

MISSOURI SOCIALIST.

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF ST. LOUIS.

Volume I.

St. Louis, Mo., Saturday, September 7, 1901.

Number 34.

The Steel Strike.

The Amalgamated Journal's Significant Editorial.

The appeal in behalf of the striking steel workers issued by the Socialist Party has impressed the members of the Amalgamated with the sincerity of the Socialists as a labor party is evident upon a perusal of the last two issues of the official organ of the A. A. of I. S. and T. W., "The Amalgamated Journal." Our number contains the call issued by the Socialists and a lengthy letter on Socialism by Comrade W. J. White. The article brims over with references to Socialism. The able article on "Why Socialists Support the Steel Strike" is reproduced from "The Worker." The most significant item, however, is the following paragraph from an editorial on "Labor Day":

"Both the dominant parties are conspicuous for their utter indifference as to the welfare of the workmen in the struggle that is now on between the Amalgamated and the great trust. On every hand can be heard the question: Where are your political friends? Have they gone to the woods? Perhaps they are asleep, if so let there be such a demonstration on Labor Day that will compel them to wake out of their stupor long enough at least to read the handwriting on the wall."

To the credit of the much abused Socialist Party, it has come forward with such a sincere proffer of financial aid from its followers that the laboring men will not forget. Surely, this is a time for our political friends to come forward and make themselves known. Since will be remembered in the future as unfriendliness."

The trade unionists are rapidly learning that the Socialist movement is a labor movement. They are beginning to realize that the old parties do not have their friends, and it is only a question of a short time when the trade union movement will be lending its heartiest support to Socialism. Let the Socialists always follow the tactics used in the present strike and they will soon gain the confidence and friendship of all organized labor."

Bayardstown Lodge, No. 29,
A. A. of I. S. and T. W.,
Pittsburg, Pa., Aug. 30, 1901.
Leon Greenbaum, Nat. Sec.

Your communication received and contents noted. Bayardstown Lodge thanks the brothers for their expression of good will and assistance in the fight now on. Of course, as individ-

uals, many of us are members of and believers in your party, but as an organization we are non-partisan. We trust the day is not far distant when we are recognized as we should be. The only course we know is a political party of our own.

Treating the Socialist Party will prosper. I am,

Fraternally,
C. J. MONAHAN, Cor. Rep.

STRIKE FUND.

The National Committee of the Socialist Party has received the following donations in answer to its letter of appeal in behalf of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers:

New London Socialist Club, New London, Conn.	\$ 3.00
Newcastle Socialist Club, Newcastle, Pa.	3.50
Socialist sympathizers	25.00
Cooper's International Union, No. 8, St. Louis	10.00
A Socialist, San Francisco, Cal.	1.00
New Hampshire State Com., Socialist Party	10.00
Caroline H. Pemberton, Dublin, N. H.	1.00

Total \$53.64

The fund is now opened and we hope the Socialists will take it up and push it. No better work could be done at the present time in identifying the Socialist Party with the trade union movement. We feel assured that the "Strike Fund" will grow larger from the generous response not alone of Socialists, but of union men also who read Socialist papers, but have not yet joined the party.

Note—All contributions sent to the National Secretary will be forwarded to the Amalgamated Association and receipt duly acknowledged.

Yours fraternally,
LEON GREENBAUM,
National Secretary.

Support the Strike.

[From the Amalgamated Journal.]
Philadelphia, Pa., Aug. 19, 1901.

To the President and Executive Board of the Amalgamated Association:

Dear Sir: At a regular stated meeting of the Socialists of Philadelphia I was instructed to extend to the steel workers of the United States who are now on strike our heartfelt sympathies and our moral and our financial assistance. Hoping the strike will be of short duration and that you will be successful, I remain

Yours fraternally,
ED. KUPPINGER, Cor. Sec.

Members of the party in the 21st A. D. New York City, have decided to each contribute five cents a week to help the steel strikers.

CHRISTIANITY, PROTECTION TO THE WEAK, TEMPERANCE, LAW AND ORDER, LIBERTY, HONORABLE DEALING, MERCY, EDUCATION, and so on.

There it is good? Sir, it is pie. It will bring into camp any idiot that sits in darkness anywhere.

The head of every State and Sovereignty in Christendom and ninety per cent. of every legislative body in Christendom, including our Congress and our City State Legislatures, are members not only of the Church, but also of the Blessings-of-Civilization Trust. This world-grinding accumulation of trained morals, high principles, and justice, cannot do an upright thing, an unselfish thing, an unmerciful thing, an unchristian thing. It knows what it is about. Give yourself no uneasiness; it's all right.

A "UNION" BALLOT.

Extended argument is not required to demonstrate the fact that the interests of all workers are identical; they must rise or fall together. It is a self-evident proposition that the densest ignorance cannot fail to perceive. When a strike occurs the supreme necessity for solidarity, the closing up of the ranks, and standing together like a wall of resistance, is instinctively felt, and every worker falls into his place and holds it against the assaults of hunger and privation, and if, hapless victims, unequal to the ordeal, falls out of line, he is denounced as a "scab" and the gaunt spectre of prosecution pursues him to his dying day, and when the last green of despair has been extorted from him, he is transferred to his innocent offspring.

In the light of such daily exhibitions

of industrial solidarity, how curious it seems that upon the political field, the mastery of which would make abhor the ruler of the world, the forces are divided into hostile camps, and brains brain brother, while not sink to a level and constant degradation to themselves and to the cause of their self-tested fetters.

In these days of economic concentration the capitalist is the master. He holds all the keys. By a turn of the lock the judicial harlot appears in her detached ermine and proclaims the command of her imperious master. Another turn and sudden soldiers rip with impious steel the throbbing lock of honest men. Still another, and fair earth becomes a prison house, and all the helpless hosts of labor areustrate in the dust.

Is there relief, release, escape? Yes. When? Now. Where? At the ballot-box. How? By the solidarity of labor.

On the industrial field workingmen strike against capitalists—a flock against a galling. Transfer this strike to the political arena and the weapons exchanged. Political solidarity solves the problem.

A great class conflict is shaking the foundations of human society. In this life-and-death struggle I am on the side of the working class and against every other class. On election day, I vote myself a "union man," by casting a vote that bears the label of the working class, a vote in favor of putting that class in control of the American Government and making it the ruling class of the world.

EUGENE DEBS, in the Minnesota Union Advocate.

The Comrade.

About forty illustrations will adorn the first issue of "The Comrade," the new Socialist Magazine that will make its appearance in about two weeks. There will be some full-page pictures and some colored cartoons. Richard LeGallienne, the well-known poet, and Essaiet will contribute a poem entitled: "Is this America? A Song of the Strike." Other poems will be contributed by Geo. D. Herron and by our California Comrade, Jack London. William Mally, Morris Winchelsky, Fred Kraft, J. Spargo, M. Hillquit, Herbert N. Casson and others have stories and articles in the first issue. "The Comrade" will cost \$1.00 per year—16 cents per copy, and is issued by the Comrade Pub. Co., New York, P. O. Box 324.

If there are "obviously socialistic tendencies now apparent in State and National legislation," it is because capitalism is working to its own destruction, in accord with the law of evolution. It has fulfilled or nearly so, its mission in the concentration of industry, and will be removed in good time, as an obstacle to further progress, when the working class become conscious of their true economic interests, and not before.—Saginaw Exponent.

Why We Support the Steel Strike.

[FROM THE WORKER.]

We have been asked two questions in regard to our position on the steel strike, both of which deserve reply. No doubt the majority of the Socialists of the country would answer the questions just as we shall, without waiting for our opinion. But it is worth while to take them up here, that our position may be understood by workmen outside the party.

One correspondent asks us: "Are you justified in upholding the tactics of practical opposition to trust development? Are we right in encouraging strikes, on a large or small scale, seeing that it retards the progress of the main tide of practical Socialistic growth by opposing the march of concentration of capital?"

The other reminds us that President Shaffer has until recently been an active supporter of the Republican party and that the majority of the members of the Amalgamated Association vote the Republican ticket, and asks: "How can we support these men in a strike when, at the ballot-box, they oppose us and support Morgan's party?"

over again. We do wish to see the working class succeed in every such fight, for every such partial victory of the workers brings us nearer to the final victory, the triumph of Socialism.

To sum up: We oppose the anti-trust agitation, not because we love the trust, but because we wish the development hastened instead of delayed. We support the present strike against the trust, not because we wish to see the trust destroyed, but because we wish to see the working class strengthened for its victory over capitalism.

And now for the second question: It is probably true that the majority of the members of the Amalgamated Association have voted against us, and for the party of their masters. Some of them have learned better since last election; but perhaps the majority will even do it once or twice more.

