency of wages is to approach that sum of money which represents the value of labor power. If trade unionism were abolished it would not negative the law which governs wages nor relieve the distress of those who are at present in the ranks of the non-unionists. The greed of the master class is insatiable and competition between laborers would then reign supreme.

We are prone to adopt the habits and customs of our friends and neighbors; our intelligence is mainly cultivated during our leisure hours and intelligence, habits and customs are determining factors in finding the magnitude of the value of labor power.

That the trade union movement is, to an extent, educational all well-informed commentators admit. That it has wrung from the employing class a few hours daily of leisure, during which the worker may raise his head and catch a glimpse of the world outside the shop or devote himself to the refining and elevating influence of books, is the most prominent fact in the history of the movement.

The feeling of strength which combination imparts has prompted union men to demand better conditions of employment and to resist the downward tendency due to an over-stocked labor market. Employers have been forced to acquiesce in many of their demands and every victory won by the trade unionists is reflected in the greater intelligence and higher ideals of wage workers generally.

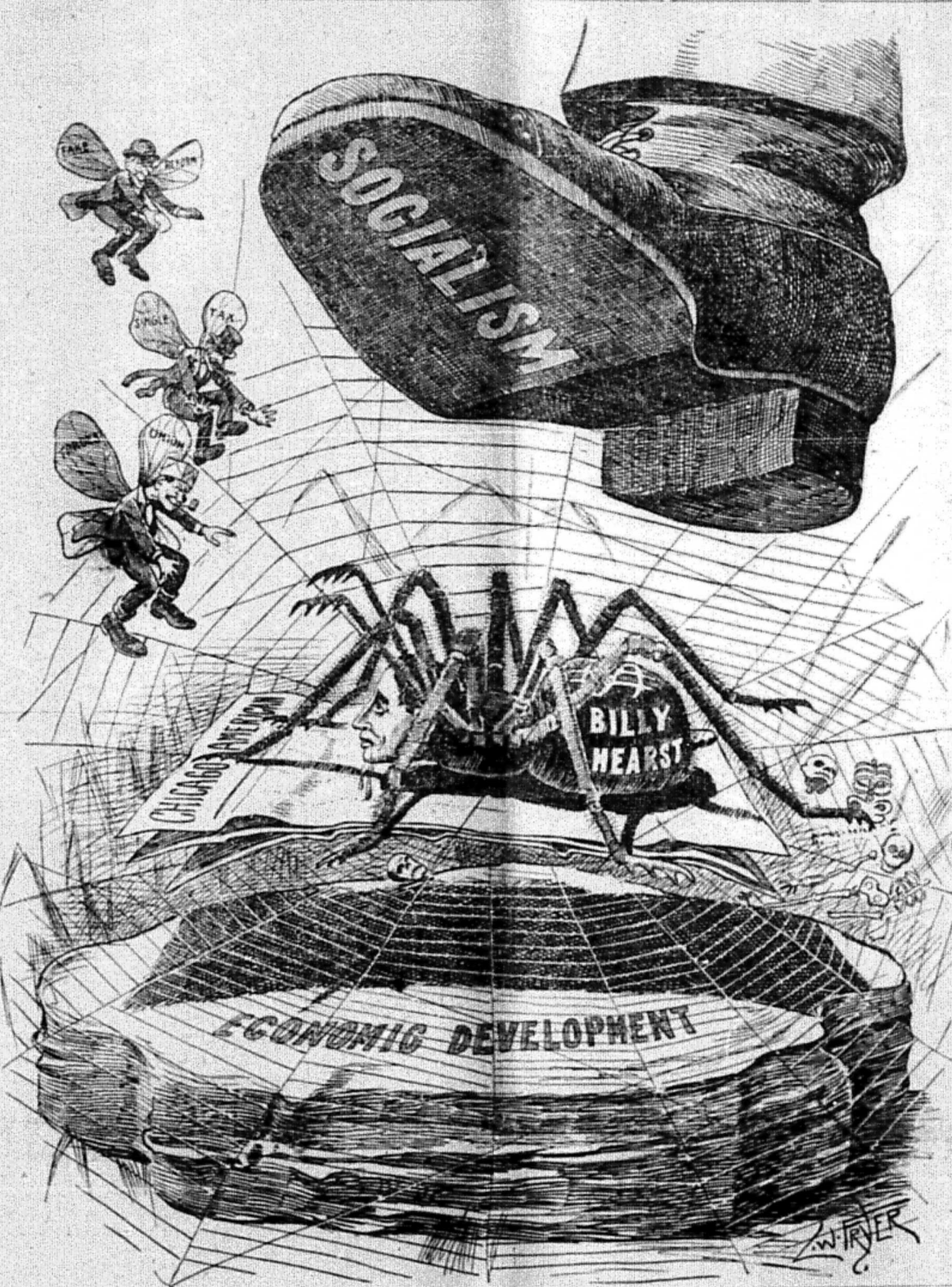
Although the non-union man is used to defeat the aim of organized labor, he strives individually to reach the heights which the light of organized effort has disclosed to his view and his striving is a force which employing interests must reckon with in every line of industry.

The trade union movement has not accomplished all that its promoters had hoped, but it has succeeded to a limited extent in shortening the working day and limiting competition in its particular field. Still the unionist is a wage worker and as such is subject to the exploitation incident to the wage system. He never receives from society the full value of the result of his labor. He is still the victim of robbery. How can any part of his miserable wage belong in equity to any one but himself?

The robber who despoils the unorganized worker plunders the trade unionist also, but with the help of organization the union man is able to lessen, somewhat, the degree of his exploitation.

Labor power is not a commodity until it appears upon the market and the unionist by collective bargaining or declining to offer his services below a fixed price and specified conditions of employment, has partially succeeded, by limiting competition in his particular craft, in circumventing the law of wages which holds defenseless labor in a vise-like grip. Yet if the wage scale of all unions was simultaneously increased to any considerable extent and retained the advance for a long period of time, the price or money form of the value of commodities, including labor power, would necessarily follow upward.

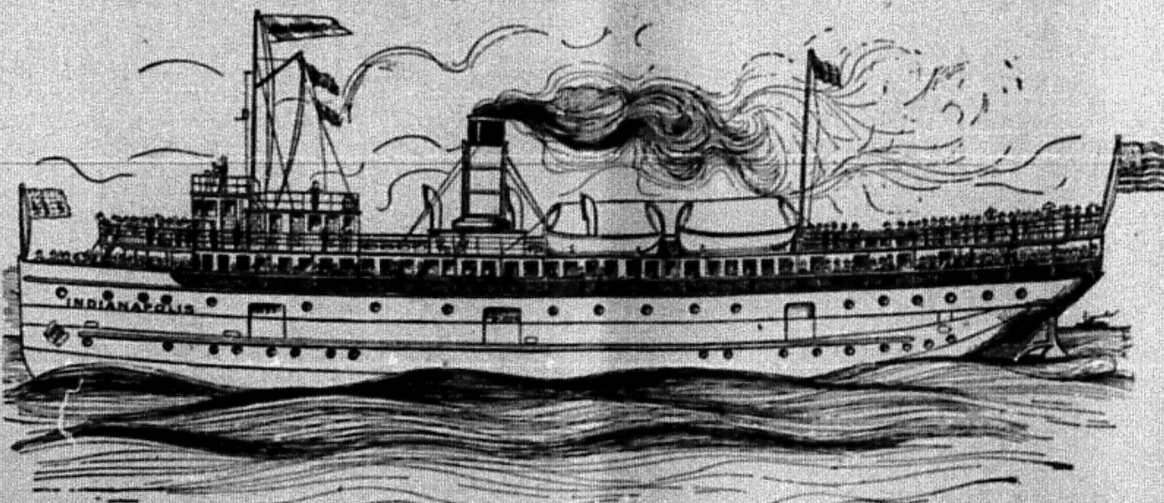
If the wage of unorganized laborers did not rise proportionately to that of the organized the former would perish or at least be reduced to such a low degree of efficiency that they would become useless to capitalist production. So we find that although labor power



"Will You Walk Into My Parlor?" Said the Spider to the Fly.

FIRST GRAND BOAT EXCURSION

OF THE CHICAGO SOCIALIST TO MICHIGAN CITY ON Sunday, June 12, 1904 BOAT LEAVES AT 9:30 A. M.



