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CHICAGO SOCIALIST.

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SIXTH YEAR—WHOLE NO. 314

CHICAGO, ILL., SATURDAY, MARCH 11, 1905.

PRICE ONE CENT.

ENTER AT FRONT DOOR

Socialist Representatives at Springfield Get Past a "Soft" Turn Down in Lobby.

STRIKE-BREAKER ROOSEVELT.

The New Primary Bill—400 Bills Introduced, Only Four for Labor, and Those by Socialists.

BY THOMAS J. MORGAN.

Saturday Roosevelt was sworn in as President. The inaugural address, parade, ball and fireworks completed the ceremonies of the day. The administration of the oath was a mere pantomime. The address was so general in character that its substance, if repeated, would be of no value to the reader. The most peculiar feature in the parade, not excepting the Filipinos, was a delegation of coal miners bearing a great banner with the legend, "We honor the man that settled our strike." Next to the lassoing of a big policeman by the cowboys, this delegation and its banner amused the President most. As a strike breaker Roosevelt appreciated the humor of this demonstration arranged by his friend, John Mitchell, president of the Miners' Union.

The grand ball was the best of its kind. The skill of artists and artisans of the old and new world had been taxed to reproduce the styles of European courts of the eighteenth century. There was a great jam in the ball room, and the blue blooded aristocrats protested against the presence of the red-blooded hogsheads that so rudely crowded them. When Mr. and Mrs. Roosevelt entered all eyes were focused on her dress. The goods were royal blue and gold of a special design fashioned in the style of Louis XV. In the splendor of this robe the dental smile of the President, and the woman in the dress was lost; the dress was the thing, as it has been in all the ages of ignorant worship of mere theatrical display. We are informed that the designs for the materials of this dress were destroyed by order from the White House. The ancient pagan monarchs did better than this. They not only ordered the designs destroyed, but killed the designers and artisans to prevent the duplication of the same products. Roosevelt probably knew this, and imitated the pagans as far as present laws allowed.

Circumstances play havoc with theories. The philosopher laughs, Saturday night, when he saw "revolutionists" bring in official returns of the Socialist primaries and heard them demand five dollars for their judges' and clerks' certificates, and kick at the market price of four dollars and twenty-five cents. This "immediate demand" of the "revolutionists" resulted from one step taken by them in the practical politics of the Socialist party. This simple advance in political action taxed the energy and intelligence of party members and revealed some of the difficulties that are to be overcome before the establishment of a co-operative commonwealth is possible. Should frenzied financiers pull down, or blow up, the present system during the year and thus save the "revolutionists" that part of their work, they would still be troubled with more "immediate demands" to be disposed of step by step.

The primary bill just passed by the House raises the necessary vote from ten to twenty per cent of the total cast by all parties in Chicago. As the Socialist vote increases so will the difficulties be increased by the parties in power. The impatient may suggest dynamite as a more rapid means of progress, but so long as the majority of workmen think it right to vote for those who impede progress the same workers will hang and shoot those who have courage to openly advocate revolution and to use dynamite. The political thought of the workers must be changed, and workers can think right only when the "immediate demands" of their physical and mental life are supplied and they are thereby enabled to learn the value of practical politics. Comrades Ambroz and Olsen voted against this new primary bill, but the hundred and twelve Republican and Democratic representatives of the tolling masses voted for it. Our comrades also voted against an appropriation of seven thousand five hundred dollars for a sound proof office in the State building, required for safe consultations between State officials and the officials of corporations, but all the other representatives voted solidly for it.

Over four hundred bills have been introduced in the Senate and House since Jan. 4, excepting appropriation bills, only four bills have passed both houses. Friday the Speaker of the House appointed fifty committees. This will enable the House, after a session of two months, to be completely organized next Tuesday. These committees are expected to examine and recommend action on these bills, yet the Assembly will probably adjourn the latter end of this month. Comrade Ambroz has been appointed on the committee of labor, industry, parks and boulevards, and Comrade Olsen has been appointed on the committee of mines, mining and manufacturing. It is of interest to note that only twelve of the four hundred bills originated with the workers of this State, seven of these by the Socialists and five by the trade unionists. It may be asked, why have not the Socialists presented more bills? We may reply it was the Socialist party's first appearance in the Legislature and a modest beginning is becoming. But what reply can the four hundred thousand trade unionists of this State make to the question, why is it that after fifty years of organization and of voting for

AN EDUCATIONAL TREAT

Those who saw and heard Comrade Minnick's lecture last Saturday evening on the "Evolution of Transportation," enjoyed an educational treat. The railroad and the steamship are especially the children of the last half century, or, perhaps, it is as correct to say that the society of the last generation is to a large extent the child of these improved methods of transportation.

It was like taking a journey backward into history to sit and see the locomotive grow from the first cumbersome crude little machines into the massive consolidated compound. The various parts of the engine were also shown in diagrammatic form so that the exact nature of the change could be understood. A most striking illustration was furnished when the first engine that ever came to the city of Chicago was thrown upon the same screen with the latest model—both being drawn to the same scale. It was difficult to realize that less than the lifetime of an average man separated the time of the two machines.

Nor has the change been less striking upon the water. Fulton's "Clermont" on its first trip up the Hudson, was followed by illustrations of the tremendous changes that have taken place in the marine engine, then in the ships themselves, until finally the gigantic proportions of the Baltic seemed to tower above the audience as its photograph fell upon the screen.

But under capitalism this improvement in transportation has but served to concentrate the population in great cities, and so along with the new electric motors, capable of running 120 miles an hour, came the sump and the tenement. The hideous conditions under which the working class in Chicago are forced to live were shown in a series of pictures which Comrade Minnick's exceptional familiarity with that portion of the city has enabled him to gather. These illustrations were accompanied by graphic charts showing just how fast this process of concentration of the population was progressing. From these it was evident that this was a constantly accelerating process. Every year that passes sees not simply a greater increase in the number of persons crowded into cities, but an even greater increase in the ratio with which the city is swallowing up the country. This was also shown by sections of the country, making plain how much faster the movement was in the older than the new portions.

Indeed, one of the main lessons of the whole lecture was the rapid acceleration of the rate of evolution. Each year sees a faster rate of motion. Each decade produces greater changes than a century at any other age. Each year now sees greater progress than was made in any generation of the nineteenth century. How long will it be until capitalism shall have evolved into socialism?

The next lecture will take us more directly the effect of all this industrial progress on the wage worker, showing the manner in which it has affected his manner of living, how his share of the product is constantly decreasing, how even his eating has been restricted in this time of exhausted powers of production. The lectures are held at the Northwestern University Building, corner of Lake and Dearborn streets, at 8 o'clock Saturday evening.

Colorado Socialists are arranging for first of May celebrations throughout the State.

Next Sunday, the 12th, is regular meeting day for the County Committee. All delegates should be on hand early.

If you failed to register last October, or if you moved out of your precinct since last election, don't fail to REGISTER TUESDAY, MAR. 14th. Polls open from 6 A. M. to 9 P. M.

C. C. MEETING.

Articles by candidates and other well known Socialist writers

A SIZZLING CAMPAIGN. RAN AGAINST THE BOSS.

John C. Williams, of 1083 West Monroe street, employed by the Western Electric Company, served as a judge of election at the first primary district of the Thirteenth Ward. He asked his foreman for the privilege of laying off on that day, and that functionary said he would fix the matter all right. He did. When Williams returned on Monday to go to work he was given his time. It was not declared that he was fired because he did not work on Saturday.

The whole matter has been referred to the Election Commissioners. The law seems to give some protection to the citizen who serves as an officer of the court on election day. The development of this case will be watched with interest. If a man can only be sure of his job when he compromises with his conscience and becomes a political follower of his boss, it is time we knew it. If this is the kind of the free and the home of the brave, then could there be no better way to educate the workman by the class character of capitalist politics than to fire him for exercising his rights under the law.

