

MISSOURI SOCIALIST.

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF ST. LOUIS.

Volume I.

St. Louis, Mo., Saturday, June 22, 1901.

Number 25.

Show Your Books

Who Supplied the Funds for Meriwether's Campaign?

The Public Ownership Party Challenged to Prove Its Purity---Serious Charges Not Denied.

Stung by the revelations made by A. J. Lawrence as to the inner workings of the Public Ownership Party, the managers of that organization attempted a weak defense last week in the form of a letter from Mr. Swearngin, Chairman of their Seventeenth Ward Club. The letter, which is apparently inspired by the powers that be of the P. O. P., appeared in the Public Ownership Leader and is as follows:

To the Editor of The Leader:

I have just read the account of a Mr. A. J. Lawrence, published in a paper subsidized by the Transit Company to attack the Public Ownership Party. To one who knows the aspirations of Mr. Lawrence as I do, his letter sounds pathetic. It is needless to go into detail and point out his exaggerations, but I am ready to make oath that I was not instructed at any time before or during the convention to cast the vote of the Seventeenth Ward for Mr. Meriwether. Mr. Lawrence refers to the City Central Committee as "creatures of the Executive Committee," and says they are chosen for their weakness. Speaking for myself, I may be weaker than I would like to be, mentally, but I am by no means a traitor. I never gave a Judas kiss in my life, nor am I a coward, who flees in the face of a defeat. I am in the Public Ownership Party to give it zealous support till it wins throughout the city and State. It has been wisely said that a drowning man will clutch at a straw. Mr. Lawrence is clutching now at the Social Democratic Star.

JOHN SWEARNGIN,
Chairman Seventeenth Ward,
St. Louis, June 4.

The intimation that Missouri Socialist is subsidized by the Transit Company would make the gods laugh, and is the height of absurdity when it is observed that our memorial issue on the Washington avenue massacre appeared simultaneously with the issue of the Leader containing Mr. Swearngin's letter. If it were only Mr. Swearngin's own thoughtless utterances we would not consider them worthy of serious attention, but as it appears that men high in the P. O. P. had a hand in framing the letter we will make a proposition that may jar them a bit. Missouri Socialist is supported by the hard-working, self-sacrificing Socialists of St. Louis, by men who earn their bread by the sweat of their brow, and to whom it means much to part with the quarters, dimes and dollars they give to the cause they love. We are able to show where every cent comes from to pay the expense of publishing this paper, as well as for conducting the recent campaign. We are proud of the source of income of our movement, because every cent given is a token of the love that good and true men bear the principles they advocate. But whence came the enormous sums of money used in the Public Ownership Party's campaign? Who paid for the vast quantities of literature distributed, for the expense of holding so many hall meetings, etc.? Was it not the interest of certain parties to keep Mr. Meriwether in the field? Is it possible that the party of thirty thousand voters which could only raise a few hundred dollars for a contest, raised the great sum necessary to carry on such an extensive campaign by voluntary contributions from its rank and file? If it did not, then WHO PAID THE BILLS? If everything is honest and straightforward in the Public Ownership Party its Executive Committee ought to be glad to furnish this information.

We make this proposition to the Public Ownership Party.

The books of Missouri Socialist are open for inspection, as are also the books of our Central Committee. We are willing to allow an impartial committee to examine them and ascertain where every cent came from and for what it was expended, and we defy Mr. Meriwether to point out an expenditure by the party of this paper which we cannot show to have been paid for by Socialists. Will the Public Ownership Party and the Public Ownership Leader make the same offer? Will they show an impartial committee where their money came from, and how it was expended? Will they show their books? Will they show how all their expenses were met? Will they lend all necessary assistance to such a committee to enable it to ascertain whether the P. O. P. or its leaders have received a boost from Republican sources? We make this challenge, but we hardly expect it to be accepted, as there have already been disclosed about that party more "queer" things than are conducive to the ease of mind of its bosses, and they will probably not care to risk another dose.

Mr. Swearngin states that he is willing to make oath that he was not instructed to cast the vote of the Seventeenth Ward for Meriwether.

Judging by the action of "Cap" Troll of the P. O. P., who made an affidavit promising to oppose giving away fran-

chises, etc., if elected and then when elected to the House of Delegates introduced a bill to grant a franchise for a railway around Forest Park, we should say that affidavits are at a discount in the Public Ownership Party and Mr. Swearngin need not bother about making one.

Whether he received his instructions in plain words or not is of course known only to Mr. Swearngin and his instructors, but we can judge by his actions as to whether he was attached to a string. The fact remains that he secured the delegates and alternates from lists received from the Executive Committee, that these delegates were not elected, but appointed that Swearngin gave the delegates he secured to understand that Meriwether was to be the nominee, and that he insisted on all of them signing a pledge to vote for Meriwether at the convention. When one of the proposed delegates objected at first to signing the pledge Mr. Swearngin said to Mr. Lawrence: "I don't believe I'll put him on the delegation, I am afraid of him."

The fact that the pledge was used, and it has never been denied, is sufficient evidence that the nomination of Meriwether was "fixed."

Mr. Swearngin makes a very feeble defense even with the assistance of men at the head of his party. He does not touch upon the many points presented by Mr. Lawrence. Perhaps Mr. Meriwether or Mr. Kowalski will now favor us with an explanation. We have set forth facts they have not denied, and they have replied by insinuating that Missouri Socialist is subsidized by a corporation. We offer them an opportunity to determine the truth or falsity of their statements and challenge them to throw open their books to an investigating committee. Will they accept?

Mother Jones' Visit.

Although nearly two thousand tickets had been sold for the memorial exercises at the Masonic Odeon, last Sunday afternoon, the warm weather reduced the attendance very much. Mother Jones was the speaker of the occasion and she delivered a magnificent address. Comrades Brandt and Greenbaum also spoke. Copies of the memorial edition of Missouri Socialist had been ordered by the C. T. and L. U., and were distributed to all present. They were read with much interest while the audience waited for the exercises to begin.

Tuesday night Mother Jones addressed a meeting of the striking clay miners at Shaw avenue and Cooper street. The hall was packed, fully five hundred people being present. Mother Jones made a fiery address and kept the audience in a roar of applause. She advised them to vote the straight Socialist ticket, and this sentiment was loudly cheered. A bundle of twenty-five Merrie Englands were quickly sold at the close of the meeting, and dozens of hands reached out to buy the last copy. Comrade Kreyling, secretary of the C. T. and L. U. spoke after Mother Jones and made a strong Socialist speech. It is quite evident from the way the speakers were received that there is plenty of Socialist sentiment in this vicinity.

Wednesday night a number of comrades accompanied Mother Jones to Belleville, where she addressed a big meeting at the Opera-house. The St. Louis boys were delighted to make the acquaintance of Mother Jones and her stay among us will not be soon forgotten.

The N. E. C. on Municipal Ownership.

Local San Diego, Cal., submitted to the National Executive Committee a question as to the party's attitude on "Municipal Ownership," and received the following reply:

Springfield, Mass., May 28, 1901.

Edgar B. Helplingstine, Secretary.

San Diego, Cal.

Dear Comrade—Your favor of the 13th referring to the attitude of the Social Democratic Party on public ownership and on municipal ownership received and given due consideration before framing this reply.

Regarding the question as to the consistency of Socialists opposing the public ownership of public utilities will state that those who do are inconsistent with the principles of Socialism, and equally so are those Socialists who favor municipal ownership inconsistent with our principles.

If you will refer to our demands in our platform, you will see that it clearly states to acquire the public ownership of all the public utilities, and we are therefore logical when advocating public ownership.

By public ownership I do not mean

municipal ownership, which is quite a different thing. Municipal ownership defined means the ownership of any public utility by the municipality and it is run according to capitalistic methods and generally for a profit, while public ownership would mean the ownership by the people and to be run by the people and for the people at cost.

Municipal ownership is reactionary because it allows the middle and capitalist class an opening whereby they can prolong their existence as such, because it gives them the opportunity of investing their money in bonds, which must be issued in order to acquire the municipal ownership of the utility. A large debt would therefore be "saddled upon the municipality which would never be paid (only the interest thereon), and that is just what the above mentioned classes want, something in which they can invest their money which will pay them interest; for they are fast realizing that to engage in business is not near so sure and much more bothersome than to hold water, or any other kind of government bonds.

As Socialists we should explain the difference between public ownership and municipal ownership and show the workers that only when we have the co-operative commonwealth can they expect any relief from their slavery.

The municipal ownership of public utilities, if carried out to its logical conclusion, will land us into State Socialism, which we do not want, while the public ownership of the public utilities will lead us into democratic Socialism, the only kind we want. Hoping this explanation will clear the matter before you, I remain yours fraternally.