That is wrong on their part. It is very foolish for them to vote for either of the old parties which support the capitalist system they suffer under. We are very sorry they do it. We hope they will rapidly come to see the folly of it. We shall do our part in the work of convincing them that the only way for them really to emancipate themselves is to vote themselves into possession of the mills their labor has created.

But that has nothing to do with the question of our duty to help them in this strike.

The Socialist Party has, after long and careful discussion, endorsed the principle of trade unionism and declared that Socialists, as individuals, ought to join the unions of their crafts and, as a body, ought to support their fellow workers in all their struggles.

Did we adopt those resolutions in order to "catch" trade union votes? Did we intend to sway to the trade unionists? We will help you in your strikes on condition that you help us at the ballot-box? If that had been our motive, we should have been as bad as Tammany.

But that was not our motive. We have declared in favor of trade unionism because we honestly believe that it is a good thing for the working class. We declare in favor of independent political action on the Socialist platform because we honestly believe that it is a good thing for the working class.

These strikers are our fellow-workmen. The fact that most of them have voted against our party does not in the least oblige us from our duty to stand by them in their battle. It is their duty to use both the trade union method and the political method to secure emancipation. Our duty is the same. If they have not done the whole of their duty, all the more need that we do the whole of ours.

Not only for the immediate benefit it may give, but also because it is a part of the class struggle that is going on in Socialism, we support this strike. We extend to the strikers our warmest sympathy and our heartiest congratulations on the resolute spirit they have shown. We bid them, "Be bold, be bold!"—and never fear to the "boss." We wish them all success—not for their sake alone, but for our sake, for the sake of the working class—not for the present alone, but for the future, too.

Who Invited Dockery?

Someone Acted Without Authority—Question for the C. T. & L. U.

Explanations will be the order of the day at next Sunday's meeting of the Central Trades and Labor Union, and someone stands a fair chance of receiving a well-merited rebuke from that body. At its last meeting the Central passed a motion selecting M. Ballard Dunn as the orator for Labor Day. A motion was made to add four other speakers to the programme but the motion was voted down. It was plainly the will of the assembly that there should only be the one speaker, and in the discussion it became quite apparent that the politicians at the strike that were to speak at the Building Trades Council celebration were wanted at Lemp's Park on Labor Day. In fact, the choice of the speakers made by the B. T. C. was one of the things that made matters unpleasant between the two bodies.

The C. T. and L. U. parade was a magnificent demonstration and a record breaking crowd attended the picnic at Lemp's Park. When the hour for the speaking arrived arrangements were made in one part of the park and M. Ballard Dunn addressed a large crowd of interested people. His speech was well received and the selection made by the C. T. and L. U. was proven to have been well made.

But to the astonishment of members who happened to be in another corner of the park another stand had been arranged and the very politicians to which the C. T. and L. U. is so opposed were addressing the crowd. Someone had taken it upon themselves to invite Governor Dockery and ex-Mayor

Watrbridge to speak and these two gentlemen, one a Democrat and the other a Republican, were very busily engaged in advising the laboring men to keep politics out of their unions. That these two politicians that have served their capitalist masters so well should be thus exhorting workmen to keep politics out of the union at the same time that a Socialist was addressing a meeting nearby is proof that they fear that the trade unionists will go into the right kind of politics. It is very humiliating to the Central Trades and Labor Union that such politicians, representing the class which is responsible for all the brutainties of the street car strike, should even appear to have been invited to speak at its Labor Day celebration. The proper course for the Central is to disclaim any connection with the appearance of Dockery and Watrbridge and to severely rebuke the parties who are responsible for it. It is said that Mr. George Meinz, president of the C. T. and L. U., who marched with the Jefferson Club in the jingo Fourth of July celebration, and who seems especially anxious to fraternize with noted politicians on the strength of the office he holds in the Central, is the one who took it upon himself to invite Dockery and Watrbridge to speak and that he introduced them to the audience. If this is true the delegates to the Central will certainly have sufficient respect for their organization to demand that he no longer be allowed to act as the presiding officer of that assembly.

Socialism the Issue.

Extracts from Capitalist Papers, Etc., That Show How It is Attracting Attention.

Socialism promises to be a force with which American statesmen may have to reckon.—St. Louis Globe-Democrat.

Socialism is in the air. It has conquered the ranks of labor and permeated the schools of learning.—Portland Oregonian.

The development of the consolidation idea renders all protest against ultimate Socialism futile and foolish.—St. Louis Mirror.

The immense consolidations that have marked the opening of the century point unmistakably to the strengthening of the Socialist idea.—Boston Post.

He is a man of peace, the Socialist, and his sole idea is to benefit his fellows and himself as well. He respectfully asks a hearing and he should have a respectful hearing.—Lowell News.

The dream of the true Socialist, that all men will some day be on a plane of social equality, and all contented and happy in the myriad pursuits of knowledge. We take our hat off to that beautiful vision. All hope for it.—Dayton, Ohio, Press, (rep.)

The subject of Socialism is not one to be ignored nor to be sneered out of discussion by the beneficiaries of the oligarchy of wealth. It is receiving the best thoughts of the best minds of the most enlightened nations of the earth.—Editorial in Seattle Daily Times.

Nothing is more noticeable just now in current opinion than the decided and rapid drift toward a certain form of Socialism. In quarters where five or even two years ago Socialism in any form was considered as visionary and dismissed with ridicule or contempt, it is now looked upon as the only escape from the tendencies and evils that are subversive and destructive of our form of government.—The Daily Pilot, Norfolk, Va.

"The largest convention of Socialists ever held in the United States," is the way the dispatches describe the meeting at Indianapolis. While Mr. Morgan and his friends have been making trusts, they have also been making Socialists. The trusts can be measured in figures, and some of these days there will be figures on Socialists, and then it will be seen whether the trust figures or the Socialist figures are the largest.—San Diegoan Sun (Dem.)

The trusts and monopolies have taught us the bitter lesson that the old-fashioned American system of individualism and open competition is dead. The alternative to that system is Socialism, which may be a good or a bad thing, accordingly as it is viewed. THERE IS LITTLE DOUBT, HOWEVER, THAT ULTIMATELY IT WILL BE TRIED IF PRESENT CONDITIONS CONTINUE.—Daily Times, Washington, D. C.

"The influence of the business man in politics is more far-reaching than one would at first imagine. We don't wish to array class against class. The great mass of workmen, who are the employees of capital, and therefore the partners of capital, wield a great influence either for good or evil, as they are made to see things. It is the duty of the business man of America to show to that great class—the most powerful because of its numbers—that we do not discriminate between all classes, but that you have their welfare at heart. Then we need not fear, when it comes to an issue between Republicanism and Socialism."—Marcus A. Hanna.

It happens that there are 2,050 railroad corporations in the United States. It is difficult to state just how many systems there are, but something like 800 roads or corporations run 2,050; and it is perfectly safe to say that ten men in the United States, whose names are familiar, control the whole 2,050 roads, either directly or indirectly. And when the public sees that instead of ten men it is five, and instead of five it is three, and instead of three it is one man that controls all the railroad interests of the country, it will be found that public sentiment will not be afraid of the trend toward Socialism.—Carol D. Wright.

"I will not always stand calmly by and see myself exploited for the commercial advantage of a small minority. The only point involved is when shall that stage be reached that forbearance ceases to be a virtue. The common American people are abundantly able to take care of themselves. No race that has ever before existed is so completely equipped. When the times comes there will be a revolution, which will likewise be a revolution to all except that small class of intelligent observers of which Mr. MacVeagh is a shining example. But it will be a peaceful revolution, not withstanding that it may shake what we now regard as the established order of things to the center. In that day of re-adjustment the plain people of the country will come into their own, precisely as Mr. MacVeagh predicts, and it will be amazing to those haughty ones who now rule the destinies of the country with high and stringent hand, to discover with what ease and grace the thing was done."—Denver Post.

All women interested in forming a Woman's Socialist League for the promulgation of Socialist principles, are requested to address Marion H. Dunham, Burlington, Iowa; Imogene C. Fales, 126 Mason street, Brooklyn, N. Y.; or Wenonah S. Abbott, Oak Shasta Co., California.

Organize your town, your county, your State. The movement is on the boom. Now is the time.

The Person Sitting in Darkness.

By Mark Twain.

Extending the Blessings of Civilization to our Brother who Sits in Darkness has been a good trade and has paid well, on the whole; and there is money in it yet, if carefully worked, but not enough, in my judgment, to justify any considerable risk. Advertisements in the People that Sit in Darkness are cheap. And such darkness as is now left is really but an indifferent quality and dark enough for the getting to be no nearer too scarce than now. The most of the People that Sit in Darkness have been furnished with more light than was good for them or profitable for us. We have been injudicious.