The above Steamer is one of the finest in service on Lake Michigan and every one will be assured a good time. All the profits of the affair will go to the Chicago Socialist, and an effort will be made to make it a great success in every way. There will be dancing, both on the boat and at the pavilion in Michigan City. Look for later announcements of attractions at Washington Park, Michigan City. Tickets will be on sale at office of Chicago Socialist, Room 612, 42 River Street, Bonheur Bldg. Tickets for round trip, adults, 75c; children, 40c. Watch our premium offers for those who will sell the most tickets each week. A few good hustling comrades wanted to sell tickets on commission.

er is a commodity and that its value is fixed by an economic law which governs the value of all commodities like an overriding law of nature, trade unionism by shortening the working day and raising its membership from the slough of apathy and ignorance has

defeated the social, intellectual and moral elements of the value of labor power to the betterment of the entire working class.

\$2.00. GURNEY HATS. \$3.00. Spring styles now in. Comrades should go to this store for their head ware. 97 Madison street, northwest corner Dearborn. Union made.

REPORT OF NATIONAL SECRETARY.

To the National Convention of the Socialist Party, at Chicago, May 1st, 1904.

Comrades: In submitting this report as National Secretary of the Socialist party, I shall confine myself to those questions which I have come to consider as essential to the development and progress of the party organization believing that in the settlement of these questions is bound up the future of the movement in whose interests this convention has been assembled.

The industrial and political situation, presenting new phases from day to day, will continue to give birth to problems which will demand the earnest attention of all Socialists, and our ability to meet these problems and successfully dispose of them will depend more than all else upon the strength and compactness of the organization representing the Socialist movement of this country. More than ever Socialists must realize that before they can expect to be thought capable of administering and directing the affairs of this or any other nation, they must first prove their fitness for the task by displaying the ability to administer and direct the affairs of a political organization representing the interests of the working class, and it is to this task that I believe their best efforts and most conscientious endeavor should be applied for some time to come. In short, the government of the Socialist party organization must be the means of fitting its members for the larger duties and greater responsibilities that the future holds for them.

I desire to emphasize, therefore, the necessity of our members giving increased attention to the methods of transacting the party business in their respective local, State and national organizations. They must acquaint themselves thoroughly with all the executive and administrative details, such as conducting business meetings and correspondence, keeping accounts, making reports, and other duties involved in the general government of the party. They should post themselves as far as possible upon the detail of party activity in every field, and they should elect as their officials and representatives only those comrades whose fitness especially qualifies them for these positions. More important still, they must continue to develop the spirit of self-confidence, of dependence upon themselves, of faith in their ability through their own foresight and wisdom to settle all the problems and overcome all the difficulties which lie between here and the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Of the writing of the books, the making of speeches, and the editing and publishing of papers, there is no end, but there is an appreciable lack of application to the executive branches of our party work. However important the literary and other educational features of the movement may be, yet these factors will continue to be more or less barren of results so long as the party organization is not properly equipped to take full advantage of them. Heretofore (and this was perhaps unavoidable in the early stages of the movement) the greatest amount of energy has been expended upon the dissemination of literature and the holding of public meetings, regardless of the methods employed or of any direct purpose to which the results accruing therefrom were to be applied. There was competition instead of co-operation, and a consequent waste of energy, money and enthusiasm. As one result, there is now in this country a tremendous amount of Socialist sentiment of which we cannot take advantage because our organization is not yet in a position to do so. From this time forward we should try to adjust the mechanism of the party to secure the best results with the least expenditure of effort and money, so that the gathering forces of Socialist thought and sentiment can find concrete expression at the ballot box.

Perhaps no other task to which a Socialist can apply himself offers less of individual glory or immediate reward of any kind than that of faithful participation in and unremitting devotion to the details of party organization, but this very fact makes it all the more necessary that the task should be undertaken. It is easy and convenient to let things run themselves, but sooner or later the party members pay the penalty for their indifference or carelessness by becoming involved in disagreeable situations which create discouragement and disgust, but which could have been well avoided in the first place. The future or writer will always flourish and re-

SOCIALISTS HOLD RULE IN FRANCE.

Municipal Elections Result in Socialist Victories in Thousands of Little Communes.

Paris, May 7.—French voters last Sunday proceeded to renew the municipal councils of our thirty-six communes. As there were nearly 430,000 persons to be elected, there were nearly 1,000,000 candidates. Therefore it is impossible to see one's way clear amidst such an avalanche. But common sense shows that in a majority of cases for all the little communes, which form nine-tenths of the total, nothing has been changed from the existing conditions. Five or six revolutions have passed over these little communes in the last century without anything being changed. We now are expecting profound peace to be little conducive of changes.

SOCIALISTS RETAIN POWER. There remain the large cities where political waves may occur. Here we are more restricted in conjectures which can be verified. But the facts show that here, too, nothing has been changed. The Socialists remain masters of the great municipalities. The second city in France, especially, where it is said the people were disposed to give a shock to the rule of its Mayor, the Socialist physician, M. Augagneur, gave him a bigger majority than ever.

As to the first city—that is to say, Paris—it only elected fifty-four councilors out of eighty. Twenty-six seats remain to be contested at the second ballot; but out of the fifty-four there were twenty-eight Socialists and twenty-six Nationalists. The Nationalists up to the present time had a majority of one—only one. They lost it and they are in the minority by one vote, barring what happened on Sunday, May 15. But this single vote will be sufficient to give them control of the committees and all the advantages which may result from it.

INCOME CHICAGO SOCIALIST MONTH OF MAY.

Balance April 30	\$137 79
Cigars	\$ 21 80
Literature	94 82
Bundles	12 95
Subscriptions	37 00
Card account	140 58
Donations	361 44
Ad. account	53 00
Miscellaneous	92 38
Total income	\$13 97

\$951 76

EXPENDITURES.

Office expenses	\$ 9 91
Wages	183 50
Postage	47 47
Printing paper	374 03
Cigars	9 00
Literature	10 30
Miscellaneous	177 93
Total expenses	\$812 14
Income	\$951 76
Expenses	\$132 14

Balance on hand May 1, 1904, \$139 62
F. N. KNOCHE,
Business Manager.

MASS MEETING.

There will be a party mass meeting Sunday, May 22d, 10 a. m., Ulich's Hall, 27 N. Clark street, for the purpose of discussing the newly adopted National Platform and to hear report of a committee selected by the Cook County Central Committee to draft a substitute platform. All party members should attend, and must bring their due cards.

HAROLD LINDGREN,
County Secy.

COUNTY CONVENTION.

The Cook County Convention will be held at Oriental Hall, 122 La Salle street, Sunday, May 29th, 10 a. m. Representation is one delegate for every five members in good standing.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

The Cook County Central Committee will meet in continued session, Sunday, May 15th, at two p. m., sharp, at trade and labor union headquarters, 44 and 46 La Salle street. Every delegate in Cook county should be present, as business of vital importance to the future of the party will be transacted. Let every delegate be in his place.

The Office of Chicago Socialist is now at 612 and 613, 42 River St. Office Hours: 9 to 6:30 P. M.

(Continued on Page 3.)

THE CHICAGO SOCIALIST

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EDITORIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS.

To secure a return of unused manuscripts postage should be enclosed. The fact that a signed article is published does not commit the Chicago Socialist to all opinions expressed therein.

PHONE FRANKLIN 424.

Entered at the Postoffice, Chicago, Ill., as Second-class matter, March 18, 1902.



THE ILLINOIS STATE SOCIALIST TICKET.

Governor—John Collins, Chicago. Lieutenant Governor—H. R. Brower, Elgin. State Treasurer—A. S. Tibbits, of Rockford. Secretary of State—Peyton Boswell, Springfield. Attorney General—Sam Block, of Peoria. State Auditor—Albert Eiseimen, of Chicago. School Trustees—Mrs. Gertrude Brewlow Hunt, May Wood Simms, W. S. Dalton, all of Chicago. Presidential Electors—Paul Pierce, Frank Bahlman, A. J. Milson, J. W. Bartels, P. C. Lorentz, H. J. Wiegell, C. J. Charbonneau, Otto Beselack, Charles Erickson, W. Linke, Mat Whelan, all of Chicago; Wm. Little, Elgin; Elmer Lutschoff, Rockford; T. E. Gavin, Rock Island; Gus C. Sandberg, Canton; U. Calkins, Peoria; Gus Esborg, Normal; A. E. Miller, Danville; Marx Thode, Mattoon; P. H. Castle, Chambersburg; T. M. Gelger, Springfield; N. B. Barth, Glen Carbon; F. M. Riley, Noble; F. A. Roberts, Pleasant Hill; Charles Farrell, Cairo.