W. R. BUTSCHER,
National Secretary.

The Allied Third Party

Socialists Not in the Get-Together Arrangement at K. C.

The daily press is heralding the third party conference held in Kansas City this week as a combination of Public Ownership men, Populists, Free Silver Republicans, Single Taxers, Socialists and Bryan Democrats, but the Socialists of Missouri want it distinctly understood that they have no part or parcel in the Kansas City conference. It is reported that one Socialist, T. E. Palmer of Jasper County, was present and took part in the deliberations, Mr. Palmer, so far as we can learn, is not connected with any branch of the Social Democratic Party and certainly does not represent anyone but himself. The six thousand Socialists who voted the Social Democratic ticket last November have no interest in the Allied Third Party and will be found at the next election true to the uncompromising policy of the Socialist movement.

The Allied Third Party is the result of the Public Ownership Party's efforts to extend its organization into the State. As Meriwether had no following outside of St. Louis, he had to call to his aid the Populists, Reformers, et cetera of the country districts.

But it is not probable that Mr. Meriwether will gain any considerable strength in the State, and as his supporters in this city are rapidly deserting him he will cut a very sorry figure in the next election. The Socialist Party will be the third party in the next election unless all signs fail, and it will not be so many, many years until it will be second, and then in quick succession the first and most powerful in the State.

The platform adopted by the Allied Third Party is not even as strong as the Populist platform. It stops at Public Ownership of Public Utilities, omits the imperative mandate and denounces police interference with elections while it does not say a word about their interference in strikes, and to the Allied Third Party such a thing as organized labor seems to be unknown. It is a misfit platform constructed for office-seekers, and not with any idea of benefiting the laboring class. The poor old Pops and Single Taxers, many of whom are sincere, though mistaken men, seem destined to a brief chase after another will-o'-the-wisp.

The platform of the new party is published below for the inspection of our readers, who will find abundant instruction in comparing it with the Social Democratic platform on another page.

PLATFORM OF THE ALLIED THIRD PARTY.

"Public ownership of all public utilities, as railroads, telegraphs, etc.

While awaiting the legislation necessary to secure public ownership, rigid control of freight and passenger rates and severe penalties for rebates and other discriminations by railroads.

Taxation of railroads and other public utility corporations in the same proportion as the value of farms and other property.

Direct legislation by the initiative and referendum, to the end that the people may initiate good legislation and veto bad legislation.

A graduated income tax, to the end that wealth which receives Government protection shall bear its just share of the cost of Government.

That whatever is used as money shall be full legal tender, issued by the general Government in sufficient volume for business purposes, and that volume fixed in proportion to population.

Just election laws throughout the State.

Home rule for cities and abolition of the present system of using the police as a standing army to carry primary elections in the interest of dishonest

politicians representing still more dishonest special privilege corporations.

Election of United States Senators by popular vote.

Proposed Capitalist Boycott.

That there is a motive in the continuous publication of false and malicious statements by the daily press against Comrade George D. Herron must be apparent to even the most unsophisticated. That the motive is a dastardly one and worthy of its source is becoming plainer every day. The people who are carrying on this unjust and wicked crusade are not of those who could invite an investigation into their own private affairs with impunity, and their posing before the world as the conservators of public morals is as hypocritical and inconsistent as are all the pretensions of the corrupt and servile defenders and beneficiaries of the present system.

The most striking feature of the whole affair is the manifestation of the close alliance existing between the various newspapers and magazines, which apparently differ in interests, views and methods upon other occasions. We see the Journal, yellowest of yellow journals, a Democratic, deceitful renegade of "radicalism," working in harmony with the Sun, the bitterest and most conscienceless supporter of capitalism in the metropolis, notorious as a "scab" Republican sheet and defender of all that makes against progress for humanity. Then we have such weeklies as The Outlook, smug representative of all that is irreligious in the organized church of to-day, contributing its quota of misrepresentation and defamation. Along with these can be thrown in all the remainder of the hypocritical, falsifying enemies of progress that poison public opinion from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

The reason for this unanimity of action on the part of papers that otherwise appear to conflict in their political and theological views is not far to seek. We have before stated that the reason for it can be found in the fact that Comrade Herron has not only antagonized the organized church in its Christless attitude towards social problems and their solution, but because he has struck bold and deep at the foundation of social injustice, at the source from which the organized church draws its sustenance—the capitalist system of wage slavery. And in addition to that he has proclaimed the one alternative for the capitalist system—a Social Revolution that will culminate in the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Confirmation for this statement is found in an article in The Outlook itself. Commenting in the usual scurrilous upon Comrade Herron's marriage—a marriage morally and legally correct—it closes by saying:

"The only penalty which an offender can be made to feel is empty audience rooms and unmarketable books, and we trust that the American public will visit this penalty on Dr. Herron."

In those few words is laid bare the full animus of the attack upon Comrade Herron. It is not his supposed "sin" that frightens the slavish souls of his detractors, it is the message he brings in the written and spoken word that causes fear and alarm among the enemies of the exploited working class. If Comrade Herron could be ostracized by the public, if those he wishes to reach and rouse to a proper realization of the monstrous conditions existing to-day could be induced to turn away from him with eyes and ears closed to righteousness and reason, then his traducers would rest well satisfied.

But these sages know neither the time nor the people. Comrade Herron will be heard, and the people will listen because the time for him, and such as he, to speak and be heard is now. The people can no more be prevented from hearing the truth of Socialism than can the persecution of Comrade Herron prevent him from speaking it. And his vindication must as surely follow after as it is inevitable that Socialism will triumph against all the obstacles, great and small, that may be thrust in its pathway toward victory.

—THE WORKER.

Faces in the Street.

They lie, the men who tell us in a loud, decisive tone
That want is here a stranger and that misery is unknown;
For where the nearest suburb and the city proper meet
My window sill is level with the faces in the street—
Drifting past, drifting past,
To the heat of weary feet—
While I sorrow for the owners of those faces in the street.

And cause I have to sorrow, in a land so young and fair,
To see upon these faces stamped the look of Want and Care;
I look in vain for traces of the fresh and fair and sweet
In sorrow, sunken faces that are drifting through the street—
Drifting on, drifting on,
To the scrape of restless feet;
I can sorrow for the owners of the faces in the street.

—London Mail.

The Advance of San Francisco has changed its form to eight small pages instead of four large ones, and has the following remarks to make:

"Our enterprising contemporary, The Missouri Socialist, which is so ably edited by Comrade E. Val Putnam, announces that 'something is a-firm' in the way of putting it on 'a financial basis.' Shake, old man! Same here. A long life and a big circulation to you."

A Socialist's View of Religion and Churches.

BY TOM MANN.

The astounding anomaly of our time is the complete separation of religious principles from every-day industrial life. Spiritual pastors teach the young to regard God as the common Father; and when the young become of age to reflect upon the shameful inequalities created and maintained by our social system, they are discouraged by their elders from trying to alter it, and are treated as agitators and destroyers of the peace.

Honesty demands a frank statement that the so-called religious of our time are AFRAID TO APPLY THE PRINCIPLES OF JESUS.

They make a pretense of championing his cause; but in reality the Socialist agitator and the Trade Union organizer is doing far more than the preacher and the Christians, the Missionary Societies and the Bible Societies to make Christ's gospel prevail.

The churches are afraid of Socialism. Why? Because the wealthy in their congregations are anti-Socialists. If any say this is not so, then it will not be difficult to give an effectual reply by quoting instances where the minister has seen the light and dared to proclaim the truth, and where the men who "have great possessions" (relatively) have very soon taken their departure. I have heard of complaints from one or two such ministers that they not only lost the employer class by their boldness, but that they did not succeed in securing the adhesion of any counteracting proportion among the workers. There is less to be surprised at in this than some seem to think. The churches having gone astray worse than lost sheep, are not likely very easily to win back Democracy. Whether they will ever do it or not is an open question.

The clergyman is undoubtedly at a serious discount as an adviser. "Serve him right," say I. Nor will he ever redeem his position except by honest effort on behalf of Democracy. Not that Democracy will suffer materially if this is not done. The greatest trouble is past. Democracy is learning how to provide for itself, and never was the Democracy so truly religious as now. And it is gradually getting more so. This religious evolution will increase as the bad environment is altered on one side, and the ethical gospel is lifted up and followed truthfully on the other.