WISCONSIN SOCIALISTS.

State Federation Learns that Socialists Alone Stand for Working Class Interests—Capitalist Politicians Ignore Workers.

The State Federation of Labor is co-operating with the Socialists, who have prepared all bills drawn up by that body. Last Tuesday, when the eight-hour bill in municipal works was considered by the Committee on Municipal Affairs, F. G. Weber, business agent of the Federation Council, appeared in its defense. Mr. Weber said: "Twelve years ago I came here and begged on my knees for a child labor law, but now I come not to beg anything—I come to demand, and if you refuse us this bill we will come back next time in stronger numbers."

More attention was given to the few capitalists who represented no one but themselves than to Weber, who voiced the demand of 20,000 organized workmen. Among this capitalist delegation were Mr. Leary, Comrade Aldridge's employer; a small contractor, and Lindemann, a Citizen's Alliance man. Their arguments against favorable recommendation of the bill were: First, it will spread the desire of an eight-hour day in other industries; second, it is class legislation; third, it will drive business out of the State.

The arguments of the Socialists were: First, modern means of production are such that it is not necessary to work more, but considerably less than eight hours; second, it will give more employment; third, it is for the good of the greatest number.

The discussion of the bill is to be continued next Tuesday, when its fate is to be decided upon. O. R.

WARD ORGANIZATIONS, NOTICE

If the chairman and secretary of your ward meeting that nominated your candidate for Alderman have not yet signed the nomination papers at headquarters, do not fail to call at office on Saturday at the very latest. Those wards whose conventions have not yet been held must rush in their names, etc., Saturday. Do not fail in this or your nominee cannot go on ballot. CHAS. L. BRECKON, County Secretary.

CITY CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

The city campaign committee held its second session last Friday night at 55 North Clark street. Street permits are to be secured by the County Secretary. The question of arranging dates for Alderman Melms, of Milwaukee, was put in the hands of a special committee.

Reports were made showing the donation of a number of halls in various wards for use during the campaign. The secretary was authorized to print 250,000 copies of the platform adopted by the city convention.

Each ward was ordered to report at next meeting on available halls, seating capacity and price for use during the campaign. The secretary was authorized to make a call for the spring campaign fund. A blank form with a circular letter was adopted, and the same ordered printed and mailed out.

A hall in the downtown district was ordered to be secured for use during the campaign. Jung's hall, at 106 Randolph street, second floor, front, has been secured. Each member of the committee is hereby notified to be present at 8 p. m., Friday, March 17, 1905. CHAS. L. BRECKON, Secretary.

What chance would the handful of capitalists have anywhere if the producing class awakened to a sense of their power? None whatever.

JOHN COLLINS' \$2.00 HATS S.W. Cor. Madison & La Salle Sts. Early Spring Fashions in Stiff and Soft Hats. Hats made to order. Clearing Sale of Caps and Gloves at about Half Regular Price.

AN URGENT CALL FOR FUNDS FOR THE SPRING CAMPAIGN OF 1905.

NEVER SO BRIGHT AN OUTLOOK.

The Buying Power of a Dollar Socialist Campaign Unequaled by Any Other Party.

The City Campaign Committee, at its session of last Friday evening, authorized the County Secretary to issue a call forthwith for the Spring Campaign Fund, and to get ready for one of the swiftest rushes ever made by the Socialist party in Chicago.

Included in the immense amount of free advertising given the Socialist party by the capitalist press, in that it declared that each one of the 1,000 judges and clerks were going to turn over their fee to the campaign fund, proved to be about as near the truth as the capitalist usually gets, for when Comrade Eisenmann came back to the headquarters on Saturday night and showed a net result in cash for his night's work to the fund of just \$13, it looked like there was no danger of there being any very terrific campaign blazes.

The order for campaign supplies has been placed with the printer, and in as short a time as possible same will be mailed to the comrades. But do not wait for them to arrive, but send at once to the headquarters every cent you can spare for the campaign fund. The cost of the ballots was a no small sum, and there is not money enough on hand to pay that bill, to say nothing of the many thousands of copies of leaflets and the issue of a few hundred thousand platforms that must yet find a way to come from the presses and be distributed over the 112,000 acres of territory in this great city.

The primaries have given our party a plan of organization, which may be and is the tide of affairs in that it shall lead on to our goal—the co-operative commonwealth. The ward captains and the primary district captains are just the individuals needed for the planning of the spring campaign and the working of lists that will bring the largest possible results in membership and in money, enthusiasm and votes, that shall elect more than a dozen members to the common council of the city of Chicago this year of our Lord 1905.

It seems hardly necessary to say that our fund must be made up this year, as in the past, by small amounts from many sources, making an aggregate total that shall enable us to hold meetings in every available place and to spread our literature into every nook and corner of the city. The success of our ticket at the polls in the 4th day of next April depends solely and only on the amount of your individual activity and on how well we are able to let the rank and file, the great body of the working class, know and understand our living principles. YOU may not be able to do much of the hustling yourself, but you may be able to send in a five-dollar bill or two that will set some other enthusiastic comrade to work contributing in labor three times as much labor power as you represent in your donation. In other words, you may set a dollar at work doing ten times as much as you could do, and you must get it working quick.

Since the polls closed last fall the capitalist system has been doing everything possible to favor us—against its will—both in this country and in Europe, and all we need to do is to go out and pick the ripened fruit of economic determinism. We want you to help hold the basket and help quickly, because the feast of the working class that is just ahead, in the time of industrial equality, demands haste.

One of the billboards in the city this week, advertising some drama, sets forth in letters a foot long this startling statement: "Gee, ain't it hell to be poor." Don't we all know it, and know it to its bitter dregs. It is just because we know that it is hell to be poor that we propose to organize the working class for the capturing of the powers of government that the hell of capitalism may be no more, and that there shall not be another stunted and starved working man or workingman's child in all the broad acres of this or any other country.

When you read this aloud before your fireside on Friday and Saturday, remember that it is money that may make the mare go, and it is also hard cash that will make this campaign go, and forthwith plan to deliver by any old route, so it be the quickest, the largest possible investment you can make to the Spring Campaign Fund. C. L. B.

There is a great difference between political action by the working class, as advocated by certain labor leaders who would deliver the labor vote to old party politicians for a few crumbs in the shape of political jobs and promises, and political action by the working class now being pushed by the Socialist party.

SOCIALISTS HOLD CONVENTION.

Two Hundred Delegates Gather at Brand's Hall, Adopt Platform and Nominate Ticket.

Last Wednesday night at Brand's Hall, Erie and North Clark streets, the Socialist party of Chicago held its first convention as an officially recognized party under the election law of the State of Illinois. By 8:30 p. m. over two hundred delegates, who had been elected at the primaries on Saturday, March 4, had banded in their official credentials to County Secretary Breckon. At 8:30 T. J. Morgan, chairman of the committee, called the meeting to order and read the official call for the convention. The convention then proceeded to elect permanent officers. Seymour Stedman was elected permanent chairman and Charles L. Breckon permanent secretary of the convention. After the permanent organization was effected and a set of rules adopted to govern the convention a platform committee of nine was elected, consisting of the following comrades: Ernest Untermyer, Morris Kaplan, Thomas J. Morgan, Peter Sissman, Barney Berlyn, James S. Smith, Albert Eisenman, M. H. Taft and E. M. Stangland.