There were no other names presented than those of Debs and Hanford. The prints will now probably cry that every delegate was bought and "delivered the goods."

Such sacrifice! Think of it! A great big, overgrown dirty city like Chicago, permitting the use of free water to flood the down-town streets. Whither are we drifting?

If free water for the business men is a good thing, why wouldn't free meals, shoes and clothing be a good thing for the many destitute children whose parents are too poor to supply them?

Mr. Carroll D. Wright's statistics, proving that the cost of living is much higher than in former years, coupled with the fact that the capitalist class has organized solidly to break up the unions and lower wages, must not be very encouraging to the workmen with large families.

Scarcely a day passes but that the press quotes some minister as saying something must be done to bring back the days of crowded churches and Sunday schools. A little more preaching along the lines of material interest here on this planet, and how to get a few of the good things of life before death, and less about the hereafter, would be a much stronger appeal.

John Mitchell has been bobbing with Teddy again and told him a few things about the Colorado affairs. Teddy insisted that Federal troops were not needed and John acquiesced. Alford did not think they were needed in Chicago in 1894, but Grover sent them here just the same. It all depends upon whether the capitalist class has the upper-hand or not. If the miners in Colorado were guilty of one-sixteenth the anarchy they are charged with, one-half the standing army of the United States would have been there long ago.

The Lorimer-Jameson gang has been apparently overthrown. In their places are the make-up of another machine, which in turn will be sooner or later broken up, to be followed by still another set of office-seekers. Thus we have an example of perpetual motion. In the meantime the working class is slowly but surely learning that it is not the man nor the political machine that must be abolished. The right to privately own the publicly used commodities must cease before there can

be any permanent change for the better for those who create all wealth.

The capitalist press predicted the nomination of Debs (probably from information obtained through consultation with a number of Socialists) and hailed him as the dictator of the Socialist party. The defenders of the home-wrecking system cannot comprehend that our Presidential as well as all other candidates are mere figure-heads, representing Socialist principles.

THE DUTY OF THE HOUR.

During the past month the Socialist party has been making history very fast. Especially is this true of the State of Illinois. Three weeks ago the largest and most representative Socialist convention ever held in the State convened in Peoria. Delegates from all parts of the State gathered in conference to deliberate and intelligently consider the best interests of the party as representing the working class on the political field. At this convention the delegates were a unit up to the point where the question of program came up for consideration. The State platform and other resolutions reported by the committees were adopted almost unanimously. But when the report of the Committee on Program came up for consideration it was found that although the Socialists of Illinois were agreed upon their general principles, yet they were divided when it came to the question of tactics. The committee's report in favor of a program was adopted by a very small majority; and was finally sent to a referendum of the party membership in the State for a final decision. The referendum which is to decide whether the program reported by the committee or the minority report shall be adopted is now in the hands of the rank and file of the party of Illinois, who are the final judges and supreme authority on all questions in the Socialist party, and whatever their decision may be, what they decide will be the working program for the time being for the Socialist of Illinois.

We are of the opinion that there are many comrades who attach altogether too much importance upon the words or phrases that may or may not appear in a platform or program. We have never yet considered that the mere words appearing in a platform or program were of such vital importance as to justify any Socialist worthy of the name to refrain from working for the ultimate goal which is ever before the mind of all scientific Socialists, viz., to educate the working class to an intelligent class conscious knowledge of their class interests, and its antagonism to the present capitalist, competitive system.

The immediate work before the militant Socialist is propagating Socialism and the Socialist philosophy among the workers; showing them the significance of the class struggle. As it grows fiercer and more unbearable the more perfect the productive powers of labor are developed.

The most important work of the active Socialist from now until the close of the campaign of 1904 is to point out the necessity of the working class collectively owning and controlling the land and the machinery, and all other sources of wealth production and distribution. This is the real issue at all times between the working class as represented by the Socialist party and the capitalist class represented by all other political parties by whatever name they may be known.

Upon these fundamental principles every Socialist can work for the interest of his class and the ultimate overthrow of the capitalist system at the earliest possible moment that the economic development of industry makes it possible.

For the accomplishment of this work every true Socialist will exert his utmost energy, though the platform and program may not be just what the individual Socialist thinks it should be. The State and National campaign of 1904 we are now entering upon, and we cannot afford, if we are true to our class and the great world-wide cause we represent, to let our forces be divided over some unimportant details of tactics.

Comrades, the work of the hour is to carry the evangel of Socialism to every member of the working class. It is our historic mission to show the working class the possibility of their emancipating themselves from the thrall of the capitalist system. This can only be accomplished when the working class as a whole understand their class interests and the necessity of class solidarity, both on the economic and political field.

Workers of the world, unite.

OPEN AIR LECTURE.

The comrades are to have a treat Saturday night. Come, Woody, of California, colored speaker and agitator, will give his now famous lecture on "What to do and How to do it," he is a most interesting talker and has a ready answer to all who wish to put questions. Come out, comrades, to State and Congress streets, Saturday night, and make this meeting a demonstration not to be soon forgotten. Unite for the cause.

THIRD WARD BRANCH.

TO PARTY MEMBERS.

A cordial invitation has been extended to the comrades of Local Cook County, by the Social Democrats of Racine, Wis., to attend their annual picnic, to be held Sunday, June 19th, at Central Park, four miles south of Racine, Wis., on the Chicago & Northwestern line. All comrades who can attend are guaranteed a good time. Admission to park free.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CHICAGO SOCIALIST.

The matter being open for discussion in your columns, I wish to state as briefly as possible my objections to the platform adopted at our national convention. 1. Fundamentally the position of the platform is reactionary. Socialism is presented as a movement for the securing of individual freedom. Our party makes its appeal as "the defender and preserver of the idea of liberty." The basis of the platform is perilously near the "national rights" theory—a theory long ago rejected by almost all thinkers, never held by Socialists, and surviving now only among single taxers, some anarchists and modern "Jeffersonians." Socialist philosophy is based on the class struggle and not on any abstract conceptions of freedom and liberty.

In this connection it may be noted that the platform displays some indifference to, or ignorance of, American history. Writers of a platform ought to know that American institutions did not "come into the world in the name of freedom." The Declaration of Independence does indeed reflect the eighteenth century individualistic conceptions and the constitution mentions as one of its ends the securing of liberty, but these conceptions were in no way embodied in our institutions. In adopting the federal system the fathers of the republic formed a constitution ideally fitted to secure the power of a ruling class. The reported debates of the constitutional convention show beyond a doubt that to secure this power was the very object of the constitution. This appeal to the shades of the fathers savors somewhat of demagoguery. It looks like an effort to conceal our real position. We would do well to leave to Messrs. Bryan and Hearst the task of asserting the great principles of the American republic.

This reactionary statement is the more noteworthy because of the fact that our former platform (of 1901) contains absolutely no trace of this individualistic philosophy. The words liberty and freedom are not once used; there is not a single reference to the faith of the founders of the republic. It is based consistently on the principle of the class struggle.

2. I shall say little on the subject of "immediate demands." This subject has been discussed by the party membership for years. It was passed over at the convention without the slightest opportunity for discussion. The delegates were ignorant whether the "demands" were in the platform or not. While personally I oppose demands, I speak here only for fairness. I submit that hurrying through a platform with concealed statements on the subject is unworthy of the Socialist party. If our platform is to contain demands let them be put there intelligently; let us know what we are doing. We are pledged by this platform neither to a program nor demands, but to "watch and work" for some nine different ends. This "watch and work" device, while an ingenious one, will hardly bring harmony to the party. Ward jugglers may answer for the old parties, but will not for Socialists.

3. The document is wholly unsuitable as a platform because of its speculative character. We have been told before that our party could not go before the people on an abstract proposition. But three whole chapters of this document are devoted to mere abstractions. The men whom we address have no particular theories of evolutionary processes; they are not students of Hegel, Schopenhauer and Herbert Spencer. They do not care to form any opinion regarding "world processes" or the activity of "inhering forces"; they want the product of their labor, but have not yet risen to the conception of "saving the world from chaos and universal destruction." Incidentally it may be questioned whether the grand style, the intensity of thought and expression are adapted to the multitude. We ought not to cast our pearls before swine. A workman who has just been considering the tariff question or the collapse of silver is likely to become bewildered when called on to contemplate the "strain and crisis of civilization," the awfulness of a world tragedy. These grand conceptions, while no doubt edifying and inspiring to the enlightened, are likely to be received with indifference or even derision by the ignorant.