I know that many preachers contend that industrial and economic matters are nothing to them; theirs is a religious work, and men must be left to themselves to find out how to apply religious truths. "If they were to take sides, it would mean the break-up of the church," and so on. To endorse a religion apart from principles that are to guide our every-day behavior is monstrous. If one's religion does not compel one to take sides in favor of a righteous basis of society, the sooner it ceases to encumber the earth the better for all concerned. A minister who can't find time to make up his mind as to the direction in which he should travel on industrial and economic matters, will probably not find time to be of any practical use to the world, nor yet to the denomination to which he may belong. I am fully aware of the fact that by

DECLARING IN FAVOR OF SOCIALISM.

many who might have been disposed to consider the possibility of some mild action favorable to Democracy, now stand off. To such let me say: I have purposely avowed myself a Socialist here, so that those who read this may know what to expect from those on whose behalf I can speak. We do not want, and will not have a person's patronage, or goody-goody advice. If there is to be a rapprochement it can only be by the person getting off his high horse, stopping his goodyism, and meeting men and women frankly as such. If he doesn't, he'll get left high and dry for a certainty.

I am not here demanding that every person who is to be of use shall be an out-and-out Socialist right off. I am telling him that we workers who happen to be Socialists are adding largely to our numbers every month, that the whole trend of modern effort in our Trade Unions, Co-operative Societies, Town and County Councils, and Parliament is distinctly Socialistic, and if persons and ministers want to stop it, they had better refurbish their weapons. I can easily understand that some genuine men among the clergy will be disquieted by wondering whether the Socialists are coming round their way for a general sharing-out arrangement, and so they are slow to make a move. Such is the enlightenment that exists in these quarters. Let me hasten to reassure all such that if they are able to subscribe to the following mild statement of John Ruskin they need not be seriously alarmed:

"So far am I from invalidating the security of property, that the whole gist of my contention will be found to aim at an extension in this range, and whereas it has long been known and declared that the poor have no right to the property of the rich, I wish it also to be known and declared that the rich have no right to the property of the poor" ("Unto this Last").

That surely should be a self-evident proposition to the mind of a moralist, but it goes rather a long way, as it would mean nothing less than a right-

eous distribution of wealth. It is to be hoped that no preacher will ask what business is this to him. Surely "Thou shalt not steal" is emphatic enough, and when we add Carlyle's trifle to it, "Thou shalt not be stolen from," it gains a little in clearness. The church will doubtless concern itself in a few generations to come about such an elementary subject as the enforcement of honesty. We workmen contend that honesty of distribution should become a fact. Forty-nine fiftieths of present-day poverty, and the bulk of the crime and villainy that now disgrace our country, would disappear if the society-thieves would disappear.

But timid Christians and their preachers are likely to reply that to bring about such a change is impossible; human nature won't admit of it. If not, what becomes of the Lord's Prayer? Thy Kingdom come—

as in heaven so upon the earth? IF THIS IS A PIOUS FRAUD, please be frank enough to say so. Some of us, when we say the Lord's Prayer, do indeed mean it, amongst whom I am glad to be one. I am not willing to be included with those cowards who say it is impossible of realization. Whatever is right we are bound to work for, even if its fruit is in the dim and distant future. We believe that the Lord's Prayer is not only realizable, but we are of those disciples who will make it so. This done, the question of a "living wage" will be settled.

As yet in this Christian land we have not been able to establish a living wage, even when it means nothing more than a sufficiency of material necessities to maintain life. Many in connection with the churches have recently said that a living wage is impossible, i. e., that it is impossible in this "religious" country to see that each of God's children, our own brothers and sisters, shall be as well fed as a horse. Let Carlyle again be heard.

"There is not a horse in England, able and willing to work, but has due food and lodging, and goes about sleek-coated, satisfied in heart. And you say 'It is impossible.' Brothers, answer, if for you it be impossible, what is to become of you? It is possible for us to believe it to be possible. The human brain, look! these sleek English horses, refuse to believe in such impossibility. Highmen. Do you depart quickly; clear the ways soon, lest worse befall. We for our share do purpose, with full view of the enormous difficulty, with total disbelief in the impossibility, to endeavor while life is in us, and to die endeavoring, we and our sons, till we attain it, or have all died and ended!" ("Past and Present").

This is the correct spirit in which the modern crusade against our social villainies is to be conducted. It is especially the work of the church to set the pace. It ought, but we don't expect it will; and yet, I feel sure that these young men and women who are certain to be touched by the devotion and fervor of our modern crusaders, will not require much converting to our side. They are too noble to remain in the ranks of the inactive and selfish. They, too, will come forth to join in the noble work of social reconstruction. We have a glorious and an inspiring work in hand—nothing less than the purifying of the industrial and social life of our country and the making of true individuality. For let it be clearly understood; we labor men are thoroughly favor of the highest possible development of each individual, we demand level of uniformity, and our ideal is: "From each according to his capacity, to each according to his needs." We can't reach that yet, but when we have done that we shall not be "far from the kingdom of God."

Getting Scared.

The antics of the capitalist press when it gets a faint notion of the fact that the proletariat is about to claim its own, is remarkable. The Memphis Commercial Appeal, recently had the following nightmare:

"The effects of this commercial tyranny are already being seen and felt. The mad ravings of Populists serve as a note of warning, like the whistling buoy that tells the pilot through the darkness what to avoid. More ominous, more sinister, more terrible, is the murmuring of the proletariat, the workmen, whose very lives are in the keeping of the monopolists. They are beginning to feel a sense of oppression that is suffocating, and they are intolerant of it. They do not bark; they growl and snarl, and they will bite if urged to it. They represent the forces of disorder and unrest, the forces of vengeance, such as bespattered France with the blood of her nobility, such as raised up Marat, Danton, Robespierre, Berens and—and—their confederates. They represent the forces that made a Cromwell possible, that made a Napoleon possible, that made a William of Orange possible. They are no idle babblers, such as the Populists and other professional wind-jammers. They are morbid, menacing and resistless, when goaded to desperate action. They have among them their Voltaires. They lack for nothing. They can be aroused to fury at any moment. They are the sea of humanity that may at any time be lashed into encircling waves."

Missouri Socialist

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EDITORIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS.

Communications must reach the office by Monday evening preceding the issue to which they are to appear.

The fact that a story is published does not constitute Missouri Socialist an opinion expressed therein.

Contributions and items of news concerning the labor movement are requested from our readers. Every contribution must be accompanied by the name of the writer, not necessarily for publication, but as an evidence of good faith.

Entered at the Postoffice at St. Louis, Mo., as second-class matter, in December, 1909.



If you are receiving this paper without having paid for it, you may rest assured someone has paid to have it sent to you. Do not refuse it, but read it carefully, as it contains food for thought.

If you are to succeed in life it will be because you master yourselves, said Rockefeller. John succeeds by mastering the laboring man if we mistake not.

Tremble to think of the failures that may come to some of you who are possessed of the brightest intellects and capable of the greatest accomplishments, said John D. Rockefeller to the graduates of Chicago University.

We criticize the Public Ownership Party of this city more than we do the Republican and Democratic parties because it claims to be a radical movement, because it is held up by some people as a "Socialist" party.

A Jollier. The King of Italy is following the example of his brother Germany, in saying sweet, soft things about the Socialists as being true friends of the State.

A Young Rebel. The following news item from the Chicago American will furnish food for thought to those who are inclined to go into raptures over the beauties of our "civilization."

Little Willie Doherty's baby sisters were crying with hunger when they awoke the other morning. Their mother was almost distracted.

Willie was hungry, too, for dry bread is not very filling to a healthy boy of 12. But worse than hunger was to hear his sisters sob and see his mother's tears, which she tried to hide.

PRIVATE SOCIALIST PAPERS. The Critic of Rich Hill, Mo., reaches us this week with the announcement that it has changed hands and will hereafter be published as a Democratic paper.

Sergt. Hayden, as in duty bound, arrested Willie, and soon he was taken before Recorder Stanton.

Carriage and Wagon Workers' International Union No. 37 will give an excursion to Red Bud, Ill., on July 7. This union is experiencing a boom, having initiated ten members at its last meeting.

Thirty-five cents a year in clubs of ten outside of St. Louis.

paper because he is a Socialist. They believe when they send in a yearly subscription that the reader will get Socialist reading matter the whole year. If they thought otherwise they would not make the sacrifices for it.

Some of us are poor because God cannot trust us with riches. Gospel Advocate, Nashville, Tenn. Oct. 18, 1906.

The intense excitement and violent fluctuations in stocks that prevailed on 'Change floor to-day so disturbed the third day's session of the 117th annual convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church that ecclesiastical work had to be dispensed with.

A Congregational minister kindly loaned me three copies of his church papers. The Congregationalist and Christian World and The Outlook of June 15th, The Advance of June 15th for the purpose of proving an unbiased treatment of our heroic Comrade, Geo. D. Herron at the hands of his erstwhile colleagues.

W. R. Merriam, director of the census for 1909, is beginning to see the light. He got the figures all laid out before him and he couldn't help but do some thinking.