The Blessings-of-Civilization Trust, wisely and cautiously administered, is a subsidy. There is more money in it, any territory, more sovereignty and other kinds of employment, than there is in any other game that is played. Now Christendom has been playing it for half a century, and must certainly suffer by it, in my opinion. She has been so eager to get every stake that she offered on the green cloth, that the People who Sit in the Darkness have noticed it—they have become suspicious of the Blessings of Civilization. More—they have begun to examine them. This is not well. The Blessings of Civilization are all right, and a good commercial property; there could not be a better, in a dim light, in the right kind of a light, and at a proper distance, with the goods a little out of focus, they furnish this desirable exhibit to the Gentlemen who Sit in Darkness.

LOVE, JUSTICE, GENTLENESS.

Missouri Socialist

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EDITORIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS.

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

The fact that a signed article is published does not commit MISSOURI SOCIALIST to all opinions expressed therein.

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

Entered at the Postoffice at St. Louis, Mo., as second-class matter, in December, 1900.



To State Committees.

As the Socialists of many States are without an organ in which to publish their official announcements Missouri Socialist is willing to make the following arrangement:

We will set aside a certain portion of our space each week for official announcements, etc., of any States, under proper heading, provided the comrades of that State will endeavor to raise at least one hundred and fifty subscribers. The running of the announcements can begin immediately, as all that is asked is an honest effort to secure the required number of subscriptions. The Socialists of States having no official organ will find this a convenient method of placing important matters before their comrades. Take this up with your State Committee at once.

Organize your town.

Do something for Socialism and don't be so slow about it.

Attend the picnic of the Arbeiter-Zeitung on Sept. 15. See announcement on another page.

The ward branches are taking up new life. Attend your meetings and do your part.

The Labor Compendium.

The Labor Compendium of this city is a great labor paper. It labors so hard promoting the interests of the enemies of organized labor that it deserves a special medal. Its latest effort is its greatest, and is in the form of a Labor Day edition, handsomely adorned with half-tone pictures of various individuals, especially of the great and good business men who are boosting the World's Fair. But the picture which will please laboring men beyond compare is the handsome likeness of Fred W. Lehman, the attorney and representative of the St. Louis Transit Company, the one man who, next to Baumhoff, was most cordially hated by workmen during the street railway strike, the man who so valiantly battled for the Transit Company against the lawless fellows who wanted to organize. On another page the reader of this champion labor paper is confronted with a half-page advertisement of the St. Louis Transit Co., in which the company declares that it is "able to handle any crowd." It is undoubtedly able to handle a crowd of the kind of men that publish the Compendium. That line in the ad. contains considerable sarcasm. No wonder the Transit Company thinks it is able to handle any crowd, even of strikers, who professed labor papers are so easily subsidized. It is a problem to the thoughtful observer whether the Compendium inserted Lehman's picture because it got the big ad., or whether Lehman gave the ad. because the Compendium inserted the picture. The picture of Corwin H. Spencer, President of the Transit Company, is also a conspicuous ornament of this wonderful Labor Day edition. Workmen will no doubt break their necks to subscribe to such a great paper at once.

MISSOURI SOCIALIST will be sent for one year.....
With HAVERHILL SOCIAL DEMOCRAT for..... 80c
With THE WORKER for..... 80c
With ADVANCE for..... 80c
With THE SOCIALIST (Seattle, Wash.) for..... 80c
With THE WORKERS' CALL for..... 80c
With THE CHALLENGE for..... 80c

THE WAY OUT.

Union Men Can Protect Their Interests by Voting the Socialist Ticket.

Must Capture Political Power.

[From the Cleveland Citizen.]

For years the working class has been promised relief by hands of politicians through the Republican and Democratic parties, and those trade unionists who did not believe in organizing politically on class lines followed the advice of those politicians.

The trade unionists disregarded our repeated warnings, divided their strength on election day, fought each other with ballots at the polls and the capitalists and their tools landed in office.

What has been the result? Labor laws are declared unconstitutional or are not enforced.

Injunctions are hurled at the critical stage in every strike.

Police and militia are thrown against the workers when they appear to be winning.

Boycotting is outlawed. The blacklist is legalized. The union label is attacked.

Disfranchising is going forward. Special privileges are granted to trusts and corporations.

Capital becoming more powerful, arrogant and merciless.

A quarter of a century of indiscriminate voting for this or that "good man," without considering PRINCIPLES, fearful of "throwing away your vote" and "choosing the lesser evil," has plunged the working class into what appears to some to be hopeless wage-slavery.

The leaders and bosses of both old parties are Capitalists or controlled by trusts, and their constant study is to ENSLAVE LABOR IN THEIR MACHINES, to make it helpless and docile, and force it to yield the wealth it produces.

Go South and the mill, mine and plantation owner and his politicians in office of the Democratic faith are as merciless and cruel as the mill and mine and railroad barons and landlords of the North!

For a generation and more the capitalists and politicians of the two sections have had petty political quarrels relating to THEIR INTERESTS—the Southern Democratic capitalists and politicians desired to enrich themselves by inaugurating free trade or free silver, so-called, while the Northern capitalists and politicians desired high tariff and a gold standard—and never for a moment did they permit of a discussion of an issue that BENEFITED LABOR DIRECTLY. They merely held out a bait (out of reach) that the laborers would be made "prosperous" indirectly by voting for them—the capitalists and politicians.

This has been the bunyo game that has been played since the Civil War, with the result, as before stated, that organized labor is now compelled to FIGHT FOR ITS RIGHT TO COMBINE, and is met with hostile laws, court injunctions, blacklists, police and militia and billions of capital in the control of men with hearts of stone.

THINK WELL OF THESE FACTS!

Is there a way out of the difficulty in which the present generation of labor finds itself?

Can the workers hope to recover their natural heritage, their industrial freedom, and enjoy the fruits of their collective labor and a higher civilized life?

Yes, ONE way still remains open! Workingmen still possess the right to USE THE BALLOT—although each year the political charlatans increase the restrictions.

But first of all workingmen must educate themselves and become conscious of their interests as a class—they must learn that their interests are identical and opposed to the interests of the capitalist class.

They must understand that the present bitter economic struggle is a fight between Labor and Capital between those who receive WAGES and those who subsist on PROFITS, or withheld wages.

Necessarily, therefore, workingmen must be a UNIT at the polls as well as in their organizations and move uncompromisingly along right lines to capture THE POLITICAL POWER.

Once the government is in control of labor, its powers can be used in the interest of labor rather than against it, as now under Republican and Democratic rule.

Workingmen should learn that the trusts of capitalism are a logical, natural outgrowth of the competitive system of production, just as automatic machinery has grown out of the primitive tools with which labor of previous generations worked, and which tools it owned.

But now the tools of production have grown so large that individual laborers no longer own them.

Those tools of production HAVE BECOME SOCIALIZED TOOLS and are IN THE POSSESSION OF TRUSTS.

For that reason workingmen should pay no heed to the demagogical and dishonest cry of certain politicians to "buy the trusts," but they should organize into a party of their own to CAPTURE THE TRUSTS! They are the majority, and they can do that very thing by voting themselves into control of the government.

This object can be attained by working and voting for the SOCIALIST

PARTY, the only party that upholds by words and deeds trade unions, and the members of which are largely union men. (Read the Socialist Party platform on another page and compare it with the platforms of other parties.) When the Socialist Party gains control of the machinery of government the trusts and the tools of production which they now possess, and which were produced by labor, will be taken control of and conducted for the benefit of ALL THE PEOPLE, INSTEAD OF A FEW, AS NOW.

Under Socialism, as proposed by the Socialist Party, labor will again be free and independent. The method of production will be co-operative instead of competitive, and we will no longer cut each others' throats and gamble on a national scale for the necessities and comforts of life.

In the new system wasteful occupations will be abolished, the hours of labor will be reduced to perhaps four per day, and all men will have work. They will keep for themselves practically all they produce, or its equivalent, and will not be compelled to hand over a "fair share" in the shape of profits to idle stockholders and other parasites as a fee for the right to work.

When all men have the opportunity to work and to enjoy the fruits of their toil, tramps and involuntary poverty will disappear, crime and prostitution and drunkenness will be minimized, and women and children will not be forced to longer sacrifice their tender bones upon the altar of Mammon.

With almost unlimited fertile lands and raw material, with abundant scientific machinery of production and distribution, and with millions of workers eager to apply their labor power in nature's storehouse to increase wealth, beautify the earth and ennoble life, there is not the shadow of a reason why a single human being should be haunted by want and misery.

But all depends on the working class to emancipate the race, let the organized men lead the way to put an end to special privileges, tyranny and oppression and industrial chaos.

Address to Workingmen.

Issued by the Socialist Party of San Francisco.

The Socialist Party of San Francisco (heretofore known as the Social Democratic Party), in municipal convention assembled, publishes the following as its declaration of principles in relation to the present class struggle between Labor and Capital:

A WORKINGMAN'S PARTY.