The platform committee then retired to consider the different platforms presented. During the time the committee on platform were deliberating Comrade Charles L. Breckon, our County Secretary, who had so ably directed the work of the primaries, secured the floor and reviewed the work that had been done up to date. He pointed out the fact that we now had 212 primary district organizations, each of which he hoped would form the nucleus of a permanent organization. Comrade Breckon stated that "we started into the primary work with thirty-five ward organizations, and emerged from it with 212 primary organizations." After giving a graphic description of the difficult task performed in the primary work he made an eloquent appeal to all present to dig down into their pockets and start a campaign fund to enable the committee to push to a triumphant finish the work so well started and carried through up to date. When Comrade Breckon sat down some one in the audience saw the beaming countenance of Comrade Mills in the gallery and moved that he be asked to make a five-minute speech. The motion was carried, and Comrade Mills made his way to the platform amidst loud cheering. It looked for a moment as though the campaign fund had been forgotten, but Comrade Mills had seen the point and closed his five-minute speech with a supplemental

appeal for the campaign fund. He said "The Socialist party gets its campaign funds from the same source the millionaires get theirs—out of the working class." The subscriptions to the spring campaign fund then started coming in from all parts of the hall. When the money subscribed was counted it amounted to \$134.55.

PLATFORM COMMITTEE REPORTS.

At 11:30 the platform committee announced that it was ready to report. Comrade Untermyer, chairman of the committee, made the report. He stated that the committee had seven different drafts of platforms presented for consideration, but that the majority reported in favor of the committee's report, and that there were two minority reports, one on platform presented by Kaplan and also the one presented by Sissman. On motion, the report of the committee on platform was received. The hour being late, a motion that the representatives of each platform be given five minutes to present the merits of the different platforms to the delegates was carried. Thomas J. Morgan spoke for the committee's platform. Comrade Kaplan presented the claims of what was known as the Kaplan platform, and Barney Berlyn championed the Sissman platform.

VOTE ON PLATFORM.

The convention then began voting on the adoption of platform by roll call of wards. On the first ballot the vote stood as follows: For the committee platform, 73; for the Sissman platform, 66; and for the Kaplan platform, 59. On motion, the Kaplan platform was dropped, and a vote taken on the other two platforms. When the second vote was counted it was found that the Sissman platform had been adopted by a vote of 100 to 71 for that of the committee.

NOMINATION OF CANDIDATES.

Immediately after the adoption of the platform, the convention proceeded to nominate a city ticket. This was soon accomplished, and in a very short time the Socialist party of Chicago had a full city ticket in the field. The following named comrades were nominated:

For Mayor—John Collins.
For City Treasurer—James B. Smiley.
For City Clerk—Marcus H. Taft.
For City Attorney—Alfred W. Mance.

After the nominations were completed the greatest convention ever held by the Socialist party of Chicago adjourned with three rousing cheers for Socialism.

CITY PLATFORM.

Platform Adopted by the Socialist Party of Chicago at the City Convention, Held March 8th, 1905, for the Ensuing Municipal Election in Chicago.

The Socialist Party of Chicago, in convention assembled, reaffirms its allegiance to the principles of Socialism, its adherence to the national platform as adopted by the Socialist Party of America, at the convention held at Chicago, in May, 1904, and declares itself to be in entire accord with the program adopted by the representatives of the International Socialist movement, at the International Congress, held at Amsterdam, Holland.

APPEAL FOR THE CAMPAIGN FUND.

With recognition that even if victorious in the ensuing municipal election, our candidates when elected could not possibly carry the principles of Socialism into full effect, we also recognize that measures tending to improve the present condition of the working class can be carried into effect by an administration earnestly endeavoring to administer the government of the City of Chicago in the interests of the great mass of the people, and not in the interests of the favored few.

We, therefore, pledge our candidates, if elected, to stand for the following measures:

First—The city to acquire municipal ownership of the means of transportation, and to operate the same with a view to rendering improved service to the community and improving the condition of the workers engaged in the transportation industry.

Second—We are unqualifiedly opposed to the granting of any franchise to any person or corporation for the purpose of carrying on any industry for the operation of which a franchise is required, holding that such industry is to be carried on by the city itself, for the benefit of its inhabitants.

Third—The establishment of city ice-houses and coal-yards.

Fourth—The extension of the functions of the Board of Health to include the furnishing of free medical service and medicine.

Fifth—The extension and improvement of our educational system by the strict enforcement of all existing legislation and enactment of additional legislation, providing for sufficient school-rooms, teachers, free textbooks and materials, and free meals and clothing to all children up to the age of sixteen years.

Sixth—The abolition of all contract labor on public work and the introduction of a system of direct employment by the municipality in all its undertakings, the working time for all city employes to be not more than eight hours, and the minimum rate of wages to be paid to any city employe to be three dollars per day, thus establishing the municipality as the model employer of labor.

Seventh—The strict enforcement of all existing legislation for the protection of life and limb, of those engaged in industry, and the enactment of additional legislation for the safeguarding of life and limb of the workers.

With this as our program of action for the municipality and with Socialism as our final aim and purpose, we repeat our call to the working class to recognize its true interests and the important part that is assigned to it in history, to be the emancipator of mankind, and to establish a system of true freedom and brotherhood among men, to enroll under the banner of International Socialism, and to work for the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth.

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EDITORIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS: We 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.

Editor, A. W. Mance; Business Manager, A. Eisenmann; State Secretary, J. S. Smith; C. L. Brecken, County Secretary.

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

Table with 2 columns: Ward and Name. Lists names of ward members for various wards.

Founded on fact. Each of the 212 primary districts in the city was ably manned by Socialists and the primary business neatly and methodically performed in strict accordance with the election laws.

Under 12th headline, "Starving Men Riot in Rush for Jobs," the daily papers printed the following news dispatch: "New York, March 3.—Fighting among 200 would-be snow shovelers for about fifty positions caused a small riot in 5th street yesterday, which resulted in the Fifth Street Police Station to quell the fighting."

The above throws some light on the subject so much discussed among Socialists, "Why the slim proletariat make such poor revolutionists and Socialists. Being physically starved their mental powers become weakened and they become an easy prey of anyone who can make use of them who are able to supply a little relief to their immediate physical needs."

In spite of the fact that the Civic Federation and several other self-constituted national conciliatory societies composed of preachers, bishops and fake labor leaders, have been announcing that the interests of capital and labor are identical, and have been attempting to bring capital and labor in harmonious relations with each other, the spring of 1905 opens up with the usual number of strikes, lock-outs, boycotts and other evidences that the class struggle is a fact and not a theory.

Remember, Socialists, that if our large vote of last fall is to be maintained (and there is no good reason why it should not be increased) it is up to YOU to get into the thick of the fight and do the work you are best fitted to do for our common cause of emancipating the creators of the industrial world. Socialism alone can abolish the want, misery, shame, ignorance and crime which now exists and is the portion of the workers in the midst of plenty and "over-production."

A GREAT (?) LABOR PROBLEM.

The Chicago American, which poses as a great friend of labor, does not know that there is such a thing as a workingman's political party in Chicago. Its edition of Thursday morning contained a "bum" report of our city convention, and gossiped at the possible nominees, while all the other papers gave the meeting a very fair write-up. This old hypocritical "daily journalistic fit of epilepsy" had better wake up. It can dig columns of dirty scandal and glaring double column puns for one William R. Hearst, but it can't see the only real live political party in Chicago.

The principle reason given by Judge Carter for refusing the Socialist party representation on the Board of Election Commissioners was his fear that the Socialists would be unable to man the polls. Last Saturday our party demonstrated that his fears were not

something better than the drivel above referred to. The workingman of Chicago is coming to a knowledge of the emptiness of the claims of this ultra-radical conservative "No Nothing" sheet, and when he fully grasps the situation there will be a newspaper plant in Chicago for sale at bargain prices.

THE WAY IT FIGURES OUT.

The organs of privilege and robbery frequently give illustrations of the existing system of production, without intending to do so, or thinking that everybody, like their readers, is unable to draw a conclusion. The Chicago Inter Ocean says:

The factory value of the distilled and malt liquors made in this country in 1900 was \$54,068,156. They cost the men who drank them four or five times that amount. It is true that these industries in the same year gave more or less profit on \$47,836,072 capital to 8,814 proprietors, bought \$69,822,712 worth of material, paid \$27,550,520 in wages to 43,254 persons, and gave livelihood to several hundred thousand middlemen between producer and consumer.