At this point Mr. Merriam makes his most striking suggestion in the following words: "Whether this vast unity of finance with the toilers of the country will result in the final absorption by the State of the industries named is an interesting point to contemplate."

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IN THE PHARASAIC WORLD.

BY L. E. H.

Its Churches.

Some of us are poor because God cannot trust us with riches. Gospel Advocate, Nashville, Tenn. Oct. 18, 1906.

Why, of course, why should not a church convention adjourn when its main power—the almighty dollar—adjourns to Wall street? And why should not the working class adjourn to the trades union halls and to the Socialist meetings, where their interest lies?

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ron had already given a copy to representatives of the press, there was no occasion for decision, such a question.

On receipt of above telegram a copy was immediately mailed to Mr. Gray. "Not knowing the letter was in the hands of the Associated Press correspondent, the reverend Christians at Grinnell began telegraphing falsehoods regarding it."

When they learned that Herron had given a copy to the press they decided to keep it, at least their own readers misgued, and deliberately enunciated in its vital parts, the sole and only statement which their one-time colleague, Ed, asked the privilege to make.

The Beginning of a New Age.

Written for Missouri Socialist. To the average mind it conveys little meaning to-day that the world is entering on a new social order or a new era.

What is a new age, and how does it come? What are its distinguishing traits? These are only a few of the questions confronting us, questions so important that they go to the root not only of social conditions, but of all evolutionary processes.

The laws operating on the lower animal plane of nature, in which instinct is the only guiding power, are carried up onto the higher plane by human activities. Thus the competitive system under which we are living, with all its horrible brutalities and inhumanities, is only the "struggle for existence" that has forever obtained in the animal world.

But now comes another law into play. Man is not merely an intelligent, cunning animal; he is more. He is endowed with reason and with the religious elements of love, mercy and compassion. These qualities have permeated the social system and modified the operations of a so-called natural law.

This new order will be one of brotherhood and mutual helpfulness, in which love of self will be conjoined with love of the neighbor. The change will come from the reorganization of the industrial system on the basis of co-operation. The steps are everywhere in progress that will bring about the change.

The thought and aspiration and labor of to-day will be fulfilled to-morrow, but that tomorrow may be five or ten years from now. Later than that it cannot be. Events are rushing too rapidly. IMOGENE C. FALES, 128 Macon Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Cross and Crown.

'Tis weary watching wave by wave, And yet the tide heaves onward; We climb, like corals, grave by grave, That pave a pathway sunward; We're driven back for our next fray, A newer strength to borrow, And where the vanguard camps to-day The rear shall rest to-morrow.

Excursion for the benefit of Missouri Socialist and the Arbeiter-Zeitung, to Montezano Park, Sunday July 14. Tickets, 25 cents. Now ready.

UNITY DISCUSSION.

Comrade Job Harriman on Strobell's Plan.

Editor Missouri Socialist: A circular letter entitled "Real Socialist Unity Suited to American Conditions," and signed by Comrade G. H. Strobell, was brought to my notice to-day.

It is most important that this proposed plan for unity should be carefully considered, inasmuch as it may prepare the way for real division. Instead of "real unity," however worthy the intention of the author may have been, I am persuaded that his "real unity" plan, if adopted, would develop a war between the existing factions that would end only with the death of the organizations themselves.

1. That the respective Socialist organizations elect a national committee to consist of one member from each State and Territory, except as hereinafter provided.

2. Where in any given State there shall be two or more independent Socialist parties, they shall each be entitled to one member upon said national committee.

3. Each State shall have one vote.

4. Where there are more than one representative from any given State, the one vote of that State shall be cast in a fractional part by each representative based upon the number of members in the organization represented by him.

5. Upon the election of such representative their names and addresses shall be forwarded to—

and upon twenty or more States complying herewith a meeting of the said national committee shall be called at such time and place as the committee may determine.

6. The said Socialist parties so represented shall cease to exist as independent national organizations, and become merged into this organization, representing the Socialist movement in the United States.

7. Complete State autonomy is hereby guaranteed.

It will be observed that Paragraph 1 provides that the respective Socialist organizations shall elect a national committee. It is not clear that this committee shall be composed of members from the different Socialist organizations? This proposition merges the national committees, but it does not merge the State organizations; nor does the author intend by his "real unity" plan to merge the existing factions into one party.

This fact is made clear in Paragraph 2 by the following language: "Where in any given State there shall be two or more independent Socialist parties, they shall be entitled to one member each," etc. Here we have a plan for two or more independent Socialist political parties in each State.

Paragraph 6 provides for continuing these separate State organizations, as follows: "The said Socialist parties so represented shall cease to exist as national organizations and become merged into this organization." The reader will perceive that the Socialist parties shall cease to exist as national organizations but not a word is breathed about their ceasing to exist as State organizations, but provision is actually made for the continuation of "independent" State organizations.

This fact is brought out in Paragraphs 3 and 4 as follows: "Each State shall have one vote." This looks like "real unity," but Paragraph 4 dispels the illusion: "Where there is more than one representative from any given State, the one vote of that State shall be cast in a fractional part by each representative, based upon the number of members in the organization represented by him." Thus we have as many representatives from each State as there are Socialist factions in that State, each with a different voting power. There is not one word, however strong the intimation, in this "real unity" plan, providing for merging the State organizations. Paragraph 7 provides that "Complete State autonomy is hereby guaranteed." Permanent State division is the foundation for discord and not unity. It is "real unity" to have one National Executive Committee in the nation. But it is not "real unity" to have one State committee to each State! Union nationally and factions locally—this is "Real Socialist Unity" on the American plan! There being no further doubt that the plan provides for the continuation of the several factions in the States, let us inquire into the logical and inevitable results of such a method.

Political parties are creatures of the laws of each State. There is no such thing as a national political party in the eyes of the law. Official standing is gained in each State as a State party and never in the nation as a national party. Hence, if we maintain separate organizations in each State, we maintain the struggle in each State. Each separate organization would, in most cases, put up its own candidates, for this would be the prime reason for their separate existence. Imagine the "real Socialist unity" that would arise, immediately or eventually, by reason of two Socialist candidates for Governor in each State. They could not combine on this office, because official standing goes with the vote cast for the head of the ticket.

Instead of working harmoniously, each would fight the other. Final supremacy in most cases would be determined by prior official standing. The first to gain official standing would have every advantage both in argument and in general work. One faction would gain official standing in some States, while the other faction would dominate in other States.

The weaker faction in each State would be urged to maintain its separate existence and thus lend its moral and financial support to the corresponding faction in such States, when the fight was bitter and where they

had gained official standing, or, vice versa, the organization which had gained official standing, if the State fight was easy to handle, would encourage the weaker organizations in such States when the fight was close. Thus a permanent split would develop and the temper would wax hotter and the feelings more bitter, and the chasm between the two organizations would grow wider as the years passed by and their respective power increased.

Are not all national committees merely the outgrowths of State organizations? By maintaining the present State organizations, do we not lay the foundation of a later building of a national organization or committee of the same kind? Witness the split in the French movement, arising out of the same plan. What is a united committee worth when the party is divided? Would not the same interests manifest themselves in the national committee that develop in the separate State organization? Would not the committee voice the fight as it develops in the several States? Such a committee would be only an arena for real un-Socialist pugilism instead of "real Socialist unity."

Are we to rob our propaganda fund of thousands of dollars and expend it on a convention, in order to maintain factions in the different States? Shall the delegates take the hard-earned money of the members and pay their expenses to a unity convention, and return with a plan for division? Could we not remain at home and maintain division?

The author of this plan for "Real Socialist Unity Suited to American Conditions" says, in The Worker of March 21, 1904 (then The People), commenting on his plan: "If the plan does not at once do away with the divisions in some States we may congratulate ourselves that under it two sets of national candidates are impossible, and then the tendency to unification and economy is there to work out our redemption in the years to come."

Is it possible that the author thinks we are holding the Indianapolis convention of July 29 in order to effect union "in years to come." That is not the feeling, the wish, the hope, nor the purpose of the membership. They do not want a plan that promises union "in years to come." They want a constitution uniting them now and for years to come. Union now and forever of all Socialists, against the capitalist class and for the working class is the battle cry resounding from the voice of the multitude, and pity be unto those whose ears are deaf to the calling.

JOB HARRIMAN, New York, June 3.

Socialists of Oregon have started a fund to purchase a tent for big mass meetings.

HOW WE STAND.

We consider strikes and boycotts as historically necessary weapons to obtain the demands of trades unionism; we further recognize in the union label an important factor in strengthening the power of organization, and educating the public to demonstrate in a practical way its sympathy and assistance to the cause of labor; and we therefore endorse all the labels of the bona fide trades unions, earnestly recommend to the membership of the Social Democratic Party to patronize only such concerns selling products bearing the same.