The Socialist Party is composed of workingmen and those in sympathy with the objects of the labor movement. The interests of the working class are its sole interest; it is organized for the purpose of opposing the efforts of the employing and capitalist class to subjugate and oppress the workingmen. The Socialist Party relentlessly attacks the control exercised by the capitalist class over the offices and powers of the municipal, State and National governments, by means of which that class maintains its industrial supremacy over labor. The Socialist Party declares that the workingmen must themselves obtain and hold all the offices and powers of government in order that the rights of the working class may be sustained and protected against the attacks of the employing and capitalist class and that this can be done only by a proper use of the ballot.

CONFLICT BETWEEN THE CAPITALIST AND LABORING CLASSES.

Never in the history of the United States has the direct conflict of interest between the capitalist class and the laboring class been made so manifest as in San Francisco during the past few months. The capitalist class in many different forms, but recently and conspicuously in that secret-conspirator known as the "Employers' Association," have confederated for the purpose of disrupting and destroying all organizations of labor in order that the workingman, being deprived of the support and aid of his fellow workers, may be more easily subjugated to the despotic will and power of his employer, that he may be rendered powerless in opposing long hours of labor and be forced by his necessities to accept the lowest wages. Knowing that at present the working class are strong only in their unions, and that united effort alone makes them able to resist the encroachments of the capitalist class, the Employers' Association, in its greedy and infamous desire to reduce wages and lengthen the hours of labor, have determined to destroy that strength and to break up labor unions or render them completely powerless for good by depriving them of those useful weapons—the strike and the boycott. In these attempts the Employers' Association has been aided and abetted by the entire capitalist class.

CAPITALIST CONTROL OF GOVERNMENT.

The capitalist class is in full possession of all the executive and administrative departments of this city. The Police Department and all other departments of the city government are merely the tools of the capitalist class and are used, whenever necessary to subdue and oppress the laboring class, in spite of the protest of workingmen, and in direct opposition to their welfare. The courts are also subservient to every capitalist command. By their decisions against the eight-hour day and other labor laws, and by issuing injunctions against strikes and boy-

ens while upholding the Employers' conspiracies and infamous blacklists, the courts have shown their utter contempt for the rights of labor and exhibited the basest servility to their capitalist masters. The working-class, in its continuous struggle against the capitalist class, cannot expect to receive any aid or assistance from any department of the government as now constituted—executive, administrative or judicial. The workingmen must rely upon themselves to preserve their own freedom and independence and to protect their own interests. The Socialist Party again repeats the undeniable and certain truth that the only remedy lies in the ballot, and if the workingmen would free themselves from virtual slavery, and overthrow their oppressors they must do so by their votes.

ONLY WORKINGMEN FOR OFFICE.

In view of the preceding known and undisputed facts, the Socialist Party declares that it has not and will not nominate for any municipal, city or other office, any one who is not a well-recognized and faithful supporter of Union Labor; that it pledges its nominees to look out for the interests of the working class above and against all capitalist interests of whatsoever nature or kind, and to insure good faith and the fulfillment of these pledges, each and every one of its candidates has deposited before election his resignation, duly signed and attested by him, and left undated, to be hereafter dated, presented and filed by the Socialist Party at any time after his election, should he neglect to carry out his pledges or fail to give satisfaction to the working class and the Socialist Party.

PRINCIPLES OF SOCIALISM.

The Socialist Party of San Francisco affirms its adherence to the platform and constitution of the Socialist Party of the United States, and points out to the wage-worker that his only safety lies in abolishing the capitalist system. The capitalist class now owns the land and machinery which the workers must use to produce, even the wealth actually necessary for their own support, while the value of what the workers do produce for their employers is far greater than the wages paid. It is this surplus value or profit which the employer takes that has built up the capitalist, the millionaire and the trust. The possession of the land and machinery gives the capitalist almost absolute power over the very existence of the laborer. It enables the capitalist to levy upon the workers a tribute for the use of these things and to reap from their product a profit. It renders the workers industrially dependent upon the capitalist class and reduces them to a condition little above that of slavery, while it has enabled the capitalist and trust magnates to become the ruling and governing class and to seize and hold the reins of government. The Socialist Party declares that in order to overthrow this domination of the capitalist class and to free themselves from the economic dependence upon it, the people must acquire and collectively own and operate all the means of production and distribution; that not only all public utilities, but also all the land and machinery by which production is carried on or distribution made, should belong to and be operated by the workers; that in this way only can the laborer expect to get his full social share of the value he produces and be relieved from giving up all his product to the capitalist while he receives in the shape of low wages but a trifling share of the wealth he has created. Socialism means that the worker shall have his full share of the value he produces and that no capitalist shall make a profit out of the workingman's sweat and toil.

Forbidden Fruit.

Bitter is the bread that is made by slaves. In the fair, white loaf I can taste their sweat and tears. My clothes strangle and oppress me; they burn into my flesh, for I have not justly earned them, and how are they that made them clad? My tapestried walls and inlaid floors chill me and hem me in like the damp stones of a prison-house, and I ask why the builders and weavers of them are not living here in my stead. Alas, I am eating the fruit of the forbidden tree, the tree of other's labor! I crave it with unhealthy craving and it poisons the very source of my life. (Adapted from the Russian by Ernest Crosby.)

Copies of the picture of the Unity convention, printed on heavy cardboard or on heavy paper, for sale at this office, ten cents each.

A GARBLED QUOTATION.

Some of Lincoln's Works too Radical for the St. Louis Star.

BY WM. H. BAIRD.

The following editorial, which appeared in the St. Louis Star of August 20, is a fair sample of the manner in which the capitalist press mutilates history in its servile attitude toward plutocracy, while at the same time endeavoring to appear to be interested in the welfare of the laboring class:

ADMONITION OF A GREAT MAN.
Abraham Lincoln was possessed of an inherent sympathy for the laboring classes of the world, and appeared to what would probably befall the working classes of the United States in the years to come unless they united for their own protection.

In 1861, in discussing the relations existing between labor and capital, he said: "There is one point to which I ask attention. It is the effort to place capital on an equal footing with labor in this government. I bid the laboring people beware of surrendering a power which they already possess, and which, when surrendered, will never be used to close the door of advancement to such as they, and fix new disabilities upon them till all liberty shall be lost."

Mr. Lincoln, in the above, referred primarily to the ballot, which if judiciously used, will right all governmental wrongs and protect each class from the grasping tendencies of any other. Further, he also had in view the right of laborers to organize themselves in their own interest, in such manner as would sustain the dignity of labor and maintain a living wage for workingmen.

Mr. Lincoln's utterances are commended to the attention of the great trust functionaries of this country, who are now engaged in the attempt to place capital above labor.

You will notice the quotation is from one of Lincoln's messages to congress. What I desire to call attention to is that the "Star" has failed to quote the most significant passage in that part of the message from which it quotes, and to ask why the quotation was garbled. Here is the significant part of the message of the "Great Emancipator" which is literally "cut out" of the Star's quotation:

"It is assumed that labor is available only in connection with capital—that nobody labors, unless somebody else, owning capital, somehow by the use of it induces him to labor."

LABOR IS PRIOR AND INDEPENDENT OF CAPITAL. CAPITAL IS ONLY THE FRUIT OF LABOR, AND COULD NEVER HAVE EXISTED IF LABOR HAD NOT FIRST EXISTED. LABOR IS THE SUPERIOR OF CAPITAL, AND DESERVES MUCH THE HIGHER CONSIDERATION."

How does that strike you, Mr. Workingman? And why did the Star cut it out? Would it have been against the interest of the working class to quote that part of the message? I'll tell you why it was cut out: It would have been "treason" to print such "pernicious" doctrine, not that it is not true, but because it is true, and the Star knows that it is true, but the Star is loyal to the "government" and the "government" is a capitalistic government, and is administered by the servile tools of the capitalist class, and up on the exact opposite theory from that laid down by Lincoln, and for the Star to tell the workingmen who read it, and, unfortunately, some of them possibly do read it, that capital is dependent upon and the product of labor, might start them wondering how it comes that they have been dispossessed of the products of their toil, and to have told the workingmen that Lincoln said this in an official message to congress would have been "high treason" to the capitalist class, to which the Star belongs, for the "plain people" of this country have a very great respect for the integrity, wisdom and foresight of Abraham Lincoln, so the Star keeps back the most fundamental proposition contained in the message from which it quotes. To Lincoln's proposition you need only add the Socialists' contention "That to the laborer belongs the full product of his labor," and the workingman has only to become convinced of the truth of Lincoln's contention and he will soon arrive at his logical corollary, as he has only to put two and two together. And should he be inclined to overlook the latter, there is a young and vigorous Socialist party in the field to call his attention to the matter and to point out to him a way by which he may come into possession of that which he has created, but which he does not possess and for which he has received no equivalent.