In round numbers, we have: Value of product \$54,000,000. Cost of labor and material 94,000,000.

Profit \$240,000,000. Value of product, nearly four times cost of labor and material. Rate of profit on total capital, 53 per cent. (About the same as Standard Oil profits.)

Each producer created over \$5,000.00. Each producer received about 600.00. But the Inter Ocean says the final consumer pays four or five times the \$240,000,000, so we must add over \$1,000,000,000 to the \$240,000,000 and begin over again. But what's the use? If the producer is content with one-tenth of his creation, he will not kick even when we show him the corrected figures.

GETTING WISDOM BY EXPERIENCE.

As one watches the struggle of the little fish to keep from being swallowed by the industrial whales, there comes to mind the trite old story of the dorky who was induced to go watermelon hunting one night. By a succession of marches and counter-marches and a variety of labyrinthian evolutions he was finally brought to his own little patch, which, in the darkness, he helped to strip. Laboriously tugging at the sack he sweated his way back to his home and the next morning his mind had completely changed about the joke of "watermelon on hunting" parties.

The American Shoemaking, from which the editorial clipping that follows is taken, belongs to that class of journals which help ridicule and abuse upon the Socialists who years ago pointed unerringly to present conditions. What, take the millroads out of private hands! Holy horrors! One can see the red, thick lips, the Rooseveltian teeth, and the gleaming, satisfied eyes of the editor as he trumpeted that watermelon in the darkness and said, "I sho' am delighted." He could not see that the progress of economic development would bring him to the "cold, gray dawn" of the morning when he would realize that he had been doing a circumbulation stunt, bearing a well filled bag of melons right into Mr. Rockefeller's hands.

When the working class was struggling against the oppressive exploitation of the capitalist class, he was thinking about "us capitalists," with no word of sympathy for the workers. But now, Rockefeller has two-thirds of the railroad mileage in the country according to the "financial journals" which never lie—against themselves—and in the language of the card game, he is going to kick out his partners and the "widow" and go it alone. The editor of the A. S. is hoping that John D. will get "enchained."

The financial journals have published the statement that the Standard Oil interest is now openly recognized in the management of 131,530 miles of the railroads of this country, or over two-thirds of the mileage. Is not it about time the government took a hand in the affairs of railroads for the public safety? Government ownership in this country may not be the wisest solution, but it would certainly be to the interest of the people to have a voice. Something is coming to this country to awaken it and it is coming steadily if not rapidly. Public utilities in the hands of close corporations are some day to see their finish.

It might seem that ground rent is merely a form of distribution, because property in land as such is not fulfilling any, or at least not any normal, function in the process of production itself. But the fact that rent, in the first place, is limited to the surplus above the average profit, and that in the second place, the land owner has been reduced from the position of a ruler and controller of the process of production, and of the entire social life process, to that of a mere land shark and receiver of rent, is a specific result of the capitalist mode of production.

FRANK RICHTER.

GERMAN TURNERS FOR SOCIALISM.

The district committee of the German turning societies of Chicago, at its session of Feb. 27, adopted the following resolution, acting on the suggestion of some members that the societies should state their position in the present spring campaign:

The clubs of this district are hereby informed that former conventions of the societies adopted resolutions relating to a municipalization of street car lines and declaring in favor of the principle. Considering that the spring campaign is on and this question has become an issue, the clubs are earnestly urged to vote the Socialist ticket.

THE SECOND, THIRD AND FOURTH VOLUMES OF MARX'S "CAPITAL."

BY ERNEST UTERMANN.

PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION

(Continued from last week.)

Before we take up the prize question in Marxian economics, let us grasp clearly the relative significance of production and distribution in the exploitation of the proletariat. We have seen, from foregoing quotations that production is regarded by Marx and Engels as the fundamental activity, distribution as the incidental one. Both Marx and Engels, whenever they speak of the entire process of social labor, from the raw material to the finished product in the hands of the consumer, look upon it from the standpoint of production. But whenever they go into details, they make a distinction between production proper and distribution. Corresponding to this method, Marx first analyzes the general and typical form in which exploitation appears under the capitalist system, and finds that it consists of the appropriation of surplus value, from unpaid labor, by the capitalists in the process of production proper.

But at the same time, Marx and Engels also analyze the role of distribution in the general social labor process and find that, through the circulation of commodities, surplus value is transformed into three concrete forms, viz., profit, rent and interest. These three forms are likewise means of exploitation, accessories to the fundamental exploitation through capitalist appropriation of surplus values in production proper.

SAYS MARX-ENGELS IN "CAPITAL."

Volume III, Part II, Section VII, chapter 48, III. "The transformation of surplus value into profit is a much conditioned process of circulation as on the process of production." And in chapter 51 of the same part and section of Volume III, we read: "The scientific analysis of the capitalist mode of production proves that it is a peculiar mode of production, conditioned on specific historical premises; that it, like every other specific mode of production, presupposes a definite stage in the development of the productive forces of society and of their form, namely, the historical condition of their existence. This condition is in its turn the historical result and product of a previous process, which is the new mode of production used as a basic starting point. This specific, historically determined, mode of production has a specific, historical and transient character and corresponds to certain conditions of production which men enter into in the course of their life processes, in the generation of their social existence. And finally, the conditions of distribution are essentially identical with these conditions of production; they are the reverse side of the process, and both sides share in the transient character of the historical process."

And again, a few pages further along in the same chapter, we read: "A definite condition of distribution is merely the expression of a certain condition of production based on historical premises." The authors further discuss the character of profit, rent and interest, and say, in the same chapter: "Take, for instance, profit. This concrete form of surplus value is the prerequisite for the reproduction of the means of production by way of the capitalist mode of production. It is a condition dominating the process of reproduction, although the individual capitalist may think that he could consume his entire profit and consider it as his revenue, if he wanted to. But he meets certain obstacles, in the form of insurance, reserve funds, laws of competition, etc., which furnish him with the practical proof that profit is not merely a part in the distribution of the individual capitalist revenue. The entire process of capitalist production is further conditioned by the production of the commodities. But these regulating prices are in their turn regulated by the equalization of the rate of profit and by the corresponding distribution of capital into the various channels of social production. Profit here appears as the main factor, not in the distribution of commodities, but in production itself, as a part in the distribution of the various capitals and of labor itself in the different spheres of social production. The division of profit into commercial profit and interest appears as the distribution of the same revenue. But this division arises primarily from the development of capital in the form of a value which makes use of itself for the production of surplus value, and it is due to the domination of this form in the process of social production. The division of profit develops out of itself credit and credit institutions, and thus at the same time the capitalist form of production. In interest, etc., the assumed form of distribution enter into the prices of commodities as factors determining production."

"It might seem that ground rent is merely a form of distribution, because property in land as such is not fulfilling any, or at least not any normal, function in the process of production itself. But the fact that rent, in the first place, is limited to the surplus above the average profit, and that in the second place, the land owner has been reduced from the position of a ruler and controller of the process of production, and of the entire social life process, to that of a mere land shark and receiver of rent, is a specific result of the capitalist mode of production."

The so-called conditions of distribution, therefore, correspond to and arise out of definite historical conditions of the specific social forms of the process of production and of those relations into which men enter in the reproduction of human life. The historical character of these conditions of distribution is the historical character of the conditions of production, and each one of them merely expresses one side of the productive process."

It is quite evident from the foregoing that both production and distribution enter into the question of the exploitation of the proletariat, the one creating the surplus value, the other transforming surplus value into profit, rent and interest, and the requirements of reproduction necessitating the division of profit into commercial profit, interest and funds for the reproduction of capital.