—Resolutions S. D. P. National Convention.

OUR BOOK LIST.

If you are interested in the study of Socialism and want to learn more about it, send us your order for one or more of the following list of good Socialist books. Don't remain ignorant any longer.

Principles of Scientific Socialism, Rev. Chas. Vall, paper,	\$0.25
Modern Socialism, Rev. Chas. Vall, paper, . . . . .	.25
Communist Manifesto, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, cloth 25, paper, . . . . .	.10
The People's Marx, Deville, cloth \$1.50, paper, . . . . .	.75
History of the Commune of 1871, Lissagary, cloth,	1.00
History of Paris Commune, Beauchamp, cloth 75, paper, . . . . .	.25
Socialism, reply to the Pope, Blatchford, . . . . .	.25
Merrie England, Blatchford, . . . . .	.10
Wage-Labor and Capital, Karl Marx, . . . . .	.05
Woman and the Social Problem, May Wood Simons, . . . . .	.05
The Evolution of the Class Struggle, Noyes, . . . . .	.05
Imprudent Marriages, Blatchford, Packington, A. M. Simons, . . . . .	.05
Realism in Literature and Art, Darrow, . . . . .	.05
Single Tax vs. Socialism, A. M. Simons, . . . . .	.05
The Man Under the Machine, A. M. Simons, . . . . .	.05
The Mission of the Working Class, Rev. Chas. Vall, . . . . .	.05
Morals and Socialism, Chas. H. Kerr, . . . . .	.05
No Compromise, Wm. Liebknecht, Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, Engels, . . . . .	.10
The Trust Question, Rev. Chas. Vall, . . . . .	.05
Liberty, Debs, . . . . .	.05
Prison Labor, Debs, . . . . .	.05
Socialism and Slavery, Hyndman, . . . . .	.05
Oration on Voltaire, Hugo, . . . . .	.05
Evolution of Industry, Watkins, . . . . .	.05
Social Democratic Red Book, Heath, . . . . .	.15

Address: MISSOURI SOCIALIST, Room 9, 22 N. 4th St., St. Louis, Mo.

Wage-Labor and Capital.

By CARL MARX.

(Continued from Last Week.)

laborer receives in exchange for the means of subsistence; but the capitalist receives in exchange for the means of subsistence—labor, the active energy of the laborer, the force whereby the laborer not only replaces what he consumes, but gives to the stored-up labor a value than it had before. The laborer receives from the capitalist a part of the previously provided means of subsistence. To what use does he put the means of subsistence? He uses it for immediate consumption. But soon as I consume my means of subsistence they disappear and are irretrievably lost to me; it therefore becomes necessary that I should find the time during which these means keep me alive in order to produce new means of subsistence, so that my labor new value in the form of that which thus disappears. It is just this grand reproductive process which the laborer has to bargain to capital in exchange for the means of subsistence which he receives from the capitalist.

Let us take another example. A farmer has his laborer, two shillings a week. For this two shillings he works about the day on the farmer's land and so secures him a return of shillings. The farmer does not get the value which he had added to the day-laborer; he gets the two shillings which he gave the day laborer in a fruitful and active fashion. He has bought for two shillings just that labor and the fruits of the earth of twice the value of the day laborer which produces the two shillings into the hands of the day laborer, on the other hand he has just gained for himself the value of the day laborer, two shillings; and he exchanges for means of subsistence, which means of subsistence proceeds with more or less speed to him. The two shillings have thus been consumed in double fashion; actively for capital, since they have been exchanged for the labor which produced the four shillings; unproductively for the laborer, since they have been exchanged for means of subsistence, which have disappeared forever, and whose value can only recover by repeating the bargain with the farmer. Thus the laborer presupposes wage-labor, and the farmer presupposes capital. They are two different things; and each brings the other into play.

Let us take another case. In the winter of 1847, in consequence of a failure of the crops, there was an important increase in the price of the indispensable means of subsistence—corn, meat, butter, cheese, and so on. We will suppose that the laborers still received the same sum of money for their labor as before. Had not their wages fallen then? Of course, they had. For the same amount of money they received in exchange less bread, meat, etc.; and their wages had fallen, not because the value of silver had diminished, but because the value of the means of subsistence had increased.

Let us finally suppose that the money price of labor remains the same, while in consequence of the employment of new machinery, or on account of a good season, or for some similar reason, there is a fall in the price of all agricultural and manufactured goods. For the same amount of money the laborers can now buy more commodities of all kinds. Their wages have therefore risen, just because their money price has not changed.

The money price of labor, the nominal amount of wages, does not therefore fall together with the real wages, that is, with the amount of commodities that may practically be obtained in exchange for the wages. Therefore, if we speak of the rise and fall of wages the money price of labor or the nominal wage is not the only thing which we must keep in view.

But neither the nominal wages, that is, the amount of money for which the laborer sells himself to the employer, nor yet the real wages, that is, the amount of commodities which he can buy for this money, exhaust the relations which are comprehended in the term wages.

For the meaning of the word is chiefly determined by its relation to the gain or profit of the employer—it is a proportionate and relative expression. The real wage expresses the price of labor in relation to the price of other commodities; the relative wage, on the contrary, expresses the price of direct labor in relation to that of stored-up labor, the relative value of wage-labor and capital, the proportionate value of capitalist and laborer.

Real wages may remain the same, or they may rise, and yet the relative wages may none the less have fallen. Let us assume, for example, that the price of all the means of subsistence has fallen two-thirds, while a day's wages have only fallen one-third, as, for instance, from three shillings to two. Although the laborer has a larger amount of commodities at his disposal for two shillings than he had before for three, yet his wages are nevertheless diminished in proportion to the capitalist's gain. The capitalist's profit—has been augmented by a shilling, since for the smaller sum of exchange value which he pays to the laborer, the value which he pays to a larger sum of labor has to produce a larger amount of labor with the same amount of capital. The power of the capitalist class over the laboring class is increased. The social position of the laborer has deteriorated, and is depressed another degree below that of the capitalist.

What, then, is the general law which determines the rise and fall of wages and profit in their reciprocal relation? They stand in inverse proportion to one another. Capital's exchange value, profit rises in the same proportion in which exchange value of labor, and conversely. The rise in wages, sinks, and the fall in profit is exactly measured by the

high it may shoot up with the progress of civilization. If the neighboring price shoots up also in the same or in greater proportion, the occupant of the comparatively small house will always find himself more uncomfortable, more discontented, more confined within his four walls.

A notable advance in the amount paid as wages brings about a rapid increase of productive capital. The rapid increase of productive capital calls forth just as rapid an increase in wealth, luxury, social wants, and social comforts. Therefore, although the comforts of the laborer have risen, the social satisfaction which they give has fallen in comparison with these augmented comforts of the capitalist which are unattainable for the laborer, and in comparison with the general development of comforts. Our wants and their satisfaction have their origin in society; we therefore measure them in their relation to society, and not in relation to the objects which satisfy them. Since their nature is social it is therefore relative.

As a rule, then, wages are not determined merely by the amount of commodities for which they may be exchanged. They depend upon various relations.

What the laborer immediately receives for his labor is a certain sum of money. Are wages determined merely by this money price? In the sixteenth century the gold and silver in circulation in Europe was augmented in consequence of the discovery of America. The value of gold and silver fell, therefore, in proportion to other commodities. The laborers received for their labor the same amount of silver coin as before. The money price of their labor remained the same, and yet their wages had fallen, for in exchange for the same sum of silver they obtained a smaller quantity of other commodities. This was one of the circumstances which furthered the increase of capital and the rise of the bourgeoisie in the sixteenth century.

Let us take another case. In the winter of 1847, in consequence of a failure of the crops, there was an important increase in the price of the indispensable means of subsistence—corn, meat, butter, cheese, and so on. We will suppose that the laborers still received the same sum of money for their labor as before. Had not their wages fallen then? Of course, they had. For the same amount of money they received in exchange less bread, meat, etc.; and their wages had fallen, not because the value of silver had diminished, but because the value of the means of subsistence had increased.

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fall in wages, and the fall in profit by the rise in wages.

The objection may perhaps be made that the capitalist may have gained a profit by advantageous exchange of his products with other capitalists, or by a rise in the demand for his goods, whether in consequence of the opening of new markets, or a greater demand in the old market; that the profit of the capitalist may thus increase by means of overreaching another capitalist, independently of the rise and fall of wages and the exchange value of labor; or that the profit of the capitalist may also rise through an improvement in the implements of labor, a new application of natural forces and so on.

But it must nevertheless be admitted that the result remains the same, although it is brought about in a different way. The capitalist has acquired a larger amount of exchange value with the same amount of labor without having had to pay a higher price for the labor on that account. That is to say, a lower price has been paid for the labor in proportion to the net profit which it yields to the capitalist.