Many will regard it as unfortunate that this discussion is brought up at the beginning of a political campaign. Such discussions along with our expulsion of mayors and aldermen, will place us (as they think) in an unfavorable light before the public. But the public might as well be informed of it cares to know that the Socialist party has a character totally different from all other parties. We are not in the field to gain offices, nor even to enact measures. We are here to organize a great working class movement. This movement does not depend on leaders, but on an intelligent and wide-awake membership. The Socialist party will not be side-tracked. And while we may still further disgrace ourselves before "the public," we shall have it clearly understood that no actions of officials or leaders or of our own conventions shall be permitted to retard the party in its onward movement.

M. H. TAFT.

Chicago, May 11, 1904.

If you should board an ocean liner and go looking for useful workers, you would find them in the steerage. I suppose, because scripture says: "Labor is worthy of its hire," and we live in a Christian-capitalist world.

THE CHICAGO SITUATION.

For sometime there has been a feeling that the actions of the Cook County Central Committee did not represent the membership of Local Cook County. At last Sunday's session however an action was taken which is so at variance with Socialist principles and common sense as to demand an emphatic rebuke from the rank and file. It was there proposed that this little delegate body of a single local should appoint a committee to rewrite the National Platform which had just been unanimously adopted by the largest and most representative National Convention ever held in this country and that the attempt be made to embroil the entire national organization in a useless discussion in the midst of the most important campaign ever waged by the Socialist Party of America. By some mistake my name was included among those who were to assist in this performance and I take this opportunity to disavow any and all part in such ridiculous antics.

I am willing to admit at once that the National platform does not exactly express my ideas, nor do I ever expect to see one that will, since if I should it would be a "Simons" platform and not a Socialist platform and would be expressive of the ideas of an individual and not of the party. At the same time there is no denying that the present one is the work of the most representative committee that could have been collected in the United States. No one can deny the revolutionary position of Comrade Herron, Hanford, Debs, Mally and Titus, and while some of the other members may be inclined toward little more of an opportunist position than I would agree with, yet they were in a minority.

The platform was adopted with scarcely a dissenting vote, and right here I want to brand as an absolutely unqualified and unmitigated falsehood manufactured out of whole cloth, the statement which I understand was made at the last meeting of the Central Committee to the effect that debate on the platform was not permitted. Comrade Taft offered an amendment and was recognized by the chair for that purpose and could have spoken his full ten minutes had he so desired. There was a distinct interval between the statement of the question and the call for a vote during which, any one of the men who are now talking so much, showed no disposition to talk at all, and when the vote was finally taken it was not more than three or four votes throughout the Convention and these were very wild. On the announcement of the vote there was no call for a division. Furthermore since nearly all those who now claim to be opposed to the platform voted for it, there would have been no trouble in moving a reconsideration at any time during the remainder of the convention, but this was not done. All this goes to show that the real question before the Socialists of Cook County is not a question of any alteration in the platform, of immediate demands, programs, constitutions, etc., but a question of ring rule vs. democratic control by the majority. The actual question to be decided is whether a little handful of men will control the machinery of a party, the overwhelming majority of which, are utterly opposed to their tactics. For it must be understood right now that the position which has been taken by the ring in control of Cook County Central Committee is today absolutely unique in the field of Socialism. Not a Socialist publication in the world has the slightest sympathy with their position. There is not a line of Socialism which will justify their tactics. Under such conditions one might expect them to be a little modest in forcing their opinions on the party, especially when that party had just declared by the largest State and National Conventions ever held against their position. Yet they proposed to establish a vanguard reign of terror over the majority, with "charges," "expulsions," and censorship galore. In this connection it might also be worth while to notice that there is nothing in the constitution of the Socialist Party, national or local, that provides for such an institution as a "mass meeting" and that any such meeting has no more authority to act or to fix policies for the party than any chance body of "rag-chewers" that might gather on a street corner or at city headquarters. The place where the policies of the Socialist Party of Cook County are decided is in the branches where every member has an opportunity to be present and discuss things; not in mob-ridden mass meetings which are only possible of attendance by a few who live in the neighborhood or who can afford to spend time and car-fare for such useless purposes.

I sincerely hope that the membership of the various locals will see to it that their delegates are instructed to attend the meeting of the central committee next Sunday and place the party in Chicago in accord with the Socialist position of the United States and of the world.

The present attempt to raise a disturbance at the very beginning of a campaign is but a part of the same low or ruin policy which has been followed with regard to the State campaign, which resulted in taking our State organizer from the field at a time when his services were greatly needed, which has resulted in the wasting of the time, money and energy of the party officials for the last six months in scheming, backbiting and

REFORM OR REVOLUTION.

At the recent State convention of the Socialist Party, the reform element within the party overcame a great obstacle; not an obstacle that blocked the path of social progress, but an obstruction on the steep incline of reaction. This obstruction, hard as it was to overcome, was formed in a few minutes and contained a very small part of the revolutionary element in the party. On the other hand the reform element had been making preparations months ahead, published leaflets, scattered them broadcast, and many things unknown to us.

Considering these facts and the vote—58 to 61—in favor of a program, the election of the programists was unequalled for. Fortunately the Socialists of Illinois will not go before the voters with this program before another barrier has been overcome—the solid army of class-conscious toilers who cannot be lured by reform sops from the straight road of revolutionary Socialism, the road that leads to absolute overthrow of capitalist robbery.

In the past we have seen a steady growth of the Socialist movement in this State. Our policy has been strictly revolutionary, never swerving from the class line. No catch phrases have been used; no attempt has been made to adjust the Socialist philosophy to make it acceptable; no reform planks have been employed to rob the facts of their bitterness; only the truth in its dazzling nakedness has been hurled at the bulwarks of capitalism.

With revolution for our slogan we have within a few years, become a power to be feared and hated by our opponents, not so much on account of our growth, but because of our uncompromising attitude. Any change in our policy would rob the movement of its foundation; the least taint of reform would rob it of its revolu-

tionary character. Repeating the walling cry of our masters will bring forth justified ridicule from our opponents. Why then adopt a reform program? The programist answer, "We might send a few men to the legislature." This proves a painful ignorance of the subject. The strength of the Socialist movement cannot be measured by the number of men elected, but by the intelligent class conscious vote. Haverrhill, Brockton, Sheboygan, and the Thirty-third ward of Chicago need only be looked to as proof of this statement. Men elected on a reform platform will stand before the world as reformers, being backed up by a reform constituency. On the other hand, a man elected on a revolutionary platform would be a living demonstration of the growing revolutionary element, and would be of more value to the movement than any number of reformers.

NO MORE QUARRELING—LET US ALL GO TO WORK.

The attempt made by some of the "impossibilists" of Chicago to repudiate the national platform adopted by the last convention and to submit a new one to referendum ought not to receive the endorsement of our membership for the following reasons:

1. Any attempt to repudiate or change the platform as adopted will involve the party in an endless fight. No set of men can draw a platform entirely satisfactory to everybody. What guarantee have we that the platform proposed by the "impossibilists" will be acceptable even to themselves? If not, then some other combination of disgruntled kickers will submit something else, and the campaign would be over long before we could decide on any platform, provided we did not have a split even before the referendum could be taken.

2. Our delegates had ample chance to speak against the adoption of the platform, but not one of them said a word till after the close, when some of them became busy working for a new platform!

3. Granted that a better platform could have been drafted, the fact remains that the economic evolution is going on, irrespective of the platform, and the cause of Socialism will advance during the next four years in spite of the mistakes of the "programists," as it has during the last four years in spite of the "impossibilists" of the "impossibilists."

4. The "impossibilists" have had everything their own way in this city during the last three or four years, and the results are now apparent in several matters, which the comrades can call to mind without going into details. And during all this time the minority has taken defeat in good spirits and worked earnestly for the success of the party. Though repeatedly defeated they have never sulked nor threatened, but worked. If the "impossibilists" are now what they claim to be, Socialists, let them bow to the decision of the majority and go to work, rather than cause unnecessary trouble.

5. The action of the national convention ought to be final so far as the platform is concerned. We all know that the wording of a platform amounts to very little, compared with the active work by the class conscious workers in the rank and file. Let us now go to work to build up our organization, raise funds, secure new members and help our paper. This is more important than quarrelling over the platform.