In his "ANTI-DUEHRING," Engels takes the Germana university Socialist, Duehring, to task for his muddled ideas about surplus value, profit, rent, interest, etc., and shows that the professor confounds surplus value with profit, or indiscriminately jumbles any and all these concrete forms of capitalist exploitation and appropriation together. Incidentally he says: "Marx does not claim that the surplus product is under all circumstances sold at its full value to the industrial capitalist who is the first to appropriate it. Marx says explicitly that the trader's profit is likewise a part of sur-

plus value, and this is only possible under the prevailing circumstances on the assumption that the manufacturer sells his product to the dealer below its value and thus yields up a part of his body. The surplus product itself has no cost of production at all, according to Marx, for it is that part of the product which does not cost the capitalist anything. Therefore, if the 'commuting' manufacturers wanted to utilize the surplus product at its cost of production, they would have to give it away for nothing. But it is a well-known fact that in the society in which we are living the competing manufacturers do not utilize their surplus product at its natural cost of production. Instead they add the profit which they assume to be additional and which they, as a rule, manage to get."

Engels then quotes the German professor, quoting various passages from the ridiculous work of Duehring and exposing the inability of this would-be economist to demonstrate how the competing manufacturers manage to utilize the products of labor at a price exceeding their natural cost of production, telling him that "nothing comes from nothing, least of all profit."

Now this problem, the differentiation of surplus value and profit, and the different genesis of the latter, has puzzled even some Socialists. And not alone the mere manipulators of a few Marxian formulas have had difficulties in distinguishing between profit and surplus value, but also men who claimed to be teachers of scientific Socialism and aspired to the role of authoritative exponents of Marxian economics.

IN HIS "SKEECH ON FREE TRADE."

Marx says that "economists always take the price of labor at the moment of its exchange with other commodities, and altogether ignore the moment at which labor accomplishes its own exchange with capital." "The impossibility of scientific Socialism," for instance Comrade Robert Rives La Monte, in this issue of the Chicago Socialist, make the opposite mistake. They always take surplus value to be the only form of exploitation, and altogether ignore the fact that surplus value is transformed, by the circulation of commodities, into profit, rent and interest, and that these forms again become means of exploitation in addition to the fundamental exploitation in production in the capitalist mode of production.

Comrade La Monte claims in his letter this week that Marx, in Volume I of his "CAPITAL," had shown that surplus value could not be created by circulation. That is true, indeed. But Marx has done more. Let Marx speak for himself. In "CAPITAL," Volume I, Chapter V, he says: "We have shown that surplus value cannot be created by circulation, and, therefore, that in its formation, something must take place in the background, which is not apparent in the circulation itself. It is impossible for capital to be produced by circulation, and it is equally impossible for it to originate apart from circulation. It must have its origin both in circulation and yet not in circulation. Our friend Moneybags, who is as yet only an embryo capitalist, must buy his commodities at their value, and yet at the end of the process must withdraw more value from circulation than he threw into it at starting. His development into a full-grown capitalist must take place both within the sphere of circulation and without it. These are the conditions of the problem."

Comrade La Monte has evidently read this passage in vain. He has not grasped the conditions of the problem and much less gotten anywhere near its solution. And there are others, as we shall presently see, who would have been considered wise so long as they kept their mouths shut, but who spoke just in time to show that they had not scratched more than the surface of Marxian economics.

(To be continued.)

STATE COMMITTEE.

At the last meeting of the State Executive Committee the following members were present: Jno. McGill, Peter Miller, A. M. Simons, H. P. Newman, Wm. Lewin, Walter Huggins, M. Persson, J. S. Smith, A. W. Mance and Chas. Erickson. Absent, with excuse, Thos. J. Morgan and Jos. A. Ambroz. Without excuse, Chas. W. Kuen, A. Kracht, Theo. J. Vind, A. A. Wigens and Dan Donahue.

A. W. Mance elected chairman. Request of Comrade E. E. Carr, of Danville, for indorsement as National Organizer and lecturer was granted.

Charters for the following new locals were approved: Finnish Branch of DeKalb, Litchfield and Griggsville. Financial report of State Secretary for the months of January and February was received and ordered published.

Comrade Seymour Stedman was requested to look after the committee's interests in the Antoft will matter.

The secretary was instructed to draft resolutions to be sent to all unions, asking them to indorse bills introduced in the State Legislature by Comrades Ambroz and Olson.

On account of pressure of work in connection with the primaries and ward and city conventions, the Cook County Secretary was unable to send out the blanks for the nominations for candidates for National Committeeman and the draft for State Constitution, and upon his request the time limit within which same must be in has been extended to April 1, and every local or branch which has not yet acted upon either may do so now.

You can not vote next April unless you are registered in the precinct where you now live. Register next TUESDAY, MARCH 14th.

He who doubts that a tidal wave of Socialistic thought and legislation has set in is either ignorant or what Socialism is or else blind and deaf to the signs and sounds of the time. If the issue is to be joined only between Socialism and plutocracy, there are few who are opposed to both but will be found fighting on the side of Socialism.—From "The Public," the organ of the single taxers.

CORRESPONDENCE.

608 East 9th St. Kansas City, Mo., March 4, 1905. Editor Chicago Socialist:

Dear Comrades—I do not know whether to weep or swear at the spectacle of Comrade Ernest Utermann, in this day's issue of your paper, giving aid and comfort to the middleclass whose domination of our party organization, seems, if unchecked, likely to prove fatal to the indomitable Socialist movement.

I am not shocked when I hear the reverend author of our Utopian idea-of-liberty platform talking in his agitation speeches about the workers being "robbed at both ends," "caught coming and going," etc., but to find a Marxian student like Comrade Utermann backing up this rot—pernicious rot—with the weight of his authority enables me at last to enter fully into Caspar's feelings when he said, "Et tu, Brute!"

And where does Comrade Utermann go for authority to support his double-barreled production and consumption, Appeal to Reason-Herron, petit-bourgeois, reform theory of exploitation? To the Communist Manifesto, a work that was written twelve years before the "Critique of Political Economy," and twenty years before the first volume of "Capital." The Communist Manifesto is a splendid statement of the materialist conception of history, and of the class struggle theory of social development, but Engels himself points out in the preface to the last edition of "Wage-Labor and Capital" that at that era Marxian economics were as yet undeveloped.

Let us try to avoid confusion, and as Socialists see just "where we are at." The fifth chapter of "Capital" is a conclusive demonstration that the circulation of commodities cannot give birth to surplus value. Either this proposition is true or it is false. If it is true, to talk about the "proletarian" being "exploited as a producer and as a consumer" is to be either a knave or a fool. If it is false, then the whole structure of Marxian economics tumbles to the ground.

What Herron, Utermann and others refer to when they talk about "exploitation in consumption" has already been ridiculed by Marx and all the revolutionary economists in estimating the "value of labor power." Surplus value is simply the difference between the value of labor power and the value that labor produces. All the items that make up what Utermann et al call "exploitation in consumption" have already been taken into consideration in estimating the value of labor power, i. e., in determining wages, which always tends to equal the value of labor power. It is true, they oscillate above and below it, but those oscillations are determined, as Marx tells us, by the ratio of the reserve to the active army of labor. Now, if all these items have been figured once in estimating the rate of surplus value and the degree of the exploitation of labor power, is it not either the most hopeless muddleheadedness, or else the most malicious fabrication to figure them in a second time as "exploitation in consumption?"

There may be danger in dogmatism, but a dogma that is well established is a good safe thing to be to. And just at this time American Socialists cannot do better than to plant their feet on a sure only one place, the worker can be robbed, and that is at the factory door.

That, believed, makes a man a revolutionist, who will no longer take any interest in any reform that merely aims at mitigating "exploitation in consumption," while leaving the robbery at the factory door unopened.

What the Socialist movement in America most needs to-day is concentration of its revolutionary energy upon the robbery of the workers at the factory door. Fool talk about exploitation in consumption simply encourages every middle-class reformer and devotee of wild "schemes" in and out of the party.