You will also notice that the Star says, "Mr. Lincoln referred primarily to the ballot," and that he also had in view the right of the laborers to organize themselves in their own interest, in such a manner as would maintain a living wage for workingmen." I fail to find where Mr. Lincoln said anything about a "living wage," and it would make no differ-

ence if he had. Once admit that it is the product of labor, and the only question to decide is to whom does it belong—the laborer or to the idler? A "living wage" has nothing to do with the question, it is not "wages" that the workingmen want. He has been getting a "living" (sic) wage" too long now. He must have all he produces. The Star suggests that a judicious use of the ballot will protect each class from the grasping tendencies of any other. "Each class" and "grasping tendencies" that is good! So there are classes, and they have "grasping tendencies." Think about that, you men of the working class, who possess all the wealth, and "grasp" 75 per cent of it. Don't you think that you have a few more "grasps" coming to you before the other fellows find much protection? And how many more "grasps" by the other "class" do you think you can stand? In 1850 they only "grasped" 25 per cent, but they have been taking bigger "grasps" each year, until you have got the whole lot in the hands of 17 to 20, according to the census of 1890, and it is "dollars to doughnuts" you haven't increased your "grasp" any since then.

And the Star closes by commending Mr. Lincoln's utterances to the attention of "the great trust functionaries of this country." Why did not the Star commend "Mr. Lincoln's utterances" to the "grasping working class"? Was it afraid that they might discover the truth about what Mr. Lincoln really did say and "grasp" the situation? Or was it because it was afraid the "great functionaries of the country" might overlook the importance of a "judicious use of the ballot"? If it was the latter, I think that the Star is unnecessarily alarmed; the aforesaid "functionaries" are "on to" this "judicious use of the ballot" business; and they have taken good care to make good use of the powers of government given them by the "judicious" use of the ballot in the part as far as the "class" interests are concerned. And the Socialists of the country propose to do a little "commending" to the "working class" in regard to the "judicious use of the ballot" this time on.

Workingmen, a word to the wise is sufficient. There are classes in this country, the capitalist class and the working class; even the Star admits that. They have "grasping tendencies." The Star admits that also, therefore the Star admits that there is a "class struggle." The old "grip" about the "identity of interest" of brother capital and brother labor has gone out; the "friendly relations" between capital and labor "don't" work much longer. What the Star has admitted all most admit sooner or later. Do you belong to the working class? If you do, your interests are not identical with the interests of any other class, and they are antagonistic to the interests of every other class. You can serve your own individual interest best by working for the interest of YOUR class.

The old political parties represent and serve the interests of the capitalist class. The Socialist party represents and works for the interest of your class. Join that party, study its principles, and by a "judicious use of the ballot," place yourselves in power and protect yourselves from the "grasping tendencies" of the capitalist class. It is the only way that you CAN protect yourselves, and you can not grasp the opportunity too soon, for if you delay much longer "all" liberty will be lost."

WM. H. BAIRD.

Members and branches of the Socialist party in St. Louis will please take notice of the following important matters:

1. That the new constitution to govern the party in this city is now adopted and in force. This constitution will be found in another column and should be studied carefully, in order that a uniform system of procedure, etc., be conducted throughout the city.
 2. That every ward branch must at once elect an organizer to represent it on the new City Central Committee.
 3. That the first meeting of the new City Central Committee will be held Monday, September 9, 8 p. m., at room 10, 22 North Fourth street. All organizers must be present at this meeting.
 4. The ward branches are hereby called upon to make nominations for the following offices: Secretary (who is also to act as business manager of Missouri Socialist), and editor of Missouri Socialist. All nominations must be in the hands of the secretary of the C. C. C. by September 15.
 5. All nominations will be submitted to a referendum vote of the branches, to be counted on October 1.
- Trusting that prompt attention will be paid to these matters, rendered necessary by the new constitution, I am, fraternally,

WILLIAM DETEN, Secretary C. C. C.

ers to the
Nat'l Secretary.

eds From the Workers,

Kennedy, Elm, Ill.: "Please send me blanks for organizing Socialist Party."
E. Luckenbach, Mauch Chunk, Pa.: "Send me instructions for organizing Socialist Party."
E. Kennedy, Cal.: "Please send me blanks for organizing Socialist Party."
J. Smith, Pensacola, Fla.: "Send me blanks for organizing Socialist Party."
Spencer, Creighton, Neb.: "I am in the 'Appeal' and will send you particulars for organizing."
H. Perdue, Oswatimie, Kan.: "Send me blanks for organizing Socialist Party."
Munger, Modesto, Cal.: "I am organizing a branch of the Socialist Party."
Harkness, Northport, Wash.: "Send me blanks and full particulars for organizing branches of the Socialist Party."
Jarrett, Ophir, Colo.: "Please send me blanks as I wish to try to organize a Socialist section in this precinct."
Dennis, Highland Falls, N. Y.: "Send me blanks and full particulars for organizing a branch of the Socialist Party."
I. Arnold, Columbus, Ind.: "Send me blanks for organizing a branch of the Socialist Party."
Conroy, Huntington, Ind.: "Send me blanks and instructions for organizing branches, and I can use them to good advantage."
Corbet, Montana, Colo.: "Please send me blanks and full particulars for organizing a branch. Yours, Frank this earth from 'Hell' to 'Heaven'."
W. Dyer, Lamar, Mo.: "Please send me instructions to organize a branch. Will meet Thursday next, have rented a room and expect to do educational work."
G. Wear, Lincoln, Mo.: "A meeting held by the Socialist branch in Lincoln, Mo., Sept. 1, and the following officers were elected: C. F. Chairman, L. G. Wear, Secretary, Treasurer."
S. Nicholas, Bowling Green, O.: "Please forward me blanks and full particulars for organizing a branch of the Socialist Party. Believe we can organize with almost seventy-five members."
B. Hamilton Baker, City, Ore.: "We have an election for municipal office here this fall and we want to put a Socialist ticket in the field. Will you kindly send the necessary blanks for organizing?"
D. Fairbanks, Rockport, Mass.: "Write for information and blanks for particulars for organizing a branch of the Socialist Party here. So much is growing here, and we will get it as soon as we get papers."
D. Noel, Los Angeles, Cal.: "Branch in the 'Chicago' Branch in Los Angeles, Cal., is being organized in a few days, and we are going to the Indianapolis Convention. We also have initiated a call for State convention to take place in October."
H. Hal, Helena, Mont.: "Our local paper has kindly tendered the use of its columns each Saturday for Socialist discussion and we are in need of good matter for these columns. Can you furnish us an article of a starter—600-word limit?"
D. Russell, Idaho: "Please send me blanks and full particulars for organizing the Socialist Party in Idaho. Idaho is such an odd-shaped and hilly State for the management of the Socialist organization that I send names of good workers. Send blanks, etc."
M. White, Brunswick, Ga.: "Have you any notice to organize in the Appeal to Reason? Send me blanks and particulars and also give me full information as to what the Indianapolis Convention did. I am an old S. L. Organizer and will continue the propaganda work."
B. F. Collins, Hughesville, Pa.: "Please send me blanks and such that are needed for organizing a branch. We know, we are in need of it here and with the 'Appeal to Reason' and the help of Mr. Wm. Shempp of this place, we will do something in Lycoming County or bust."
B. F. Ordway, Peoria, Ill.: "Reply to your call in the 'Appeal' will be I am chairman of the old S. D. P. (local), and would be pleased to have all particulars how to organize under new party rules. Old branch has over 30 members enrolled. Mostly dead at present, but hope they can be resurrected."
J. Eugene Cray, Hillsboro, Wis.: "Write you for information, and blanks pertaining to organizing a branch. We cast thirteen votes for Debs and Hartman here, but we have but one or six who claim openly to be Socialists. However, we wish to try to organize and get some speakers so as to raise 'em up a little'."
Jesse G. Lyman, Austin, Pa.: "Please