Besides, we must remember that in spite of the fluctuations in the price of commodities, the average price of each commodity—the proportion in which it exchanges for other commodities—is determined by its cost of production. The overreaching and tricks that go on within the capitalist class therefore necessarily cancel one another. Improvements in machinery and new applications of natural forces to the service of production enable them to turn out in a given time with the same amount of labor and capital a larger quantity of products, but by no means a larger quantity of exchange value. If by the application of the spinning-jenny I can turn out twice as much thread in an hour as I could before its invention, for instance, a hundred pounds, instead of fifty, that is because the cost of production has been halved, or because at the same cost I can turn out double the amount of products.

Finally, in whatever proportion the capitalist classes—the bourgeoisie—whether of one country or of the market of the whole world—share among themselves the net profit of production, the total amount of these net profits always consists merely of the amount by which, taking all in all, direct labor has been increased by means of stored-up labor. The sum total increases therefore, in the proportion in which labor augments capital; that is, in the proportion in which profit rises as compared to wages.

Thus we see that even if we confine ourselves to the relation between capital and wage labor, the interests of capital are in direct antagonism to the interests of wage-labor. A rapid increase of capital is equal to a rapid increase of profits. Profits can only make a rapid increase, if the exchange value of labor—the relative wage—makes an equally rapid decline. The relative wage may decline, although the actual wage rises along with the nominal wage, or money price of labor; if only it does not rise in the same proportion as profit. For instance, if when trade is good, wages rise 5 per cent, and profits, on the other hand, 30 per cent, then the proportional or relative wage has not increased, but declined.

Thus the receipts of the laborer increase with the rapid advance of capital, yet at the same time there is a widening of the social gulf which separates the laborer from the capitalist, and also an increase in the power of capital over labor and the dependence of labor upon capital.

The meaning of the statement that the laborer has an interest in the rapid increase of capital is merely this: The faster the laborer increases his master's dominion, the richer will be the crumbs that he will get from his table; and the greater the number of laborers that can be employed and called into existence, the greater will be the number of slaves of which capital will be the owner.

(To Be Continued.)

THE REPUBLIC OF PLATO, BOOK I.

Translated by Alexander Kerr, Chas. H. Kerr and Co., Chicago. Price, 15 cents.

For centuries before the formulation of the doctrines of scientific socialism, its ideals had been pictured by Utopians. The first and greatest of these was Plato, and his "Republic" has been the source from which all subsequent writers have drawn for more or less of their ideas. This work has up to the present time been the exclusive property of the leisure class, having been printed only in the original Greek or in English editions that were too expensive for workingmen to buy. We are therefore glad to announce that Chas. H. Kerr & Co. have issued Book I. of the "Republic of Plato" in an entirely new English version, by Alexander Kerr, professor of Greek in the University of Wisconsin.

The first book does not develop Plato's thought of an ideal commonwealth, but clears the ground by a discussion of ethics, and it is interesting to note that one of the characters in this dialogue nearly 2,300 years old suggests the Socialist theory that "good" conduct is conduct that harmonizes with the interests of the ruling class. The book contains about sixty-four pages, printed on extra book paper, and the price is 15 cents, post-paid.

Contrasts.

I see the far church steeples,
They reach so far, so far,
But the eye of my heart
Sees the world's great mart
Where the starving people are.
I hear the church bells ringing
Their chimes on the moving air,
But my soul's sad ear is hurt to hear
The poor man's cry of despair.

Thicker and thicker the churches,
Nearer and nearer the sky—
But, alas for their creeds
When the poor man's needs
Grow deeper as years roll by.
—Ella Wheeler Wilcox.

Comrade Mills is having a good time addressing labor unions of Chicago.

N. E. C. MEETING.

Session of the National Executive Committee, S. D. P., June 1, 1901, at Springfield, Mass.

Comrade M. Hillquit in the chair. Absent: Leonard D. Abbott, excused; John C. Chase, without excuse. Minutes of previous meeting read and approved.

On motion the question of the Joint Unity National Convention was taken up. In view of the fact that the Chicago Board agreed to change the date of the convention to July 29, 1901, the National Executive Committee pursuant to the authority vested in it by the general vote appoints July 29, 1901, as the opening day of the national convention to be held in Indianapolis, Ind.

On motion it was ordered that the following call be issued to the locals of the S. D. P.:

CALL.

Comrades: By resolution of both factions of the S. D. P., a joint national convention for the purpose of effecting unity of the Socialist forces of the United States, will be held on July 29, 1901, at the city of Indianapolis, Ind.

The following organizations are entitled to representation at the convention:

All locals of the S. D. P. affiliated with the National Executive Committee whose headquarters are at Springfield, Mass. All branches of the S. D. P. affiliated with the Chicago N. E. B. All sections of the S. L. P. All Socialist State organizations recognizing the class struggle and the necessity of independent political action.

The basis of representation at the convention will be as follows:

1. Each local, branch or section shall be entitled to as many representatives as the individual members thereof in good standing may select for that purpose, provided that each representative shall be entitled to one (1) vote for each member whose signature is attached to his credential, and provided further, that no member shall have his signature attached to more than one credential.

2. Locals not sending their own representatives may select those of other locals of the same State to represent them; provided that in each such case the representative shall hold the proper credential with the signatures of members attached as herein provided.

3. No member shall be qualified to serve as representative or be entitled to representation who has not been a member of the party at least thirty days prior to the opening of the convention.

4. All signatures of members attached to credentials shall be certified to by the chairman or secretary of their respective locals or subdivisions.

As the work of the convention will be of great importance for the future of the Socialist movement in this country, it is desirable that our party secure as full a representation at the same as possible, and with that end in view the N. E. C. hereby prescribes the following methods of electing delegates:

1. The State committee of each State shall at once take steps for the election of a delegate at large for the State. Such delegate shall be elected by the general vote of the members, or, where such vote is impractical, by the State Committee.

2. The State delegate shall receive the credentials of such locals within the State as do not elect their own delegates.

3. The State Committee may also give credentials to any member of the State organization applying for same with a view of going to Indianapolis at his own expense.

4. Locals shall at once call upon each member to sign a credential, the credentials to remain open for signature for at least thirty (30) days, so that every member may attach his signature. The name of the delegate may be inserted in the credential before or after the signatures are appended.

5. Every local may elect as many delegates as it chooses. Two or more locals may combine to elect a delegate.

6. If one or more locals elect one delegate, such delegate shall receive all credentials signed by the members of that local or locals.

7. If a local elects two or more delegates, the credentials signed by the members shall be divided among all delegates in such manner as the local chooses.

8. State committees and locals are requested to inform the national secretary of the names and addresses of the delegates elected by them without delay.

By order of the Provisional National Executive Committee, S. D. P., Springfield, Mass.

The Committee on Arrangements is instructed to request the Committee on Arrangements appointed by the Chicago Board to hold a joint meeting to issue invitations to provide for hall to provide for accommodations for delegates; to elect a chairman of the convention.

On motion a form of credentials was drafted and ordered to be printed and distributed to locals.

National Secretary was instructed to prepare a report for the convention. On motion Comrade Butcher was appointed to represent the N. E. C. at Indianapolis convention.

Reports received from National Organizers Charles Vall and Geiger. Charters granted to the following new locals: Warren, O.; Bishop Hill, Ill.; Newport News, Va.; Springfield, O.; Providence, R. I.

Agitation tours arranged for Comrades Geiger, Origo and Spargo. On request it is ordered that the Missouri Socialist and the Seattle Socialist be placed on the list of party publications.

Local Cleveland, O., sends resolution that the immediate demands be expunged from the platform.

Local Springfield, Mass., informs the N. E. C. that it has expelled Peter Hornstein for conduct unbecoming a Socialist.

Local Santiago, Cal., reports vote of spring elections.
Local Bristol, Conn., lapsed and Comrade Sweetland was admitted as member at large.
Income since last session, \$599.98; expenses, 604.68; cash on hand, \$21.78. Next session to be held July 6, 1901.
HENRY SLOBODIN,
Recording Secretary.

A Precedent.

Because the jury at Omaha declared James Callahan "not guilty" of kidnapping the son of Edward Cudahy, the millionaire pork packer, the New Orleans Picayune, in substance, suggests that the proletariat be not allowed to serve on juries which are to pass upon robberies and exactions of ransoms from wealthy persons.

That is to say, when a capitalist, by brute economic force, has wrested from the producers millions of dollars worth of their labor product, and some one, by physical force, or otherwise, wrests from the capitalist a few hundreds or thousands of dollars of his stolen millions, none but capitalists are to sit upon the jury that is to try the case.

Quite interesting. The great thieves shall judge the little thieves, but even the friends of the little thieves shall not judge the great thieves.