That of the party in following the Herron platform, almost without and the protest, long since made me feel that I was out of my place in the Socialist party, but I have hesitated to break the bonds of comradeship. To Comrade Utermann I can say, "Almost too proud to be an S. L. P." If muddleheaded confusionism, giving direct encouragement to middle-class reform elements within the party, is to be the teaching of our most learned Marxian, the path of true revolutionists would appear to be painfully plain. Fraternally, ROBERT RIVES LA MONTE.

In reply to the above statements of Comrade La Monte, which I had the pleasure of reading before they went into print, thanks to the courtesy of Comrade Mance, I wish to say that I do not care to discuss any personalities. So far as Comrade La Monte's letter deals with Marxian economics, I prefer to let Marx speak for himself, in the following installments of my articles, as I have in the preceding ones. The purpose of these articles is to stimulate all comrades, whether impossibilist, opportunist, or any other tendency of Socialists, to a closer study of Marx. No one can claim to understand Marxian economics fully, until he has studied the complete Marxian theory, as presented in the three first volumes of "Capital." This applies to Comrade La Monte as well as to all others who may take issue with me on any of the points which I shall discuss in this series. A single glance at these articles is sufficient to convince anyone with the least capacity for logical thinking that I am not relying for my position on the "Communist Manifesto," but that I give the floor throughout my discussion to both Marx and Engels as they appear to me in all their main works.

Any attempt to enlist me in any controversy on either the impossibilist or opportunist side will fail. I do not belong to either wing, for none of them is in keeping with Marxian economics and politics. These two wings represent un-sound and immature extremes of scientific Socialism. Comrade La Monte's wall that I shall drive him into the Socialist Labor party if I do not interpret Marx according to his preconceived notions is a typical illustration of this immaturity. I shall not hold him, if he wants to go. But I advise him to read the recent issues of the "Weekly People," before he knocks at the door of the S. L. P. Unless he does that, he may wish to hold back into the S. L. P., for he will discover that Comrade De Leon is a critic of the editor of the "Worker" on the same score which I have made against the idea of exclusive exploitation in production. I wish to have it understood that sound Marxian politics and tactics require the unification of all Socialists, in accordance with the recent resolution of the International Congress of Amsterdam, and I shall bend all my energies toward this end. I for one am not afraid that the Socialist movement will be wrecked, merely because I may succeed in dominating it with my ideas. I hold that the economic development furnishes the proof of the soundness or unsoundness of any position or that of others.

and will decide the fate of the Socialist party. As for my interpretation of Marx, let my past, present and future work speak for itself. ERNEST UTERMANN.

SOCIALISTS ON IMPORTANT COMMITTEES.

Comrades Ambroz and Olson, the Socialist members of the Illinois Legislature, were appointed, or following important committees: Manufacturing, Labor, Mines and Mining and Parks and Boulevards. Comrade Ambroz is on the Committee on Labor and Parks and Boulevards, and Comrade Olson on the Committee on Manufacturing and Mines and Mining. These are important committees and most of the legislation referred to them is of special interest to the working class. Our comrades may be depended on to do all within their power to further the interest of the class the Socialist party represents.

The Socialists at Springfield will introduce a bill in the Illinois Legislature limiting night work in certain occupations to eight hours.

It now looks as though manifest destiny was about to move on Santo Domingo. We need more markets for our export trade and more territory for our capitalists to exploit.

\$200—CUNNEY HAT CO.—\$300 Spring styles now ready. Union comrades should go to this store for their headwear. 97 East Madison St., northwest corner Dearborn Street.

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THE DAWN OF THE
SOCIAL REVOLUTION?

Are we gradually drifting into the
raptures of Social Revolution? It is very
difficult to say. But there are many
signs and portents which seem to be-
token that we are approaching a period
beside which all the upheavals of 1848
will seem child's play.
Only those who lived through the latter
half of the past century and ob-
served carefully what was going on
around them have any idea of the extent
to which Russia has acted as the main-
stay of reaction throughout Europe
for more than 50 years. During two
whole generations, I pointed out clearly
in my speech at Queen's Hall,
Russia has been the upholder of despotism,
not only in Germany and Austria,
but in Italy and the smaller countries;
while it is difficult to overestimate
the influence which the Muscovite
alliance has had in restraining progress
in the French Republic. Even England
has not been exempt from some pressure
from the same quarter, and those who
read through the dispatches of successive
Foreign Secretaries will be amazed
at the tone, almost of servility, which
permeates the most of them when dealing
with the Czar. Mr. Brodric's last ef-
ficient among the mass of our fellow
citizens as it is today, and after this
long period of somnolence, England at
last wakes up, and our bourgeoisie will
begin to act as it did from 1835 to 1842.
"Ye English, like the Romans in many
things, are most like them in ignorance
of your own history." Depend upon it,
should the working classes of this island
set up to their economic development
and political opportunities, that history
would give us the indisputable criterion
of the middle class magnanimity and
philanthropy.

Therefore, would we should lose no
chance of making the most of the powers
our fathers obtained for us in a
peaceful and orderly fashion, do not let
us be under any delusion that, as class
autonomism gets more acute and social
revolution becomes inevitable, the minor-
ity will accept the decision of the ballot
box in favor of the majority without a
fight. Nor let us take it for granted
that, with the great and growing dan-
gers around us, time will be given to al-
low the apathetic toilers of this country
to use their votes with effect. For this
reason, as well as other reasons, it is
our duty to neglect no opportunity, now
that we have a nucleus of Social Demo-
crats in almost every town, of adjuring
our troops not under any circumstances
whatever to fire upon their relatives.
That seems to me the most important
lesson for us to be learned from the Czar's
hideous butchery of a fortnight or so
ago. Nobody expected that ghastly in-
cident to remember, and it is the one
needed which always happens in revolu-
tionary times—H. M. Hyndman in Lon-
don Justice.

THE MARCH INTERNATIONAL.
The March number of the Interna-
tional Socialist Review opens with an
article by Ernest Estermann, which is
a distinct contribution to Socialist
thought on a side that has been ne-
glected, while at the same time it is
written in easy, popular style. His
subject is "The Evolution of the Theo-
ry of Evolution." The article dis-
cusses the foundation principles of
the materialistic conception of history
in a related part.

The same number contains a trans-
lation by Charles H. Kerr of a recent
paper by Paul Lafargue entitled "The
Woman Question." Lafargue's way
of putting things is always fresh and
strong, and in this article he tells the
unvarnished truth about the history
of womanhood in a startling fashion.
The article should make a Socialist
out of every suffragist who reads it.
Peter E. Burrows treats of "The
Religion of Science and the Science of
Religion." In his usual original and
striking style. There are articles on
the miners' strike in Germany and
Socialist unity in France, and an edi-
torial on the real situation in Russia
in the light of information from So-
cialist sources.

BOOKS RECEIVED.
"The White Terror and the Red" is
the title of a new novel by A. Cahan,
author of "The Imported Bridegroom."
The book is published by Barnes & Co.,
New York. It is bound in cloth, con-
tains 43 chapters and 430 pages, and
is printed on good paper. This book
should prove most interesting reading
at this time. An advance notice in
"The Bookman" says:
"Mr. Cahan's inside knowledge of
the nihilistic conspiracies, his ac-
quaintance at first hand with the
scenes and the victims of the riots,
and his literary grasp on character, all
are evident in 'The White Terror and
the Red.' It is a novel of the most sen-
sational episodes treated with absolute
realism. The assassination of Alexan-
der II, for example, is handled as if
an eye-witness, for, in addition to his
intimate knowledge of the leaders of
the movement, Mr. Cahan has one of
the most valuable collections of 'under-
ground literature.' The novel gives
an accurate picture of Russia in the throes
of two terrorisms, the above-ground as
well as the underground Russia, the
Russian official, the Russian political
dreamer, the moujik the soldier, the
Jew, all exactly as they are."

We will review this book in a later
issue of the Chicago Socialist.