mail me instructions upon the organization of a local branch of the Socialist Party. I have several converts to the Socialist cause and would like to do all I can for the spread of Socialism. I have been working for Socialism for the last four years and will continue to do so until we have attained the Co-operative Commonwealth."
Thos. P. Mason, Bellaire, O.: "Please send blanks and full particulars for organizing a Socialist branch in this city. We have a lot of Socialistic material here that needs crystallizing. The Bohemians have a club of 16 members here, and we wish to form a Socialist branch for the English-speaking people. The Amalgamated Association strike is causing quite a number to come our way."
J. D. Stevens, Portland, Ore.: "Now that we are one again let us get to work organizing under the new order. We are going to start headquarters reading room, office and lecture hall here in Portland in a few days. Send us blanks and necessary instructions and details of ways and method of organization. Oregon is new and growing rapidly Socialistic. Our election next June and we want to get to work as soon as possible."
F. X. Waldharst, Birmingham, Ala.: "I am ordered by our Branch, No. 2, of Birmingham, to ask for a new charter, also wish to find out what to do next to become affiliated with the organization. We have bought 2700 "Parable of the Water Tank" for distribution on Labor Day. Nearly all our members are union men, and active at that. Most of us are delegates to District Trades and Labor Councils in this city and have a good field to work on, and good material, too."
John B. Bayard, New Orleans, La.: "The Socialists of New Orleans are extremely gratified in the unity accomplished at the Indianapolis Convention and we are very anxious to organize in this city under the new party. I happened to be one of those who had formed a branch of the S. D. P., but we have been unable to make any progress under the old party name. If we could have some good orators to come to this city this fall I think it would arouse the people, for I know that under present conditions they are doing a lot of thinking."
J. W. Gibbins, Galena, Mo.: "At last a Socialist Party is in the field that is worthy the support of all believers in the brotherhood of man. Desirous of assisting in the organization of the Socialist Party and knowing of quite a number of Socialists whose only excuse for not joining the S. D. P. was that they could not pay dues, I send to you for blanks and instructions for organizing this county. Although this is not a very promising field I can promise you that Stone County will by no means be at the tail end in Socialist votes. We polled 18 last year and we have grown considerably since."
J. W. Martin, Denver, Colo.: "Send constitution, charter and all things needed for organizing so they will reach us surely before Sunday, Sept. 8, as that is the date we have fixed for organizing. We have now nearly 200 names on list. We are eager to get organized and push the work, not only in the city, but in the county towns. I have received calls for assistance from outlying towns already and have made arrangements for one meeting, and arrangements for other meetings are being made. If Comrade Vail is still in your city tell him that his work in Denver is bearing good fruit."
Geo. Kepriya, Columbus, Ga.: "Since there has been effected a union of the local Branch of the Chicago S. D. P. in this city, being well pleased with the work done at the Indianapolis Convention, and anxious to merge into the new Socialist Party, and if possible to organize a State organization, at their last meeting, held Aug. 25, elected a committee of three to attend to the business of reorganizing. We want a new charter and wish to know when the first national dues will have to be paid. Let us know everything concerning the national organization so that we may effectively co-operate in building up the self-improvement Socialist Party, whose mission it is to sweep the capitalist system into oblivion and usher in the Co-operative Commonwealth."
John M. Reynolds, Secretary California State Committee: "The State Executive Committee of California, as it were, took the bull by the horns at its meeting on the 27th inst. It decided to change the name of the party in California, unless such action was objected to by the locals of the State to 'The Socialist Party.' It also decided to get out membership cards, and dues stamps and ordered them printed. I will have to ask you to send us about 500 membership cards, which, if they are not used, will be returned. We will want also 1,000 National Constitutions and would like to know as soon as possible the cost of the books for locals. You can rely upon the hearty co-operation of the State Ex. Com. of Calif. The Treasurer sent you thirty dollars on the 28th. We will do our part to keep the ball rolling."
The Sixth Ward branch held a good meeting last Tuesday evening and admitted four new members. Wm. Detjen was elected organizer.
Missouri Socialist desires to give the party news from all States as promptly as possible. Therefore, we desire to secure a regular correspondent in every locality where there is an organization of Socialists. Will you volunteer to furnish us the news from your neck of the woods? If so, please let us know at once, and your name will be enrolled on our staff."

NEWS OF THE MOVEMENT.

Max Hayes spent this week making speeches in New York City.
A member of the Socialist Party in New York City was suspended for scabbing until such time as his union should again recognize him.
Comrade Leon Greenbaum spoke to a big audience at Linton, Ind., Monday. The comrades there will send in an application for a charter soon.
New York Socialists are planning a grand fair for the benefit of "The Worker" to be held at Grand Central Palace, from November 10th to November 17th.
Hoehn and Putnam spoke at Staunton, Ill., Labor Day to 1500 people. There are lots of Socialist in this town and they promise to do something in the near future.
Iowa State Convention.
Des Moines, Ia., September 5.—The Socialist party of Iowa met in state convention today and nominated the following ticket:
Governor—James Baxter of Hite-man.
Lieutenant governor—W. A. Jacobs, of Dayport.
Judge of supreme court—A. F. Thompson, of Centerville.
Railway commissioner—H. C. Midgcomb, of Rock Rapids.
Superintendent of public instruction—E. E. Stevens, of Burlington.
Fifteen counties were represented by eighteen delegates.
York County, Pa.
The Socialist of York County, Pennsylvania, have put a full ticket in the field. The candidates are:
For Sheriff—W. J. Kohler.
For Register—Jacob Hoffman.
For Director of the Poor—George Kerr.
For Surveyor—Henry Pfeiffer.
For Clerk of Commissioners—J. W. Keller.
Harry Bradley was chosen county chairman; Henry Pfeiffer, recording secretary; Harvey Shay, financial secretary and treasurer; Max Glass, organizer. Contributions to the campaign fund should be sent to Harvey Shay, 5 Green street, York.
Headquarters will be at Codorus Hall, Market Square, York, where meetings will be held every Sunday afternoon.
San Francisco City Convention.
The thirty delegates elected at the Socialist primary election in San Francisco met in convention on Aug. 21st and nominated the following ticket:
Mayor—Chas. L. Ames, Painters and Decorators and Paper-Hangers' Union.
Auditor—N. C. Anderson, Painters' Union.
Treasurer—Oscar Seifert, Treasurer of Cooks and Waiters' Alliance.
Tax Collector—Ludwig Berg, Secretary Breyers' Union.
Recorder—Emil Roach, Organizer Bakers and Confectioners' National Union.
Coroner—N. J. B. Schultz, M. O., also International Typographical Union.
City and County Attorney—Cameron H. King.
District Attorney—W. C. Shepard.
Public Administrator—C. G. Perault.
Machinists' International Association.
County Clerk—Scott Anderson, Sign Painters' Union.
Sheriff—John Messer, Cooks and Waiters' Alliance.
AT LIBERAL, MO.
Liberal, Mo., Sept. 5.
Editor "Missouri Socialist"
I take pleasure in letting the comrades know, through your paper, that the good work goes on in this vicinity. We are continually enrolling new members and lining up the workers.
Comrade R. D. Oliver, of Duenweg, Mo., a forcible and eloquent speaker, has another date with us in the near future. Comrade M. M. Jones, our organizer, keeps his store "loaded," and he is a "dead shot." In fact, the boys on the inside are all at work, encouraged by the good work at Indianapolis, and the boys on the outside begin to look at us approvingly. A few try to ignore us, but their wonder increases after each rally of our forces, and only the capitalist is insolent and arrogant, but thank God he is "up against a real something" now, though he may not find it out until he is lost; and the sooner, the better, as we have no need of him.
Yours for the Cause,
PEARL THOMPSON.
Copies of the picture of the Unity convention, printed on heavy cardboard or on heavy paper, for sale at this office, ten cents each.
If you have a German friend, send him the ARBEITER ZEITUNG.
It is a good German Socialist weekly, \$1.50 a year; three months, 40 Cts.
Address Room 7, 22 North 4th Street.
If you are receiving this paper without having paid for it, you may rest assured someone has paid for it, but read it carefully. It contains food for thought.

How to Organize a Local Branch of the Socialist Party.

NOTE—These directions apply to unorganized states where the charter is to be issued by the National Committee. In organized states the charters will be granted by the state committee.
1. Five or more persons may organize a local branch, provided they subscribe to the platform and constitution of the Socialist Party, and sever their relations with all other political parties.
2. The officers to be elected are:
a. A Chairman at each meeting.
b. Recording Secretary.
c. Financial Secretary.
d. Organizer.
e. Literature Agent.
3. Order of business—
a. Reading of the minutes.
b. Admission of new members.
c. Communications and bills.
d. Report of Organizer.
e. Reports of Committees.
f. Unfinished business.
g. New business.
4. A monthly payment, computed on a basis of five cents for each member, for the maintenance of the National organization, shall be paid to the National Secretary. Local branches may levy dues if they so choose, or may raise funds altogether through voluntary contributions and pay National dues out of their general funds.
5. A full report of the meeting to which organization was decided on, and the names of persons participating, together with five cents for each member, should be sent with application for charter, after receipt of which, upon approval of National Committee, charter will be granted.
6. Each local branch should hold a meeting at least once a week, for the transaction of business or the discussion of political and economic questions.
7. Semi-annual reports of the membership and the financial condition of each local branch, as well as upon the progress made by the Party and its prospects in the locality, shall be sent regularly to the National Secretary.
8. Any person living in a city or locality, where no local branch exists, may apply directly to the National Secretary for admission to the Party, enclosing one month's dues, and will be enrolled as a member-at-large.
9. For further information not contained herein, address Leon Greenbaum, National Secretary, Room 127, Emilie Building, St. Louis, Mo.
HOW TO ORGANIZE AND BUILD UP A LOCAL BRANCH WITHOUT PREVIOUS EXPERIENCE.
The following instructions are offered solely in the form of suggestion and not as set of rules for the government of organizers. It is impossible to submit a method of organization, that will apply without modification, in every locality. It is not necessary in order to be a successful organizer to be a silver-tongued orator or a master of arts, but it is absolutely essential in order to reach a fair degree of success that the organizer be a man of ordinary tact and judgment, able to control his own temper. He should not attempt to impress other Socialists with his superior knowledge, nor permit them to practice their science on him, which always results in loss of time, sometimes loss of temper and often failure in attempted organization.
SELF-EQUIPMENT.
The National Committee does not empower local organizers, the same being elected by the local branch. In localities where no local branch exists, any Socialist may assume the work of organization until the local branch organizes and elects an official organizer. An organizer should properly equip himself with a small supply of materials, such as platform, constitutions, applications for membership and charter, directions on