THE SOCIALISTS of Chicago will wait till the next convention for whatever changes may be advisable in our platform.

THE SOCIALISTS of Chicago will unite hereafter to fight the enemy, and to teach the laborers the class struggle. We are tired of internal fights, when there is so much work to be done. The campaign is on, let us get together, and make an aggressive fight that shall shake the foundations of capitalism to its very center!

This is what THE SOCIALISTS of Chicago and Cook County will and must do this summer.

If the "impossibilists" prefer to quarrel and cause trouble, it is their privilege, but they had better leave the party and find a home where they really belong. The Socialists of Chicago and the Socialist party can get along without them.

E. M. STANGLAND.

PROGRAM OR COMMITTEE RULE, WHICH?

The State convention of Illinois Socialists has once more brought the question of "immediate demands" into a much greater prominence than it deserves. Since it was impossible for me to be present at the convention and since the question is now to be settled by referendum vote in Illinois, and will also come up for decision at the approaching national convention there are a few things which I wish to say on the subject. It seems to me that a clear distinction should be made between any outline that the party may furnish for the guidance of candidates, and the statement of its fundamental position. Socialism has no part or parcel with the tinkering of our present society, but since it is inevitable that individual Socialists will be elected to office in various places long before the general government is captured by a Socialist majority, the question of what these officers shall do becomes of considerable importance, although of vastly less importance than the question of the educational work and agitation of the great Socialist organization.

It is well to understand at the very beginning that these officials can do very little even when in a majority and almost nothing in a minority. There is not the slightest doubt, in my mind, but what were a city of any considerable size captured by the Socialists and any attempt were made to strike at a vital point of capitalism the result would be that the city government would be abolished and its functions carried out by a military arm of the State or national government. The same thing is probably true of a State government. It would be infinitely better could we be certain that we would not capture any minor political division until our forces were much stronger than at present and the knowledge of Socialism much more extensive. Unfortunately, here as at every other point, social evolution cares very little for what we may think advisable. It is absolutely certain that we will capture very many offices and become a minority party in many municipal and State governments during the next two years.

Two courses are then open for those elected to office. Either they may sit

like wooden men with phonograph attachments, unanimously voting "no" on everything that arises, or they may become positive fighting forces for the working class. The first alternative really does not exist, since there is fairly good reason to believe that we shall not elect hopeless idiots as a general thing. The question they come as to how the acts of the individual official shall be directed and controlled. There is no reason to believe that all such officials will be thoroughly competent and trained Socialists. Even if they were, I am not yet ready to subscribe to the doctrine that election to office gives any individual more brains than all the men who elected him. Hence I am not willing to trust to his judgment on all possible occasions, to decide "what is to the interest of the working class." If we were all agreed on this subject, then such a phrase as "that which has been attached to the Chicago platform and to one or two others in the country, to the effect that 'if anything is to the interest of the working class we are for it,' etc., would have some meaning; otherwise it is pure bombastic nonsense. Another method of control is that of a committee. My experience in the party has shown me that nomination to a committee, no more than election to office, carries with it any endorsement as to knowledge of Socialism, and that there is but very little reason to believe that a committee of three or five will be any better representative of the party than the individual who is elected, and to give them the power of control is simply to surrender the Socialist principle of democracy and establish a miniature oligarchy. The ideal way would be to permit the party as a whole to decide each question as it arose. Unfortunately this, like many ideals, is impossible of realization. It does happen, however, that there are a great number of questions which we can reasonably sure will be up for discussion and decision before any legislative body to which we are apt to elect a person. It is best then to take the opinion of the party in advance on these questions and this is exactly what is done when a program of action is outlined.

I have always insisted, however, that such a program should be something absolutely apart from the platform and that it should be considered as of no effect unless some official be elected; that the statement should be made in connection with the issuance of the program that it is not a part of Socialism; that a campaign should not be made upon the program for the purpose of electing men. If these precautions are taken there is no danger of any reform party using our program as fuel to furnish steam for its campaign machinery.

Fraternally,
A. M. SIMONS.

COMRADES, ATTENTION!
On another page you will find the adv. of our boat excursion.
Every effort is being made to make this a grand success and a great day of pleasure is assured all who will attend. It will be toward the last of spring and the beginning of summer, and the weather at that time ought to be ideal for an excursion.
Your business manager is tired begging for money, and asks you to help him make this affair a success. To stimulate the sale of tickets I make the following offer:
To the male Comrade selling the greatest number of tickets and turning the money in at this office, we will give one 16-size 20-year guarantee Gold Watch, either movements.
To the Lady Comrade selling the greatest number of tickets and turning the money in at this office, we will give a lady's size 25-year guarantee gold watch, either movements.
To the boy or girl selling the greatest number of tickets and turning the money in at this office, we will give a boy's or girl's good Watch. All watches will be suitably engraved.
Now, Comrades, it is up to you; come to the office and get your tickets to sell and come and have a good time.
A FEW GOOD HUSTLING COMRADES WANTED TO SELL TICKETS ON COMMISSION.
STATE ORGANIZATION FUND.

Previously reported \$1,097 93
J. E. Agnew 50
"X. Y. Z." 197 30
H. Luensman, Winnetka, Ill. 1 00
Total \$1,297 23
JAS. S. SMITH,
State Secretary.

NATIONAL CONVENTION FUND.
Previously reported \$172 50
Perry Centre, Elkville, Ill. 50
F. M. Craig, Elkville, Ill. 50
Phillip Eldeman, Elkville, Ill. 50
Third Ward Bd., Geo. F. Slater
List 6 1 00
Do, list 5 3 00
Do, list 3 3 00
C. W. Green 2 00
Otto McFoley 1 00
Thos. J. Morgan 5 00
Chas. A. Ballard 1 00
H. F. Lindgren, list 51 4 00
Seventeenth Ward Bd., lists 64, 35, 36 10 00
Thirty-first Ward Bd., per H. Uhlhorn 1 25
E. Joray 1 00
Total \$296 55
JAS. S. SMITH, Treasurer.

Comrade Wm. H. Leffingwell, formerly of Chicago, is now with Wildshire's Magazine, New York, and would like to hear from a few of his friends who are willing to do a little subscription-hustling for the magazine.

REPORT OF NATIONAL SECRETARY.

(Continued From First Page.)

ceive his proper meed of public reward and admiration. For this reason these positions will naturally be the most coveted and the persons holding them will continue to have a greater personal influence through their association directly and indirectly with the general membership.

For example, during the past year the number of applications for commissions as national organizers and lecturers has far exceeded the actual number within the ability of the national headquarters to employ at a given time. The comrades filing these applications were in many instances new and inexperienced, but filled with a creditable enthusiasm to be of service to the movement. Several others were from comrades of more experience, but displaying a singular lack of comprehension of the scope and character of the party work. A majority of the applicants desired to be placed at work at once, and some were so insistent that they would brook no delay and appeared aggrieved when their wishes could not be gratified.

It did not seem to occur to these comrades that, however worthy their motives and ambitions might be, it was quite impossible for the national headquarters to utilize all the available material placed at its disposal. Nor did they seem to realize that there were other ways through which they could perform valuable service to the movement, ways relatively as important as those sought for, although fewer inducements to the enthusiast, but requiring qualities of the highest possible value to the cause of Socialism.

The comrade, however, who assumes the burden of executive and organizing detail must be prepared to accept responsibilities which are comparative-ly unknown to the worker in other fields. Such a comrade must be possessed of patience with himself and others. He must exercise caution, fortitude and courage. He must be impartial and unpartisan. He must be prepared to accept the will of those for and with whom he works, even at the temporary sacrifice of his own opinions. And, above all, he must expect to be misunderstood and misrepresented by those to whom his services are devoted.

All of this will be difficult and disagreeable and other lines of work will offer greater attractions, but none will bring the immediate and permanent benefit to the Socialist movement faster than this one will. This fact in itself will be the most satisfying and satisfactory reward that can come to any Socialist. If the course indicated has not been followed more generally in the past it is not because the will to serve the movement has been lacking, but because the relative importance of this special phase of the party work has not been recognized. It only requires such recognition to call into action the latent executive ability which now lies dormant in the membership everywhere and upon the development and exercise of which the future success of our movement greatly depends.