GRANITE CITY NOTES.
The Granite City comrades are ar-
ranging for a big meeting to be held at
Ford's Hall, Tuesday, March 14, at
8 p. m. Comrades Wm. Brandt, candi-
date (Socialist) for Mayor of St. Louis,
and G. A. Hahn, editor of St. Louis
Labor, will be the principal speakers
of the evening. All readers of the Chi-
cago Socialist are requested to be present
and bring their friends.
Some members of the Illinois legis-
lature want to curb the press and pun-
ish those who print funny pictures of
our infallible statesmen. In Russia
this is a part of the power of autocracy.
It would be the same here if
those in political power could have it
that way.

BUTCHERIES
OF PEACE.

(By W. J. Ghent, in Tom Watson's
Magazine, Author of "Our Renova-
lent Fendalism," "Mass and
Class.")

We hear much of the butchery of
war. Mr. Edward Atkinson and his
fellow-anti-militarists are always opul-
ent with statistics of casualties in
armed conflicts; and in their violent
denunciation of warfare are eagerly
joined by the various peace societies,
the Women's Christian Temperance
unions and such militant though epi-
taphal bodies as the Parker Costin-
tional Clubs. A prominent educator
has characterized the Civil War as the
Great Killing, and the popular imagi-
nation has been led to look upon it
as a carnival of almost unexampled
bloodshed. The militarism of gun and
sword is denounced as though it were
the greatest scourge of the race, and
its horrors are pictured in the most
 lurid colors.

The horrors of industrial militarism,
on the other hand, claim but scant
attention. Under our present civiliza-
tion, dominated by the ethics of the
trading class, they are, by the over-
whelming mass of the people, taken as
a matter of course. And yet the
fiercest and bloodiest of modern wars
—excepting alone the present Russo-
Japanese conflict—result in smaller
losses in deaths, maimings and the in-
fliction of mortal diseases than are
caused by the ordinary processes of
the capitalist system of industry. A
modern Milton might appropriately re-
mind us that:

If the Civil War is to be regarded
as the Great Killing, it must be so
regarded only in relation to other
wars; for in comparison with capi-
talist industry as it obtains in the
United States of America in this de-
cade, the Civil War can only rightly
be regarded as the Lesser Killing. It
lasted, moreover, for but four years;
while the killings and other casualties
of our industrial militarism go on
year after year in an ever-increasing
volume. And as the Civil War elimi-
nated the physically best of the race,
so does the present system of industry
eliminate the physically best. Only it
does not stop there, but takes also the
helpless and the weak.

Let us see what comparisons of casu-
alties can be made. According to the
figures in the Adjutant-General's office,
the fatalities in the Northern army
during the four years of the Civil War
(exclusive of deaths from disease) were
as follows:

Table with 2 columns: Category, Count.
Killed in battle: 67,038
Died of wounds: 43,912
Other causes: 40,154
Total: 151,104
Yearly average: 37,776

There were also 199,729 soldiers who
died of disease. There are no means
of comparing the number of these
fatalities with the fatalities from dis-
ease contracted in dangerous and un-
sanitary occupations. It is probable
that they do not approximate one-
tenth of the latter. But, since there
are no available figures for compar-
ison, they must be omitted from pres-
ent consideration.

The losses of the Confederates will
never be known. The records of their
armies were but imperfectly kept, and
such as were properly made were in
many instances lost or destroyed.
Even the strength of the Confederate
armies is a matter about which there
has been an increasing dispute between
Northern and Southern historians since
the Civil War. It is not to be doubted
that the Confederates suffered a
greater mortality relative to their num-
berical strength than did the Federals,
for they were employed to the last
available man on the firing line, where
as hundreds of thousands of Federals,
held as reserves or stationed as
guards, rarely saw the action of battle.

In certain engagements, moreover,
such as the battle of Chickamauga, the
Confederate losses far exceeded the
Federal losses. Assuming the purely
arbitrary figure of 65 per cent of the
Federal fatalities as representing the
fatalities of the Confederates (exclu-
sive of deaths from disease), we have
a total of 97,645, or a yearly average of
24,411. Adding the figures for both
sides we have an annual average of
62,112 fatalities occurring in a struggle
to the death, wherein every device,
every energy which men can employ
against one another for the destruction
of life were employed.

When we come to the statistics of
industrial fatalities, we find something
like the records of the Confederate
armies. The figures are notoriously,
condemnedly incomplete, and often so
much so as to be entirely misleading.
Even the tables of railroad accidents com-
piled by the Interstate Commerce
Commission are known to show totals far
below the actual casualties. A writer
in the New York Herald for December
4, 1904, has analyzed some of these
tables and pointed out their defects.
But, defective as they are, they fur-
nish an approximate basis for com-
parisons with some of the sanguinary
conflicts of the Civil War. The kill-
ings on interstate roads for the year
ended June 30, 1904, are reported at
9,084; the woundings at 78,247. The
State roads probably added about 975
killings and 7,500 woundings. To these
may be added the casualties on the
trolley lines, approximately 1,340 killed
and 52,160 wounded. We have thus

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Table with 2 columns: Location, Casualties.
Gettysburg: 27,293 Killed, 27,293 Wounded
Chickamauga: 25,324 Killed, 25,324 Wounded
Chancellorsville: 18,843 Killed, 18,843 Wounded
Losses in railroad accidents, 1904:
Interstate roads: 9,084 Killed, 78,247 Wounded
State roads: 975 Killed, 7,500 Wounded
Trolley lines: 1,340 Killed, 52,160 Wounded
Total: 12,230 Killed, 137,910 Wounded

The factories probably destroy more
lives than do the railroads. But the
figures are not obtainable. The statis-
tics of factory casualties given in Bul-
letin No. 83 of the census bureau are
ridiculous. Were the factories placed
under a Federal supervision law, and
were their owners compelled to report
accidents to the authorities, a vastly
different condition would be revealed.
For the coal mines, on the other hand,
we have something like authentic fig-
ures. The United States Geological
Survey reports the casualties in mining
for the year 1901 as 1,367 killed and
3,643 wounded. Except for the low
ratio of wounded to killed, this would
make a fair comparison with any one
of a number of important engin-
eering accidents during the Civil War. Pen-
sylvania alone furnished an industrial
Bull Run.

Table with 2 columns: Location, Casualties.
Battle of Bull Run, 1861:
Federals: 470 Killed, 1,071 Wounded
Confederates: 387 Killed, 1,582 Wounded
Total: 857 Killed, 2,653 Wounded
Pennsylvania coal mines, 1901:
Anthracite: 543 Killed, 1,243 Wounded
Bituminous: 391 Killed, 656 Wounded
Total: 934 Killed, 1,899 Wounded

When we pass from the record of
particular industries to the general
casualty record we are met by a mass
of unintelligible figures. Bulletin No.
82 gives the rate of fatal accidents in
the cities wherein registration is re-
quired as 100.3 in each 100,000 of popu-
lation. For the whole registration
record the rate is 96.3, on a basis of
80,000,000 population this would mean
a yearly loss of from 77,040 to 80,240
lives. Mr. Frederick L. Hoffman, of
the Prudential Insurance Company, in
a paper printed in Mr. Robert Hunter's
recent volume, "Poverty," estimates
the rate as between 80 and 85
per 100,000. This would mean from
64,000 to 68,000 killings. "If we say
that twenty-five are injured to every
one killed, and consider . . . the
fatal accident rate to be 80 in every
100,000, we have it that 1,600,000 per-
sons are annually killed or more or
less seriously injured in the United
States. If all minor accidents were
taken into consideration, it is probable
that the ratio of non-fatal accidents
to fatal accidents would be nearly 100
to 1." This would mean approximately
4,800,000 minor woundings every
year.