organization, etc., all of which may be obtained from the National Secretary. By carefully reading the above at intervals during leisure moments, he will very quickly familiarize himself with essential information, which will enable him to answer the usual questions. Valuable ideas about organizing will be obtained, by subscribing to one or more party papers, which give weekly accounts of what is being accomplished by National, State and Local organizers in their respective fields.
CHARTER APPLICATION.
Assuming that the Organizer has thus equipped himself, the next step is to obtain signers to application for charter. Upon reference to charter application it will be seen that qualifications for membership are recognition of the class struggle between the capitalist class and the working class, renunciation of all other political parties and indorsement of the platform and constitution of the Socialist Party. Do not waste much time on men with incongruous political beliefs, who claim to have Socialist leanings, and beware of the capitalist politician who is a Socialist "at heart." Men who claim to have been Socialists "before you were born," but "who haven't got time" to read a Socialist book or paper, do not make good material for a Socialist branch.
The organizer would do well to remember that the local branch, properly organized, is a powerful engine. It should be built of a membership that will neither rust, rot, jar or wear out. The best material for starting a local branch, are men who are more or less known in the community to be Socialists, and have stood the "disgrace" without shrinking.
Other men who have heretofore supported the capitalist parties, but who are now reading Socialist books and papers and avow their readiness to assist in the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production, and in addition, sign the application for membership, should be gladly welcomed to comradeship. Do not forget that women are eligible to membership and office in the local branch, and their participation accomplishes political results that can not be achieved by men alone.
TEMPORARY ORGANIZATION.
A meeting should be held by the intended signers to application for charter and any others whom they admit to membership. The Organizer should take the floor, state the object of the meeting and call for nominations and election of temporary chairman. After the election of temporary chairman, the latter will proceed in the same manner to bring about nomination and election of the balance of the officers temporarily. A collection should be taken up, and it should amount to at least sufficient to pay the first month's National dues, which should be forwarded by the temporary Recording Secretary, together with application for charter to the National Secretary.
PERMANENT ORGANIZATION.
After charter has been received from National Headquarters, another meeting should be held for the purpose of effecting permanent organization. The first set of permanent officers should not occupy office for a longer period than three months. This will give the local branch an early opportunity to replace officers who show poor abilities, with men who have the required degree of fitness for the work.
A committee should be appointed on Constitution and By-Laws; a place for permanent meeting and headquarters should be secured; public speakers engaged from time to time, and a constant distribution and sale of literature maintained. Every member of the local branch should be urged to subscribe to at least one party paper, and every attempt made to induce Socialist sympathizers to subscribe to party

papers, purchase Socialist literature and join the local branch.
It has been found that the best results are accomplished with weekly meetings; therefore, this provision in section 6, of the foregoing directions. Each member should be required to attend at least one meeting in each month, a record of which should be kept by roll call and membership cards.
The attendance and interest is thus continuous and constant, the regular weekly meeting becomes a fixed event looked forward to by every member, and larger and better results are accomplished. By adopting methods of this character and others, which will naturally occur to the wisdom of the comrades, the local branch will grow steadily in numbers and influence finally obtaining a majority of the voters, capture the local public powers, thereby inaugurating Socialist laws and systems locally in the interest of the working class, and assisting so far as possible in the final triumph of the principles of International Socialism and the establishment of the Socialist Commonwealth.
The Men to Be.
Oh, not for the great departed
Who formed our country's laws
And not for the bravest hearted
Who died in freedom's cause;
And not for some living hero,
To whom all bend the knee,
My must shall raise her song of
Praise—
But for the man to be,
For out of the strife which woman
Is passing through to-day,
A man that is more than human,
Shall surely be born, I say;
A man in whose pure spirit
No drop of self will lurk,
A man who is strong to cope with
Wrong,
A man with hope undaunted,
A man with God-like power,
Shall come at the needed hour,
He shall silence the din and clamor
Of clan disputing clan,
And toil's long fight with purse
Proud might
Shall triumph through this man.
I know he is coming, coming,
To help to guide, to save,
Though I hear no martial drumming,
And see no flags that wave,
But the great soul-travail of woman,
And the bold free thought unfurled
Are the heralds that say he is on the
way,
The coming man of the world,
Mourn not for the vanished ages,
With their grand, heroic men,
Who dwell in history's pages
And live in the poet's pen,
For the grandest times are before us,
And the world is yet to see,
The noblest work of the old earth
In the men that are to be.
—Ella Wheeler Wilcox.
What Socialists want: All to be well housed, clothed, fed and educated. A system that will end all rent, interest and profit. All the means of production and distribution and all the available forces of nature to be owned by, and operated for, the benefit of the whole people. The abolition of all useless and non-productive toil. A workday as short as the needs of the people will permit. No child labor. Every one to receive the full value of his or her labor. A higher standard of living and a higher plane of morals as a result. To be gained by organization, education and an intelligent exercise of the ballot.—Ex.

APPLICATION FOR CHARTER FOR A LOCAL BRANCH

The Socialist Party.

Headquarters: Room 427 Emilie Building,
LEON GREENBAUM, National Secretary. ST. LOUIS, MO.

(City and Date) _____
To the National Committee, Socialist Party.
We, the undersigned, having severed our relations with all other parties, and endorsing the platform and constitution of the Socialist Party, hereby apply for admission to (and for a charter for) a Local Branch of said Socialist Party in the Town of _____ County of _____ State of _____
Names of Applicants _____ Addresses of Applicants _____ Occupation _____
Total number of men in Branch _____
Enclosed find a report of the meeting in which organization was decided on, and the names of persons participating, together with \$ _____ being the amount of national dues, at five cents per member for the current month.
Signed _____ Organizer _____ P. O. Address _____
Rec. Sec'y _____ P. O. Address _____
Any number of persons, not less than five, may organize a Local Branch, provided they subscribe to the platform and constitution of the Socialist Party and sever their relations with all other political parties.

The Effect of Machinery.

In all countries in which the capitalist system of production prevails, the introduction of machinery has reached the point of production on a large scale, and the population of cities mainly into two classes: first, the capitalists, who possess the means of production—tools, machinery, land, etc.—but who take no part in production itself, and secondly, the wage-workers, the proletariat, who possess nothing but their labor power, on the basis of which they live and whose labor alone brings forth the wealth of the land.

Capitalists need a large supply of proletarians; actually, in other countries and in ages gone by, forcible methods were resorted to, to furnish this requisite supply. Today, however, in the United States especially, such methods are no longer needed. The superior power of capitalist production on a large scale over small production is today sufficient, without doing even violence to the law or to private property, but on the contrary, with the very assistance of these, year in year out to strip of all property a sufficient number of small farmers and industrialists, who are then thrown upon the streets, and who thereby satisfy the ever increasing capitalist demand for more human flesh.

That the number of proletarians is steadily on the increase in this country is such a palpable fact that even they who would make us believe that society today rests upon the same basis that it did a hundred years ago, and who try to paint in rosy colors the picture of the small producer, no longer attempt to try it. Indeed, a revolution has taken place in the make-up of society, the same as it has in the system of production. The capitalist form of production has overthrown all other and become the dominant one in the field of industry; similarly wage-labor is today the dominant form of labor, a hundred years ago the farming peasantry took the first place; later, the small city industrialists; today it is the wage-earner or proletarian.

In all the civilized countries the proletarians are today the largest class; it is their condition and modes of thought that control those of all other divisions of labor. This state of things implies a complete revolution in the condition and thought of the bulk of the population. The condition of the proletariat differ radically from those of all other former categories of labor. The small farmer, the artisan, the small producer generally, were, namely, the owners of the product of their labor by reason of their ownership of the means of production; contrariwise, the product of the labor of the proletarian does not belong to him, it belongs to the capitalists, to the purchaser of his labor-power, to the owner of the requisite instrument of production. True enough the proletarian is paid therefor by the capitalist, but the value of his wages is far below that of his product.