This subject has also another phase which should not be overlooked. If the Socialist party differs from other political organizations, it is in this: that the membership and not a few leaders control and direct the movement. It is this very difference which constitutes its chief strength and must make it unconquerable and triumphant in the future. The organization must be democratic in the true sense of the word or lose its identity as one representing the working class movement to democratize the world. It follows, therefore, that only in the encouragement and development of self-government within the organization can the spirit and practice of democracy be maintained and the movement held to its true course. Embodying as it does the vital principles which make for the liberation of mankind from all forms of industrial and political despotism, the Socialist party must announce, through its own actions, democracy as a fact limited only by those restrictions which capitalist conditions impose upon it.

But we should understand that a democratic movement does not imply unrestricted individualism, as some comrades seem to believe. True democracy involves co-operation, and upon our ability to co-operate successfully everything depends. And co-operation in turn involves adaptation to one another; the ability to accept the will of the majority, wherever and whenever expressed, as our individual will, until such time as our individual will can be expressed by the majority. And this again in turn involves faith in the movement as an organized force, the exercise of charity toward each other and of the prevalence of the spirit of comradeship throughout the movement.

Nowhere perhaps in the capitalist world will it be more difficult to organize a Socialist movement upon purely democratic lines than in this country, where the spirit of individualism has been distorted out of its true proportions until the simplest rules of organization are condemned even by some Socialists as "bureaucratic." These have yet to learn that the purest and highest individualism is that which can subserve itself when occasion requires to the social will and social good. The real bureaucracy of fear is that which would make a few people the ungoverned and ungoverned authorities and dictators of the movement. There need be no fear of

any kind of a bureaucracy so long as the party machinery remains in the hands and under the control of an alert and enlightened membership.

When these self-evident propositions become more generally recognized and accepted by Socialists everywhere there will be fewer local disbands after a short and precarious existence, and lapses in membership will become less frequent. It is an encouraging sign that the number of comrades giving their attention to this subject is increasing, and with a still greater consideration we can confidently expect a stronger and more effective organization with which to conduct the struggle with the rapidly combining forces of the capitalist enemy.

The Socialist party must be more than a mere political machine; it must be so managed and controlled that the highest degree of democracy consistent with efficiency as the directing force of Socialist activity must be attained. More and more we must provide for a decentralization of authority and the concentration of the forces of agitation and education. The national headquarters should be the nerve center of Socialist activity, the clearing house through which the different State organizations can bespeak in close touch and sympathy with each other, thus ensuring an objective point at which the organized Socialist forces can convene and act unitedly.

The chief problem before us, then, as an organized body, is how to combine democracy in management, efficiency in action and economy in labor and expense, so that the best and most permanent results can be obtained.

The existing political system necessarily continues to be the basis of organization, but its boundaries and limitations must be more definitely prescribed. There has been a tendency toward exclusiveness, to place the interests of a single State organization above those of the party at large, a tendency as injurious as the other extreme of concentrating authority over the membership in a central committee. One carries State autonomy to the extreme and makes toward anarchy; the other denies democracy and makes toward absolutism. Both are dangerous and can only result in dry rot. Our national organization must be fluid enough to invite or encourage neither one nor the other.

Under the present constitution there is danger of both. The national officials may become aware, through the position they hold, that the officials of a State organization are, unknown to the membership, either neglecting their duties or perverting their powers, to the injury of the party in that State or the entire country, and yet the national officers are powerless to act. Provision should be made for action in such cases, although such action should not be arbitrary or authoritative, but merely along the lines of suggestion, information or investigation, leaving final action to the membership of the State itself.

On the other hand, there is no constitutional preventive against representatives or members of one State organization interfering with or usurping the duties or rights of other State organizations and their members, or the duties and rights of the national organization in organized States and Territories. The activities of State officials should be confined to their own States where their responsibilities lie, except when agreement is specifically made either with other State organizations or the national organization, as the case may be.

There should also be constitutional regulations to protect the national party against the violation of the principles and platform of the Socialist party in any organized State or Territory.

The qualifications for membership in the party should be made as uniform as possible in all States so that all members may enjoy equal privileges. A system of regulation of transference of membership from one State to another should also be adopted.

In order to avoid the recurrence of having State organizations formed where geographical or other conditions are unfavorable to their effective or permanent existence, the membership in any unorganized State or Territory should reach a certain number before the movement for a State organization can be initiated. Eagerness to establish State organizations before conditions were ripe for them has resulted disastrously in several places through failure on the part of these organizations to properly maintain themselves when thrown upon their own resources. The national office can usually take better care of locals in unorganized States and Territories until conditions make a State or Territorial organization necessary and justifiable.

COMRADES, ATTENTION

A mass meeting of the comrades of Local Cook County was called on March 31 to devise ways and means to wipe out the indebtedness and to raise a fund for the use of the paper to deal strictly on a cash basis and to have funds to properly advertise this paper.

It was resolved to call for pledges to raise funds at once, and if possible to raise a standing fund of \$1,000.

A number of comrades pledged themselves to pay a certain sum for eight weeks, and the amount so pledged was \$108. The sum of \$82.54 was realized at once. The pledges and cash payments and donations up to and including Wednesday, May 4, were

PLEASURE CLUB NOTICE.

All members of the Socialist Pleasure Club are requested to be present at the Third Ward Headquarters, 3345 State street, Tuesday, May 17th, at 8 p. m. sharp.

We call the attention of the Comrades of Chicago and vicinity to the Socialist Pleasure Club now being organized for the purpose of maintaining a place of amusement, propaganda work and the enjoyment of its members on very small dues, we will be able to maintain bowling, billiards, athletics, etc., etc., and can establish them in a short time provided the comrades give the merited assistance; our success is now assured, but we desire to make some showing at an early date.

Our plan is to admit persons of all political beliefs to membership, but have provided that only Socialist Party members shall vote at hold office, thus assuring that it shall continue Socialist and at the same time availing ourselves of funds that will come largely from outside of the party and bring us in contact with the people under conditions favorable to the work of education we desire to do.

Our monthly dues are 25 cents, and we remit one month's dues for each new member brought in. This will allow any one to be entirely free from dues by hustling to increase the membership and it will guarantee a rapid

and enormous gain both for the party and the club.

We have further insured growth by providing that each member shall bring in at least one recruit per quarter. And this even with our present small start would mean a growth of 3,000 one thousand six hundred members in one year's time. We expect, however, to do better than this and want you, the reader, to help us to do it; for a large membership is bound to mean a pleasant time and more Socialists.

Now one more point, we provide that club members who do not belong to the party must subscribe for a Socialist paper and attend at least six Socialist lectures or speeches per year to the end that no guilty man or woman may escape our philosophy. Now, if you are interested in the work, fill out the application blank below and forward by return mail to Miss Grace Bagnell, 3838 Indiana avenue, the Secretary of the club. We need your aid, give it now, send your name voluntarily without waiting for a personal appeal and then get to work and organize your friends (whether Socialist or otherwise) into the club.

APPLICATION BLANK FOR MEMBERSHIP IN THE SOCIALIST PLEASURE CLUB OF CHICAGO

I, _____ hereby make application for membership in the Socialist Pleasure Club of Chicago

AGE _____ OCCUPATION _____

_____ a member of the Socialist Party.

SIGNATURE _____

ADDRESS _____

PROPOSED BY _____

acknowledged in last week's Socialist.

Table listing names and amounts: Total pledges to date \$584.00, Previously reported \$309.32, G. A. L. donation 1.00, Thirty-first Ward, in pledges 1.00, J. Ald, in pledges 5.00, D. D. Slagle, in pledges .25, M. Milde, in pledges .25, A. L. Connor, Waterloo, Iowa, donation 1.00, M. H. donation 2.00, Raetz, Evergreen Park, donation 1.00, P. Batthouse, on pledge 1.00, L. Levinger, on pledge .25, C. Winfield, donation .25, J. T. Burke, on pledge 1.50, A. Segal, on pledge 1.00, C. N. Kuehn, on pledge 1.00, A. Hancock, on pledge 1.00, W. C. Rossman, on pledge .50, D. G. Eccles, on pledge .50, Geo. Boffenmeyer, donation 1.00, N. Lewin, on pledge 2.00, N. Lewin, on pledge 2.00, N., on pledge 2.00

Total up to and including May 11 \$932.32

To those comrades who have pledged themselves but have forgotten lately I would make an earnest plea. Our moving puts us under heavy expense. It was only by a supreme effort that this week's paper has appeared at all. Come, comrades, support your paper and help it out of its difficulties, by taking subscriptions and buying and distributing bundles.

A few errors may have crept into the above on account of our moving. If so, same will gladly be corrected.