We cannot separate, on the basis of
present figures, the fatal accidents
which would be inevitable under any
form of society and those which are
consequent upon the present capitalist
system of production, with its brutal
indifference to life. We can only esti-
mate. We have, for instance, in the
census report, an entry of "burns and
scalds," but nothing about boiler ex-
plosions; we have a certain number of
deaths from drowning, but we are not
told whether they occurred in frightful
disasters like mine floods or the de-
struction of a General Slocum—for
which capitalist industry is solely re-
sponsible—or in accidents wherein the
individual's whim or caprice alone was
responsible. And finally we have an
appalling record of suicides; but in
how many of these business troubles
or other economic causes were the im-
pelling motives for self-destruction we
cannot tell.

What we do know is that the over-
whelming number of the fatalities that
all of us learn of, instance by in-
stance, are due to economic causes;
that railroads, factory and mining ac-
cidents are for the most part need-
less, and due almost entirely to the
brutal indifference of capital to the
lives of the workers, and that far the
greater number of suicides of which
we read or hear are of beings who
have been sent to death through eco-
nomic troubles. Under the benign
reign of capitalist industry we have
a yearly list of fatalities somewhere
between 64,000 and 80,240 and of seri-
ous maimings of 1,600,000, whereas
two great armies, employing all the
ingenuity of warfare, could succeed in
slaughtering only 62,112 human beings
yearly.

It is time we heard less of the
butchery of war; time we heard more
of the butchery of peace. And yet it
is doubtful if we shall hear a differ-
ent strain from those now most promi-
nent before the public as advocates of
peace. The advocacy of peace, in so
far as it emanates from the retainers
and other beneficiaries of the capitalist
class, is based not so much upon hu-
manitarian grounds as upon the
ground that the worker is serving a
more useful purpose when mangled in
the Holy War of Trade than when
slaughtered in armed conflict. It is
the waste of profits on human labor,
rather than the waste of life, that most
deeply affects them. They are not al-
ways conscious of this, because they
instinctively identify their moral no-
tions with the material interests of
the class they serve. But an uncon-
scious or subconscious motive may be
the most powerful of impulses to
speech and action. And thus there
is every reason to believe that we shall
continue to hear the horrors of war
most loudly denounced by the very
ones who keep most silent regarding
the horrors of industrial "peace."

The Chicago American says that
John W. Gates is a criminal for cor-
nering the May wheat, and thinks he
should be indicted. But it still sup-
ports and does all in its power to per-
petuate the system which produces
and makes the power of such men as
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THIRTY-THIRD THE BANNER WARD

An Analysis of the Vote and Some Comment—Amusing Incidents Occur.

By Chas. L. Breckon.

The holding of Socialist primaries in the city of Chicago has gone into history. March 4, 1905, the same day that President Roosevelt was inaugurated...

stronghold, managed to pull together but 20 per cent of their vote. Every one of our districts were named and the boys all got through with their work without any serious hitch...

The ranking of the wards is as follows: The 33d is first, 12th-second, 13th third, 10th fourth and the 27th fifth.

But all jokes aside, it was a jolly time that the headquarters have had in the several weeks last past, and the way the comrades have rallied to the Herculean task was something admirable and worthy of the greatest praise.

OFFICIAL PARTY NEWS.

The February issue of the monthly official bulletin will reach the State secretaries before March 10th.

Wilbur Putnam and Patrick O'Hare have been re-elected National committee men and State secretary respectively by the State of Louisiana.

The Executive Committee of the International Socialist Bureau announces the resignation of Victor Serwy, as secretary.

M. J. Hynes, of Hamilton, Ohio, on account of ill health, withdraws his name from the National speakers' list.

Comrade Guy E. Miller is meeting with success in his tour of the South. In Louisiana some meetings were interfered with by rain, but all the Texas meetings are good.

Comrade Robert Sattiel, National German organizer, will begin an extended tour of the Central and Eastern States early in April.

The amendment submitted by the German branch of Grand Rapids, Mich., recently reported, has been seconded by local Streater, Ill.

In the forthcoming February issue of the monthly official bulletin will appear correspondence in reference to the formation of a "Territorial Agitation Committee," in Indian Territory.

Ohio and New Jersey have elected the additional National committeemen to which they are entitled, under the new apportionment.

A motion to amend Comrade Hillquit's motion "to elect two party members as secretaries to the International Socialist Bureau," has been made by Comrade Trautmann, of Ohio.

Two Socialist papers are now published in the Finnish language, "Tyonules," Box 337, Hanesock, Michigan, and "Raitvaaja," 392 Main street, Fitchburg, Massachusetts.

The Socialists elected a school director, judge of elections and an inspector at Pottsville, Pa., the other day, and only missed landing several other offices by a narrow majority.

A Socialist elected as president of the graduating class of a great university. This is the news that comes from Wisconsin.

The Finns and the Japanese are carrying Socialism to the good old Yankee State of Massachusetts. At least, it looks that way when we read the Finnish Workingmen's society at its recent meeting in that State.

St. Louis is in the midst of a municipal election. The Socialist party is an official party, has its ticket in the field and is fighting a combination of Rep-Demo-Municipal Ownership nuss that looks very much, from this distance, like a twin brother to the Chicago aggregation.

The report of the New York State Committee shows that they received \$3,364.24 during the last six months, of which \$1,046.30 were for dues.

The New York comrades are also keeping up a lively agitation. Comrade Chase and Ivan A. White are touring the State and several other workers are making short agitation trips.

The Socialists of Burlington, N. J., are offering prizes to the graduates of the grammar and high schools of that city who will write the best essays on Socialism.

The Physician in the House by DR. GREEK Value \$2.00 The Rebels of the New South by WALTER MARION RAYMOND Value \$1.00

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That is something that every Socialist worker needs. Probably nearly every reader of this paper feels a somewhat complacent pity for the religious people who limit their reading to one book and consequently do not understand that. But such narrowness is not limited to religious people.

There are over a thousand American Socialists who realize the vital importance of obtaining for themselves and placing within the reach of others a variety of the writings of the ablest writers in the international Socialist movement.

- ALLMAN—God's Children: A Modern Allegory. By James Allman. \$0.50
ALLEN—The Student's Marx: An Introduction to the Study of Karl Marx's Capital. By Edward Aveling. D. Sc. \$1.00

- ENGELS—The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844. With Preface written in 1892. By Frederick Engels. Translated by Charles Kellay Wischniewsky. \$1.25
ENGELS—The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State. By Frederick Engels. Translated by Ernest Untermann. \$1.00

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- ENGELS—The Social Revolution. By Karl Kautsky. Translated by M. and May Wood Simons. \$1.00
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Walter Thomas Mills, A. M. Teaches Socialism By Correspondence

Table with 10 columns: WARD, 1-10, and 10 columns: DISTRICTS, 1-10. Lists vote counts for various wards and districts.

and he did not know what to say. Well, there was an awful hurry call at the last moment, and last Saturday 212 bundles of supplies found themselves under the arms of 212 sturdy Socialists...

COOK COUNTY. CHAS. L. BRECKON, Secretary, 183 Randolph St. SECRETARY'S REPORT.

Second Ward—2018 Cottage Grove avenue, 8 p. m., Sunday, March 11. Speaker, Barney Berlin.

Third Ward—3245 State street, 8 p. m., Sunday, March 12. Speaker, J. R. Smiley.

HALL MEETINGS. Second Ward—2018 Cottage Grove avenue, 8 p. m., Sunday, March 11. Speaker, Barney Berlin.

It has been decided that all book-ings for speakers will be made from this office, and it is desired that speakers will make no dates except those made in this office.

Second Ward—2018 Cottage Grove avenue, 8 p. m., Sunday, March 11. Speaker, Barney Berlin.

Third Ward—3245 State street, 8 p. m., Sunday, March 12. Speaker, J. R. Smiley.

Fourth Ward—256 West Chicago avenue, Sunday, March 12, at 2:30 p. m. Speaker, G. Y. Courtney, National Secretary.

It has been decided that all book-ings for speakers will be made from this office, and it is desired that speakers will make no dates except those made in this office.