When the capitalist in industry—and he it be here said, once for all, at the present stage of development in production, agriculture is as much an industry as any other—purchases the only commodity which the proletarian can offer for sale, to-wit, his labor-power, he does so for the only purpose of utilizing it in a profitable way. The more the workingman produces the larger the value of his product. If the capitalist were to work his employes only long enough to produce the worth of the wages he pays them, he would clear no profits. But however willing the capitalist is to pose as the benefactor of suffering humanity, his capital cries for "profits" and finds in him a willing listener. The longer the time is extended during which the workmen labor in the service of the capitalists, over and above the time needed to cover their wages, the larger is the value of their product, the larger is the surplus over and above the capitalist outlay in wages, and the larger is the quantity of exploitation to which these workmen are subjected. This exploitation or siphoning of labor finds a limit only in the powers of endurance of the working people and in the resistance which they may be able to offer their exploiters.

In capitalist production, the capitalist and the wage-worker are not active together as the employer and employed used to be in previous industrial epochs. The capitalist soon develops into, and remains essentially, a merchant. His activity, in so far as he may be at all active, limits itself, like that of the merchant, to the operations of the market. His labors consist in purchasing as cheaply as possible the raw material, labor power and other essentials and in turning around and sell the unfinished products as dearly as possible. Upon the field of production itself he does nothing except to secure the largest quantity of labor from the workmen for the least possible amount of wages, and thereby to squeeze out of them the largest possible quantity of surplus values. With regard to his workmen he is not a fellow-worker, he is only a driver, an exploiter. The longer they work the better off he is; he is not tired out if the hours of labor are unduly extended, he does not perish if the method of production becomes a murderous one. In classes the capitalist is the most reckless of the life and safety of his opera-

tive. Extension of the hour of work, abolition of holidays, introduction of night labor, damp or overheated factories filled with poisonous gases, such are the "improvements" which the capitalist mode of production has introduced for the benefit of the working class.

The introduction of machinery increases still further the danger to life and limb for the workmen. The machine system fetters him to a monster that moves perpetually with a gentle power and with insane speed. Only the closest, never flagging attention can protect the workman, attached to such a machine, from being seized and broken by it. Protective measures cost money; the capitalist does not introduce them unless he is forced thereto. Economy being the much vaunted virtue of the capitalist, he is constrained by it to save room and to squeeze as much machinery as possible into the workshop. What cares he that the limbs of his workmen are thereby endangered? Workmen are cheap, but large airy workshops are dear.

There is still another respect in which the capitalist application of machinery lowers the condition of the working class. It is this: The tool of the former mechanic was cheap; it was subject to few changes that would render it useless. It is otherwise with the machine; in the first place it costs money; much money; in the second place, if, through improvements in the system, it becomes useless or if it is not used to its full capacity, it will bring loss instead of profit to the capitalist. Again, the machine is worn out not only through use but through idleness; furthermore, the introduction of science into production, the result of which is the machine itself, causes constant new discoveries and inventions to take the place of older ones, and renders instantly, now this, then that sort of machine, and often whole factories at once, unable to compete with the improved ones before they have been used up to their full extent. Therefore, owing to these constant changes, every machine is in constant danger of being made useless before it is used up; this is sufficient ground for the capitalist to utilize his machine as quickly as possible from the moment he puts it in operation; in other words, the capitalist application of the system of machinery is a particular spur that drives the capitalist to extend the hours of labor as much as possible, to carry on production without interruption, to introduce the system of night and day shifts, and, accordingly, to rear the unwholesome system of night work into a permanent system.

At the time the system of machinery began to develop, some ideologist declared the golden age was at hand; the machine was to release the workman and render him a free man. In the hands of the capitalist, however, the machine has become the most powerful lever towards making heavier the load of labor borne by the proletarian, and to aggravate his servitude.

But it is not only in regard to the hours of work that the condition of the wage-workers and proletarian has suffered with the introduction of machinery. It suffered also with regard to his wages. The proletarian, the workman of today, does not eat at the table of the capitalist; he does not live in the same house. However wretched his home may be; however miserable his food, nay, even though he may furnish the well-being of the capitalist, is not disturbed by the sickening sight. The words Wages and Starvation used to be opposites; the free workingman could formerly starve only when he had no work. Whoever worked earned Wages; he had enough to eat. Starvation was not his lot. The unenviable distinction was reserved for the capitalist system of production to reconcile these two opposites—Wages and Starvation—and to raise Starvation Wages into a permanent institution, yea, into a prop of the present social system.

A Fabian "Paradise."

In a recent number of Justice we published a letter from a "New Zealand Social-Democrat," in which the much-banded "State-Socialism," so-called of New Zealand was scathingly exposed. Certainly, New Zealand, where long standing government officials are dismissed for venturing to express disapproval of British murder and plunder in South Africa—a Fabian Paradise. The "State," as expressed by Mr. Seddon, is everything; Government by experts is the order of the day. Administrative departments are ever increasing their respective spheres of influence. The Fabian Society itself, in fact, might have modeled the colony. Yet what comes of this New Zealand Socialism (save the mark) of which we hear so much? After it has been in operation for a period of years, it only requires to be investigated to evince itself as one of the most serious frauds and delusions of the present generation. In short, it is only an ingenious cover for the old Adam of capitalist profit mongering. This should surely be an objection to those Socialists who still have a sort of lingering belief in the feasibility of non-revolutionary Socialism—i. e., a Socialism obtained without the class struggle by the smooth development of modern State and administrative forms. It would do much good if the New Zealand travesty were more thoroughly and widely exposed than it has been; to the end that Fabian "Socialism" should at length be appraised at its true value of all—Justice, London, Eng.

National Platform of the Socialist Party.

Adopted at Indianapolis, July 31, 1901.

The Socialist Party, in National convention assembled, reaffirms its adherence to the principles of International Socialism, and declares its aim to be the organization of the working class, and those in sympathy with it, into a political party, with the object of concentrating the powers of government and using them for the purpose of transforming the present system of private ownership of the means of production and distribution into collective ownership by the entire people.

Formerly the tools of production were simple and owned by the individual worker. Today the machine, which is an improved and more developed tool of production, is owned by the capitalists and not by the workers. This ownership enables the capitalists to control the product and keep the workers dependent upon them.

Private ownership of the means of production and distribution is responsible for the ever increasing uncertainty of livelihood and poverty and misery of the working class, and it divides society into two hostile classes—the capitalists and wage-workers. The once powerful middle class is rapidly disappearing in the face of competition. The struggle is now between the capitalist class and the working class. The possession of the means of livelihood gives to the capitalists the control of the government, the press, the pulpits and schools, and enables them to reduce the workmen to a state of intellectual, physical and social inferiority, political subservience and virtual slavery.

The economic interests of the capitalist class dominate our entire social system; the lives of the working class are recklessly sacrificed for profit, wars are fomented between nations, indiscriminate slaughter is encouraged and the destruction of whole races is sanctioned in order that the capitalists may extend their commercial dominion abroad and enhance their supremacy at home.

But the same economic causes which developed capitalism are leading to Socialism, which will abolish both the capitalist class and the class of wage-workers. And the active force in bringing about this new and higher order of society is the working class. All other classes, despite their apparent or actual conflicts, are alike interested in the upholding of the system of private ownership of the instruments of wealth production. The Democratic, Republican, the bourgeois Public Ownership parties, and all other parties which do not stand for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production, are alike political representatives of the capitalist class.

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

While we declare that the development of economic conditions tends to the overthrow of the capitalist system, we recognize that the time and manner of the transition to Socialism is dependent upon the stage of development reached by the proletariat. We, therefore, consider it the utmost importance for the Socialist Party to support all active efforts of the working class to better its condition and to elect Socialists to political offices, in order to facilitate the attainment of this end.

As such means we advocate:

1. The public ownership of all means of transportation and communication and all other public utilities as well as of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts, and combines. No part of the revenue of such industries to be applied to the reduction of taxes on property of the capitalist class, but to be applied wholly to the increase of wages and shortening of the hours of labor of the employees, to the improvement of the service and diminishing the rates to the consumers.
2. The progressive reduction of the hours of labor, and the increase of wages in order to decrease the share of the capitalist and increase the share of the worker in the product of labor.
3. State or national insurance of working people in case of accidents, lack of employment, sickness and want in old age; the funds for this purpose to be provided by the government and to be administered under the control of the working class.
4. The inauguration of a system of public industries, public credit to be used for that purpose in order that the workers be secured the full product of their labor.
5. The education of all children up to the age of eighteen years, and state and municipal aid for books, clothing and food.
6. Equal civil and political rights for men and women.
7. The initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall of representatives by their constituents.

But in advocating these measures as steps in the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth, we warn the working class against the social public ownership movements as an attempt of the capitalist class to secure governmental control of public utilities for the purpose of obtaining greater security in the exploitation of other industries and not for the amelioration of the conditions of the working class.

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