Donations and pledges will be received by the undersigned and acknowledged weekly until the amount is made up. Comrades everywhere, will you kindly help?

F. W. KNOCH, Business Manager.

Remember the new address, Rooms 612 and 613, 42 River street, Bonheur building.

HOLLAND.

The Congress of the Social Democratic party of Holland, which was recently held, adopted the following resolution by a vote of 135 to 39: "The Congress of the Social Democratic Labor party, considering that it is desirable to set forth the standpoint of the Netherlands Social Democracy in relation to the universal strike, and considering that the necessary condition for such a strike is a stronger organization and a self-governed discipline of the laboring class, rejects the absolute universal strike, in the sense of all laborers laying down their labor at a given moment as impractical, because the very existence even of the proletariat is thereby made impossible. It is of the opinion that the freeing of the laboring class is not to be the result of a sudden exertion of strength.

But it is however, possible, through a strike within a single branch of industry, or even through a number of branches of industry, to secure great economic changes or to defend the laborers against reactionary attacks upon their rights. They would warn the laborers, however, against being drawn into the propaganda for universal strikes as advocated by the anarchists and withholding themselves from the actual daily strife which can be car-

ried on through political and economic activity and co-operation. It demands further that organization, unity and strength be developed in the class struggle, because if it should appear necessary to use the strike for political purposes these are the essentials thereto.

ARE WE HERO WORSHIPERS.

When they can do so, Socialists should practice what they preach. Quite a number of delegates made mention on the floor of the convention to the effect that Socialist candidates are mere units and are placed on a ticket as figure-heads to represent Socialist principles.

When the time came for nominations, however, a great many of the comrades apparently forgot this and immediately fell into old political party tactics. When Comrade Debs was placed in nomination the delegates cheered long and loud, some of them becoming almost frantic, throwing hats and handkerchiefs into the air, striking the floor and yelling like Indians. This was repeated several times, and when Comrade Hanford was placed in nomination he got similar ovations, including, like Debs, a special amount of prolonged applause after the seconding of the nomination by several delegates.

In the first place, I am opposed to any arrangement being made either secretly or otherwise permitting any person the privilege of making the nomination. In my opinion this should be done in the same manner as all other business, by the delegate on the floor who gets recognition from the chair after nominations are declared the next order of business. A long speech eulogizing the candidate is unnecessary; neither is it necessary to recite a history of the class struggle.

I have as high regard for both Comrades Debs and Hanford as any one; I believe they are as well qualified to head the ticket as could be found, but notwithstanding all this, I think such demonstrations are unsocialistic. Comrade Debs retired, probably not wanting to face this "hero worship," and it was with apparent reluctance that Comrade Hanford was half dragged to the platform for a speech, which he delivered in a few very fitting and well chosen remarks.

True, we are still living under capitalism, and that we cannot change ourselves entirely from our environments; that human nature is still the same as yesterday, to a very great extent, and that we must still let our old customs crop out. But let us begin now to stop this "hero worship," no matter who it is before us, whether standard bearer, lecturer or a humble and silent worker for the cause. We know what this hero worshiping has led to in the past. We might have occasion to regret it at some time in the future. A little handclapping for a moment could not be objected to, but for a Socialist audience to go into ecstasies over any man or woman I believe to be as foolish as it is unwise. What we may think as individuals does not necessarily require collective outward demonstration.

HENRY J. WIEGEL.

Will those of our Comrades in the City and the country who hold our subscription cards kindly remit at once for those which they have sold. We are urgently in need of funds.

THEOPHILE NETTER SOLE DISTRIBUTOR OF LIEBEC'S Wine Tonic 777 N. WESTERN AVE.

Comrade C. SORENSEN can feed you at two places, RESTAURANTS 84 W. OHIO STREET AND 110 N. CENTER AVENUE Good things for Hungry People.

LOTS FOR SALE!

I have a few Choice lots left in West Lawn, adjoining Melrose Park, that I will sell for \$150.00; \$5.00 down and plenty time to pay the balance. 5-cent car fare. For particulars, apply

DR. GREER 52 DEARBORN STREET

Tel. White 2744 J. DIETZEN, Prop. THE STATE ENAMELERS AND JAPANERS High Grade Bicycle Works a Specialty 143 E. North Avenue Cor. Dayton St

WARMBOLD Photographing in All Its Branches 1515 MILWAUKEE AVENUE

If you would like to see your German neighbor vote the Socialist Ticket, let him read

Neues Leben German Weekly. \$1.00 per year. Write for samples. NEUES LEBEN, 117-119 Lake St., Chicago, Ill.

SOCIALIST DAILY FOR CHICAGO The Bohemian Central Committee who now conduct a weekly Socialist paper in the Bohemian language and own a printing plant valued at \$4,000, have decided to enlarge their business and convert their paper into a Bohemian daily. A volunteer fund is being raised for this purpose and you are invited to contribute your mite. Send all money to BOHEMIAN SOCIALIST PARTY, 721 Alpert St., Chicago, Ill.

PETER SISSMAN, Lawyer Suite 826 Chicago Opera House Bldg., 112 Clark St., Residence 56 Evergreen av., Telephone MA 18 723, Seely 2505.

OHIO Lunch Room 130 NORTH CLARK STREET J. J. ERICKSON, Prop. ALWAYS OPEN

The Socialist Seattle Wash 50 cents a year Cartons, Plans, Market Reports All Socialists call for it. Special offer 10 weeks 10 cents

JOHNSON BROTHERS 1634 to 1650 MILWAUKEE AVE WEST OF ARMITAGE

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On the fifteenth of last August we adopted the plan of giving high class books as premiums to those securing lists of subscribers to this paper. This special announcement closed on the first day of November. It was so well thought of by the Comrades that we have decided to continue the awards until the first of next July.

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Send for our price list from which to make your selections.

THE CHICAGO SOCIALIST.

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The International Library Publishing Company begs to announce that they have just published "A Contribution to Critique of Political Economy," by Karl Marx, translated from the second German edition by N. J. Stour, A. M. This volume is the well-known treatise on money, and is one of the most prominent of Marx's writings. The preface contains the author's formulation of philosophy known as the Materialistic Interpretation of History. The appendix contains a General Review of Political Economy, abounding in brilliant and most suggestive ideas on the subject. This has just been made public among the posthumous papers of Marx and is published in book form for the first time in any language. 313 pp., cloth, \$1.50. Address, The International Library Pub. Co., 23 Duane Street, New York. Descriptive circular with table of contents on request.

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Tea—Our own combination, per lb.....	40c	Navy Beans—Per lb.....	3 1/2c
Tea—English Breakfast, per lb.....	14c	Lima Beans, per lb.....	5c
Tea—Ceylon, per lb.....	40c	Green Peas, per lb.....	3c
Coffee—Mocha-Java, per lb.....	19c	Soap Chips—Per lb.....	2 1/2c
Coffee—Extra fine, per lb.....	25c	Candles—Per dozen.....	6c
Eggs—Strictly fresh, per dozen.....	17c	Peas—Early June soaked, per can.....	5c
Eggs—Duck, per dozen.....	23c	Peas—Lakeside brand, per can.....	11c
Butterine, 1-lb. cartons, per lb.....	10c	Corn—Elgin, per can.....	10c
Butterine—Extra, per lb.....	12c	Tomatoes—Per can.....	6 1/2c
Cheese—American, per lb.....	9c	Mustard, per bottle.....	4c
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Lekko Floating Soap—Per cake.....	3c	Mushroom Sauce—Per bottle.....	10c
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Apple Butter—Per lb.....	3c	Crispo Crackers, per lb.....	4c
Salt—10-lb. sack for.....	6c	Uneeda Biscuit.....	4c
Peanuts—4c quart, per lb.....	8c	Snider's Catsup—Per bottle.....	9c
Sal Soda, 10 pounds for.....	8c	French Peas—Per can.....	15c
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SOCIALIST Sunday School Lessons

BY MAY WOOD SIMONS

The Fundamental Requirements for Animal Life.

1. There are two essential conditions of animal life. First, there must be a sufficient and constant supply of air. The element in the air which is of prime importance is the oxygen. This is necessary in order to build up the body, and to carry on the chemical changes that must take place in every living animal.

2. The atmosphere is composed of about twenty parts of oxygen, seventy-nine parts of nitrogen and a small quantity of carbonic acid. If the oxygen in the air is reduced to 3 per cent, death by suffocation will ensue to all animal life. Water animals obtain the necessary oxygen from air that is mechanically mixed with water.