It would be of interest to know how the New Orleans Picayune would receive the suggestion that when the question of the abolition of private ownership in capital comes up for final settlement, no private capitalist be allowed on the jury.

We Socialists don't go altogether by precedent, but when we find a good specimen we are apt to preserve it for future reference.—Brockton Vanguard.

BEYOND THE SEAS.

AUSTRIA.

The bill for nine hours' work in the mines has been passed; the Socialists tried to get an eight-hour bill passed, but did not succeed.

SPAIN.

The Spanish elections are over, and the result is that 238 supporters of the Government and 163 members of the Opposition have been elected. But there is no nonsense about the elections in that country; the Government is always certain of a majority and takes good care that only Moderates are elected on behalf of the Opposition.

Serious strikes have broken out in the North of Spain, and there has been loss of life. It is not only a trade union but also a Republican movement. The people are exasperated at the jerry-mandering at elections.

SWITZERLAND.

At Bern on May Day there was a demonstration, and there were banners carried having on them inscriptions of "Down With the Czar!" "Down With Absolutism!" The Federal Council, which is the Executive Government, wrote complaining of this to the Cantonal Government. A Socialist deputy in the local council complained of the undue interference of the central authorities, and the Cantonal Government in reply, while regretting that the banners had objectionable words on them, agreed that the Federal Government had exceeded its rights in complaining.

ENGLAND.

The International Working Men's Union of London, composed of workers belonging to different nationalities, has passed the following resolution: "The members of the International Working Men's Union of London, learning that despotic acts have lately been committed by the authorities at Barcelona, and that, further, the said authorities are prepared to renew such acts against the workers, who, from a spirit of proletarian solidarity in favor of the strikers belonging to the Barcelona Trade Union of Tramwaymen, helped to extend the general strike. Resolve: (1). To protest energetically against such arbitrary acts as have already been committed or that may in future be committed. (2). To denounce in the press of every country all governmental acts committed contrary to the spirit of true civilization and the rights of men. (3). To send a copy of this resolution to the Minister of the Interior of the Cabinet of Madrid."

BELGIUM AND HOLLAND.

The Socialist faction in the Belgian Parliament have offered a most strenuous resistance to the Clericals in their scheme to buy the King's private enterprise in the Congo and make it a State possession.

A great scene happened in the Belgian Parliament on May 17, when the Papal Embassy was discussed. The Radicals and Socialists began en bloc to sing the "Marseillaise," and the sitting was suspended. The point was, however, agreed to.

The Dutch Government has introduced a bill for old age pensions. It is first being sent round to the Chambers of Labor for advice on it. The workers have, however, to pay nearly the whole for a meager pension when 60 or 65 years of age.

Over the whole country meetings for the election struggle in June are being held by the different parties. Our friends of the S. D. L. P. are very active. About 25 candidates are run by the Socialists.

The annual conference of the National Arbeids-secretariaat (National Labor Secretariat) has just been held at Amsterdam.

May Take to Voting.

One great packing firm in the stock yards has prohibited swearing amongst its employees, notices to that effect having been posted in conspicuous places on the premises of the company. This, if we mistake not, is a "step" in the right direction. There is, but little doubt that profanity has to some extent acted as a safety valve for capitalism, the discontented wage slave often seeking satisfaction in cursing the conditions of his toil and all connected with it. If the example of this corporation is widely adopted it may have some effect perhaps in inducing the laborers to substitute voting for swearing, in which case the possessing classes might be expected to promptly withdraw their prohibition. A Socialist workman who votes for the interests of his class is a far more disagreeable individual in the eyes of the capitalist than the fool who wastes his breath in a string of useless oaths.—The Workers' Call.

Official and Party News.
Watch This Column Every Week for Announcements of Meetings, etc.
Read it as soon as you get your paper. All important matters will be published under this head.

Missouri Socialist sent out circular letters asking the opinions of the comrades at various points as to the proposed State convention. Many replies have been received favoring the convention, while Kansas City and Liberal comrades think it unnecessary.

Opposes Convention.

Kansas City, Mo., June 13, 1901. Editor Missouri Socialist: Your circular directed to Organizer Turner was presented by him to the Central Committee.

I am instructed to say that in the opinion of the members of this committee, the holding of a State Convention previous to the National Convention would be inadvisable and unnecessary. There is not one organization in this State at present, and those who do not see the necessity for maintaining but one organization in this State without regard to any action of the National Convention, are not likely to be found by any agreement formed before it.

I am also directed to request that this reply be published in the Missouri Socialist, and that a copy be forwarded to the State Committee, which latter I have done. Fraternally,
C. E. HARRIS, Chairman.

A meeting will be held under the auspices of the Clarion Club Sunday night at Hart's Hall, Semple and East-on avenues.

Comrade M. B. Dunn addressed an open-air meeting at Broadway and Shenandoah Wednesday evening, which was well attended. Several books were sold.

The Ninth and Eighth Ward branches held a joint meeting Tuesday evening and decided to meet together hereafter every Tuesday evening at Dewey Hall, Broadway and Shenandoah. A separate financial secretary for each branch was elected.

The Sixteenth Ward branch will hold an open-air meeting at the corner of Fifteenth and Cass avenue, Saturday evening, June 29. Regular business meeting Tuesday, July 2, at Gaus' Hall, Fifteenth and Cass avenue.

Comrade Leon Greenbaum is having good meetings among the Illinois trades unions. He has engagements to keep him busy for several weeks. Last Monday he spoke at Ledford, Ill., and sold \$4.45 worth of Socialist books. Ledford is a very small town.

Remember Local St. Louis will meet Sunday, July 7, to elect delegates to the National Convention, officers of the party and the paper, and every member is expected. It will be the largest business defense, even with the assistance of men.

The City Central Committee has rented the room adjoining this office and we now have plenty of space to transact business. Our headquarters are well located and are very pleasant. Call and see them.

All Aboard.

The time is drawing near for two important events. The first is the Fourth of July picnic at Rinkel's Grove, given by the party; the other is the excursion to Montezano on Sunday, July 14, for the benefit of Missouri Socialist and the Arbeiter-Zeitung. These two undertakings deserve your careful attention from now on. They can both be pushed at one time successfully. The picnic on the Fourth is free. The tickets to the excursion are twenty-five cents. Be thinking about taking all your relatives and friends to the picnic, and my your tickets for the excursion now. You can sell a man a ticket to the excursion, and at the same time present him with a complimentary ticket to the picnic. Try this scheme. One-half of all the money for tickets will be given to the two Socialist papers as clear profit. This is our arrangement with the boat company. As all tickets not returned by the 14th will have to be paid for comrades taking tickets to sell must either return them to this office by the 13th or pay for them. Call at headquarters and get a supply of tickets for both events.

A Model Branch.

The Seventeenth Ward branch is now the banner branch of the city. Organized only a few weeks, it now has thirty-two members and five applications are already secured for next meeting. Six members were admitted last week. These figures speak for themselves. The success of this branch can be duplicated in every ward in town if the members will take hold with courage. The results obtained in the Seventeenth Ward were not obtained by any secret process. The comrades went to see parties who they heard were inclined to Socialism and asked them to join the party. That was all that was necessary. The people are ready and willing to join the Socialist movement. They are waiting for an invitation and it is the duty of our members to see that they get it. It requires no ledgerdom, nor long-winded scheme to build up a ward branch. Enthusiasm and willingness to do a little work will accomplish the whole thing. Every branch should be inspired to follow the example of the Seventeenth Ward branch, which has proven that such things can be done.

The People's Press of Albany, Ore., is now the official organ of the Socialists of Oregon.

AMONG THE UNIONS.

The Central Trades and Labor Union will hold its semi-annual election of officers Sunday afternoon.

Boycott Standard Radiators as they are scab goods, made by the American Radiator Co. of St. Louis, Mo. This company locked out all union men on April 30, 1901, and hired non-union men in their places. No cause has been given except that they would not recognize a union under any circumstances and determined to use scab instead of union men.

World's Fair Resolution.