3. The second primary condition of animal life is the existence of food. While the plant can use inorganic substances as food and can thus make living substance out of inorganic matter, animals cannot do this. For their food they require matter that is already organic, for instance, the tissues of plants or of other animals. This we have found is the distinction between plant and animal that the latter subsists on organic food and that plants directly or indirectly furnish all animals with food since they must first convert inorganic substance into organic.

4. There are other conditions that are sometimes looked on as essential to life. For instance, favorable temperature and favorable atmospheric pressure. While intense cold means death to many animals there are others like insects and some fish that may be frozen for some time and then resume active life. Again the removal of some animals to mountain tops produces a serious condition because of the decrease of atmospheric pressure.

Suggestions.—We resume these lessons at a time when both plant and animal life is receiving a new impetus. This will enable the teacher to provide the classes with much practical material for study. Whenever the school has permanent quarters it is to be hoped that it will provide itself with as much material as possible, to be used for illustrative purposes. For instance, arrange for the child an interest in the process of plant growth. Then encourage him to plant seeds and watch the development. From time to time he may be called on to bring a plant he has thus grown before the class and tell to the class its history and a description of the care he has taken of it. Perhaps no pedagogical principle is more infringed on than the one that would give to the child an opportunity to do things himself. The teacher must, before all things, recognize the need of self-activity on the part of the child.

Since our last lesson I have visited the Socialist Sunday school in Boston. One of the most encouraging things about the school was the expressed intense desire to learn and apply the best methods in conducting the school. There is every indication that this educative movement is destined to grow, therefore I would suggest that wherever these schools are started the Socialist local should make the attempt to secure its best trained men and women to act as instructors in the school.

STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.
The following is a summary of the business transacted at the last meeting of the State executive committee on April 28.
Resignation of Comrade M. Marcus, delegate from Third Senatorial District, received and election of successor ordered.
Comrade F. H. Kuehnbecker was seated as delegate for the Twenty-third District, vide Ogas, resigned.
Communication from H. W. Laidler, of Wichita, to tour Illinois received. State Secretary to answer that we have all the organizers that we need now.
Communication from Local Cook County, requesting organizer be withdrawn during the State referendum.
Communication received from Twenty-seventh and Twenty-eighth Wards in joint meeting, regarding same matter.
Motion to table lost.
Motion to concur carried.
A committee of Spears, Alderson and State Secretary Smith was elected to draft referendum, and send same out for vote. Same committee to take charge of drafting a route for organizer in unorganized sections till after referendum is taken.
Communications from Twenty-seventh and Twenty-eighth Ward branches, Chicago, to withdraw John Collins from list of national convention delegates, also as a candidate as Governor, neither of which was concurred in.
The ballots for the referendum on program were ordered to contain both the minority and majority reports, with blank spaces to place choice. The referendum is to close on June 15.
The next eighteen in order, according to vote received of the comrades nominated as national delegates, were declared alternates at the convention in the absence of any of absent delegates, and credentials were ordered to be given them.
A summary of the proceedings of the State meetings were ordered to be printed in the Chicago Socialist.
W. H. SPEARS,
Recording Secretary.

BERESFORD'S BOOKS.

Beresford's Handbook on Scientific Socialism is one of the best books for the new beginner ever run of: on an American Press. Clear, logical and to the point. It is just the thing to hand to the unregenerate to clinch an argument or to illustrate a point.

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NORTH TOWN NOTES.

Sunday school meets at 363 Sedgewick street every Sunday morning at 10:30.

Physical culture class from 10:30 to 11; lesson and singing from 11 to 12. The school is growing in numbers and interest. Comrades, come and send the children.

Party Announcements.

The County Central Committee meets the second Sunday of each month. Hour, 2 to 6 p. m. Officers:
Secretary—Harold Lindgren.
Treasurer—J. C. Alderson.
Sergeant-at-Arms—And. Lahn.

The 23d Ward, No. 2, German, meets every Sunday forenoon at 10 o'clock at 148 Willow st.

LEAFLETS.

Every comrade and ward branch, take notice. The article published in Chicago Socialist, Feb. 27, entitled, "The Unemployed," by A. M. Simon, has been published in leaflet form and is now on sale at the office. The article written by E. Uterman for the C. C. C., entitled the "Trusts and the Working Class," has also been printed in leaflet form. These are 4-paged leaflets, printed on extra fine paper. Space left on the last page for advertising meetings. These leaflets deal with present conditions directly concerning the working class and should be widely circulated. Any person or branch can get either one of them at \$1.25 per thousand. Send in your order at once. Order from the undersigned, Harold Lindgren, County Secretary.

If all business is not finished at the first meeting of each session of the C. C. C. said meeting will stand adjourned to meet the following Sunday or Sundays until the business is finished, unless the C. C. C. shall otherwise decide.

All Branches wanting Polish speakers should notify the County Secretary. All Polish speakers are not party members. So ordered by the C. C. C. Harold Lindgren, Secretary.

All communications referring to party matters should be addressed to the County Secretary, and must be in the hands of Secretary at least 24 hours before C. C. C. meeting if they are to be read at said meeting. All communications referring to the paper should be addressed to the Editor or Business Manager.

The Cook County Central Committee meets in continued session Sunday, May 15, 7 p. m. sharp, at Trades and Labor Union building, 44-46 La Salle street, at the mouth of tunnel.

EXPELLED.

Alb Anderson, of 1061 South Oakley avenue, has been expelled from the Socialist Party.

Section sidewalk will hold continued daily sessions from now on in front of old Party Headquarters, 181 Washington street. All members of the section and all those interested in the good work are welcome. The Boss.

OUTDOOR MEETINGS.

23d Ward, No. 1—11th street and Michigan avenue, Saturday, May 14, 8 p. m. Speaker, Marcus Perison.
Saturday, May 14, 8 p. m., State and Congress streets. Speaker, G. W. Woody of California.

Socialist Ladies' Choir meets every Wednesday at 2 p. m. at 55 North Clark.

Socialist Ladies' German Local meets every first Thursday in the month at 2 p. m. at 55 North Clark.

SPECIAL NOTICES.

28TH WARD BRANCH.
At the last regular business meeting of the 28th Ward Branch Jas. H. Larson, residing at 1024 North Albany avenue, was elected Secretary, in place of Chas. B. Ehnborn, resigned.
JAS. P. LARSON.

BRANCH SECRETARIES AND HALL COMMITTEES, TAKE NOTICE.
If you want your election meetings announced in the Chicago Socialist a notice, stating when and where such meeting is to be held, also who the speaker is, must be in the office of County Secretary by Monday eve. If speakers are to be supplied said notice must be in Saturday, a week in advance.
HAROLD LINDGREN.

Twenty-sixth Ward Branch meets every 1st and 3d Sunday night, 7:30 p. m., at Social Turner Hall, Belmont and Paulina avenues.

The Twenty-fourth Ward Branch meets at Stern's Hall, Fullerton avenue and Ward street, every second and fourth Monday of the month. Meeting opens 8 p. m. sharp and closes 9 p. m. sharp, after which some book on parliamentary rules or on Socialism will be discussed. E. S. Kuus, Secretary.

HALL MEETINGS.

28TH WARD.
Sunday School at 11, physical culture lesson at 10:30. Comrades, send the children.

THIRD WARD BRANCH.
Every Saturday night we give a social and dance, serving light refreshments. All South Side comrades invited. Sunday, 3 p. m., mass meeting, to which all are invited to hear and ask questions. Tuesday, every regular business meeting, at which we take in new members and discuss standard works on Socialism.

LA SALLE CLUB.
Sunday, May 15, 8 p. m., 215 W. 12th street. Speaker, G. W. Woody.

OUTSIDE NOTICES.

Any Locals or Branches, where the Chicago Socialist circulates sufficient to make it of service to them may insert notices of meetings under this head. All notices to be in any issue must be at the office of the Chicago Socialist, 181 Washington street.

not later than Tuesday of the week of issue.

Memphis Socialist Local meets Tuesday night, at Cochran Hall, C. Simon, Secretary.

PEORIA.

Socialist Party of Peoria meets every Sunday afternoon at 216 Main street, third floor. All readers of the Chicago Socialist are invited. Come and participate in our lectures and discussions.
JAMES DUFFY, Secy.

M. H. TAFT ATTORNEY AT LAW

Suite 58, 99 Randolph Street
Tel. Central 2813. Borden Block, Chicago.

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