The following resolutions were submitted by the Joint Advisory Board of Cigar-makers, No. 44, and Cigar-packers, No. 281, to the Central Trades and Labor Union of St. Louis and adopted by that body last Sunday:

Whereas, There will be held in the City of St. Louis a great World's Fair in celebration of the Louisiana Purchase, and we believe that said Fair will be of an educational as well as a beneficial help, not only to our city, but to all the people in our great country. And at this Fair there will be on exhibition the greatest products of the world. Labor, which produces everything, will be seen in all of its glory, and all the people will be given an opportunity to look upon what the mind of the genius and the hand of the toiler has done; and

Whereas, Considering the vast number of workmen to be employed and the great amount of goods to be sold on the grounds of said Fair, we believe that our own great City of St. Louis should give as far as possible no labor as far as furnishing help to be employed, material to be used and products that are to be sold on the grounds; and

Whereas, Organized Labor, representing a vast army of your citizens, believes that the work to be done should be done by competent and well-paid workmen and the products to be sold on the grounds of said Fair should bear the trade-mark of well-paid workmen, and for that reason the labor organizations of this city (whose principles stand for the emancipation of the working people), standing for the best interests of all our citizens and the millions of visitors who will come here; and believing that all should work in harmony for the success of the Fair, therefore be it

Resolved, That union labor be employed exclusively in the erection of all buildings, laying of all foundations, excavating and all other work pertaining to the completion of buildings, foundations, excavations, grounds, fences, etc.; and further be it

Resolved, That in the letting of all contracts, that a special clause be put in said contracts to read as follows: That all material used shall be exclusively the product of union labor; and be it

Resolved, That all printed matter gotten out by the directors (or persons working under their instructions) bear the Union Label of the Allied Printing Trades Council; and further be it

Resolved, That in the letting and the truth setting of all privileges, such as the selling of space for cafes, restaurants, cigar stands, etc., that a special clause be put in said contracts to read as follows: That all goods sold and help employed shall be strictly union.

This shall not be construed as to mean imported goods or help sent here by foreign exhibitors; and again be it

Resolved, That a Board of Arbitration be formed, to be composed of six members, three to be elected by the Central Trades and Labor Union and three by the World's Fair Directors, they to take evidence from all parties concerned in any labor troubles that might arise in connection with the progress of the Fair, and after a fair and impartial hearing to all, they to render a decision, which shall be final and binding to all. But should said Board of Arbitration be not able to reach a conclusion on any dispute arising, they shall amongst themselves elect the seventh arbitrator, and again take the evidence in the dispute from all parties concerned, and their decision shall be final and binding to all. Now be it

Resolved, By the Central Trades and Labor Union of St. Louis and vicinity, that a copy of this agreement be sent to the Building Trades Council, Metal Trades Council, and all other bona fide union labor councils in the city. And all councils adopting this resolution shall immediately elect a committee of three, also notify the Secretary of the Central Trades and Labor Union, the Central Trades and Labor Union to likewise elect a committee of three; and further be it

Resolved, That the Central Trades and Labor Union at a date not later than thirty days (providing this agreement is adopted, subject to amendment by the Central Trades and Labor Union), call a meeting of the various committees of all councils adopting said agreement, they to present said agreement to the World's Fair Directors at their earliest convenience and to report back to the organization which they represent.

And if the agreement is adopted a copy of same to be the property of the Central Trades and Labor Union and one copy to be the property of the World's Fair Directors; and be it

Resolved, That a copy of this agreement be sent to all the local newspapers for publication.

Answers to Questions

A Social Democratic Voter—Yes, it is true that the last State Legislature passed a law preventing us from using the name "Social Democratic Party." The law was the result of fear on the part of the old party politicians, but it will make no difference to the Socialists. We can change our name as often as necessary, and it will not hurt us in the least.

NATIONAL PLATFORM.

Social Democratic Party of America.

The Social Democratic Party of the United States, in convention assembled, reaffirms its allegiance to the revolutionary principles of international Socialism and declares the supreme political issue in America today to be the contest between the working class and the capitalist class for the possession of the powers of government. The party claims its steadfast purpose to use those powers, once achieved, to destroy wage slavery, abolish the institution of private property in the means of production, and to establish the Co-operative Commonwealth.

In the United States, as in all other civilized countries, the natural order of economic development has separated society into two antagonistic classes, the capitalist, a comparatively small class, the possessors of all the factors of production and distribution (land, mines, machinery, and means of transportation and communication), and the large and ever increasing class of wage-workers, possessing no means of production.

This economic supremacy has secured to the dominant class the full control of the government, the pulpit, the schools and the public press; it has thus made the capitalist class the arbiter of the fate of the workers, whom it is reducing to a condition of dependence, economically exploited and oppressed, intellectually and physically crippled and degraded, and their political equality rendered a bitter mockery.

The contest between these two classes grows ever sharper. Hand in hand with the growth of monopolies goes the annihilation of small industries and of the middle class depending upon them; ever larger grows the multitude of destitute wage-workers and of the unemployed, and ever fiercer the struggle between the class of the exploiter and the exploited, the capitalists and the wage workers.

The evil effects of capitalist production are intensified by the recurring financial crises which render the existence of the greater part of the population still more precarious and uncertain.

These facts amply prove that the modern means of production have outgrown the existing social order based on production for profit.

Human energy and natural resources are wasted for individual gain. Ignorance is fostered that wage slavery may be perpetuated. Science and invention are perverted to the exploitation of the masses.

The lives and liberties of the working class are recklessly sacrificed for profit. Wars are fomented between nations, indiscriminate slaughter is encouraged, the destruction of whole races is sanctioned.

In order that the capitalist class may extend its commercial dominion abroad and enhance its supremacy at home.

The introduction of a higher and higher order of society is the historic mission of the working class. All other classes, despite their apparent or actual conflicts, are interested in upholding the system of private ownership in the means of production. The Democratic, Republican, and all other parties which do not stand for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production, are alike the tools of the capitalist class. Their policies are injurious to the interest of the working class, which can be served only by the abolition of the profit system.

The workers can most effectively act as a class in their struggle against the collective power of the capitalist class only by constituting themselves into a political party, distinct from and independent of all parties formed by the propertied classes.

We, therefore, call upon the wage-workers of the United States, without distinction of color, race, sex, or creed, and upon all citizens in sympathy with the historic mission of the working class, to organize under the banner of the Social Democratic Party, as a party truly representing the interests of the toiling masses and uncompromisingly waging war upon the exploiting class, until the system of wage-slavery shall be abolished and the Co-operative Commonwealth shall be set up. Pending the accomplishment of this, our ultimate purpose, we pledge every effort to the Social Democratic Party for the immediate improvement of the condition of labor and for the securing of its progressive demands.

As steps in that direction, we make the following demands:

First—Revision of our federal constitution in order to remove the obstacles to complete control of government by the people, irrespective of sex.

Second—The public ownership of all industries controlled by the monopolies, trusts and cartels.

Third—The public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs and telephones; all means of transportation and communication; all waterworks, gas and electric plants and other public utilities.

Fourth—The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal, and other mines, and all oil and gas wells.

Fifth—The reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

Sixth—The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

Seventh—Useful inventions to be given the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

Eighth—Labor legislation to be national, instead of local, and international, when possible.

Ninth—National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment, and want in old age.

Tenth—Equal civil and political rights for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

Eleventh—The adoption of the initiative and referendum, recall, and representation, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

Twelfth—Abolition of war and the introduction of international arbitration.

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

The Heathen Chinee.

"My luck's sadly changed," said the Heathen Chinee; "Unhappy I am as unhappy can be; Misfortune has come to the tribe of Ah Sin. My name once 'I Yam' is now changed to 'Has Bin'."

I was a sly gamester, a leader in fame. Till capital and interest came into the game. I tried to hold out a few cards, but alas! Before the play started they'd gone through the pack. "This thing, 'surplus value' soon Asia will own. And I heartily wish we'd let it alone; For I know when I hear distant echoing shocks. They're turning our land into 'Trusts' an' 'Stocks.' Why the great flaming dragon to Europe has gone. Has changed to a 'Plutocrat,' now quick it was done! So I sadly confess—what a crime? What a sin? That my name once 'I Yam,' has been changed to 'Has Bin.'" —James T. Van Rensselaer.

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Table with 2 columns: Country, Socialist Vote. Includes Denmark, Spain, Switzerland, Belgium, Germany, Austria, France, etc.

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ST. LOUIS CITY CENTRAL COMMITTEE meets every Monday evening, 8 p. m., at Room 7, 22 N. 4th St.; R. Murphy, Secretary, Room 7, 22 N. 4th St.

ST. LOUIS WARD BRANCHES. 1ST WARD BRANCH meets every 2d and 4th Sunday, 2 p. m., at 857 Cowan st. Julius Blumenthal, Organizer, 857 Cowan st.

3D, 4TH AND 5TH WARD BRANCH—Meets 2d and 4th Saturdays at 8 p. m., at room 9, 22 N. 4th st. Sec. C. R. Davis, 217 Market st.

6TH WARD BRANCH—Meets every 2d Tuesday of the month, 8 p. m., at 1031 S. 12th St. Sec. Chas. Specht.

7TH AND 8TH WARD BRANCH—Meets 1st and 3d Wednesdays at Dewey Hall, 2391 S. Broadway. Sec. Geo. Schiefelstein, 2828 S. 9th st.

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