

# MISSOURI SOCIALIST.

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF ST. LOUIS.

Volume I.

St. Louis, Mo., Saturday, September 21, 1901.

Number 36.

## Missouri State Convention.

Sedalia, October 19th--Call Issued by the State Committee.

Social Democratic Party—George Turner, Chairman, State Committee, 246 High Street, Kansas City, Mo.

The Socialist Organizations of the State of Missouri:

Authority of State Committee, a Convention is hereby called to place at Sedalia, Mo. on Saturday, October 19, 1901, at 10 o'clock a. m., the purpose of ratifying the action of the Unity Convention held at Indianapolis on July 29, 1901, and for further purpose of adopting a constitution and electing officers.

Every independent political Socialist organization in existence prior to July 1901, or affiliated prior to the same

date with one of the parties represented in the Indianapolis Convention held on that day or affiliated by direct certificate of affiliation from the National Committee of the Socialist Party since August 1, 1901, will be entitled to representation in this convention, and their representatives will be entitled to as many votes as they have signatures of bona fide members upon their credentials, provided that no signature is attached to more than one credential.

Two or more branches may unite upon sending of delegates.

All Socialists of the State of Missouri recognizing the class struggle and the necessity of political action for the emancipation of the working class are hereby called upon to at once form organizations of the Socialist Party and obtain charters from the National Committee in order to obtain representation in this convention.

### THE STATE COMMITTEE.

Per Wm. J. Hager, Secretary.

## Socialism and Anarchist Peril

By J. Spargo.

Nothing is more common, especially at a time of national agitation like the present, consequent upon some anarchist outrage, than the confusion in the public mind between Anarchism and Socialism. The two are so often associated by a venal press that it is almost surprising that it should be so. Yet the fact remains that Socialism is the very antithesis of Anarchism and the two are quite irreconcilable. The greatest opposite force to Anarchism in the world today is the organized Socialist movement and by it alone will the world be freed from the Anarchist peril.

If we examine the two systems of philosophy we shall find that they are entirely and fundamentally opposed to each other. Both, indeed, denounce the wrongfulness of existing conditions, and realizing that these conditions are inseparable from a system of individual ownership of the things necessary to common existence, the Anarchists like their Socialist opponents, declare for common ownership. There, however, the agreement ends and a wide divergence asserts itself. Socialism, as the word implies, is based on the idea of SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY and SOCIAL RIGHT, whilst Anarchism is the assertion of the opposite principle of untrammelled INDIVIDUALITY and right with its negation of the very idea of social responsibility. The Socialist insists upon a moral obligation founded on social interest, but for the Anarchist these terms have no meaning. Society, he says, has no rights apart from or as against the individual. He makes the fundamental error of regarding society as being merely an aggregation of individuals, each self-contained and self-sufficient, from which principle he reasons that what is wrong for the individual is wrong for society, and since no individual, as an individual, can rightly control the actions of another, society cannot rightly do so. He does not see that society is much more than a collection of individuals, just as a house is more than an aggregation of bricks and mortar, or a watch is more than a collection of wheels. On the other hand, it is the clear recognition of this basic principle that controls and guides the world-wide Socialist movement and constitutes the crucial difference between the two.

Nor is it alone with regard to their conceptions of a future society that this difference manifests itself. Even more important is the difference in their attitude toward the pressing problem of the present to which that divergence leads. The Socialist, seeing the chaos that results from individualism, whether Anarchist or otherwise, decides that Social Control of all the means of life must be established. Generally speaking, he is in favor of adopting any means whereby that end may be accomplished. In certain despotic countries armed rebellion or assassination may be necessary and therefore justifiable. The Socialist philosopher, in common with the most ultra-conservative, whilst abhorring bloodshed some-

times has to bend to stern necessity and say:

"Best be the hand that wields the Reginald Steel."

Where other means are denied to a people rightly struggling to be free, armed force is permissible. Of such risings, indeed, have the most glorious pages of history been written. But where other means are open the Socialist will never choose violence, knowing well that whilst under certain circumstances, force may be the "Midwife of Progress," it is more often as Hyndman has it, "The deadly abortionist, strangling the new society in the womb of the old." Hence Socialists propose in order to achieve their purpose, to use the legislative and administrative machinery, the domination and control of which is the secret of the power of the exploiting class. Fully comprehending the meaning of the class-struggle which the present system engenders between the producers of wealth on the one hand and the parasites of the social organism who live by the exploitation of the wealth producers on the other, they have based on the interests of the former class a well-defined political program with that object in view and call upon their fellows to use their political powers for the transformation of society. And this principle of social paramountcy applied to every phase of life, is, after all, but the logical and inevitable extension of the same idea that is embodied in our sanitary laws and similar expressions of the collective will.

But the Anarchist will have none of these things. To him the individual, not society, is paramount. He does not see that that principle is incompatible with the existence of society. And, after all, he is only logically carrying out the principles of men like Mr. Herbert Spencer and others of the individualist school, who prate of the sovereignty of individual liberty and whose teachings are commonly regarded as being so eminently "safe" and "respectable" by the blind teachers of this nihilistic age. From pulpits and press the words of these so-called philosophers are repeated with respect, yet anarchism is but their logical expression. Does society not rightly do so. He does not see that society is much more than a collection of individuals, just as a house is more than an aggregation of bricks and mortar, or a watch is more than a collection of wheels. On the other hand, it is the clear recognition of this basic principle that controls and guides the world-wide Socialist movement and constitutes the crucial difference between the two.

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ers make laws for themselves in their own interest. The Anarchist at the bottom of the social ladder of to-day cries out against the subordination of the individual by society, and the plutocrat, Pierpont Morgan, from the top echoes the cry. The poor Anarchist does not see that complete social control of the individual would prevent Pierpont Morgan's living in luxury at the expense of the penury of such as himself, and is, therefore, the one thing needed to harmonize society.

Thus Socialism and Anarchism are opposed to each other and the conflict between them is of necessity susceptible of no truce. In the words of Georges Sorel, quoted by Mary: "Combat or death, bloody struggle or extinction."

It is thus that the question is ineluctably put:

But not only is Socialism the greatest force in the world opposed to anarchism, it is the only remedy for the conditions which give rise to it. Anarchism is born of the terrible misery that exists side by side with so much wealth and wanton extravagance. To destroy the cause which produces it is the only rational means of stopping the spread of anarchist theories, and there is no other. Neither repressive measures nor tinkering with the immigration laws will accomplish the desired end. That is part of the purpose and the mission of the Socialist movement.

## National Secretary's Report for August.

St. Louis, Sept. 13, 1901.

To the State and Local Organizations of the Socialist Party:

Comrades—In accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, I hereby submit a report of the financial and other business of this office for the month of August, 1901.

### FINANCIAL STATEMENT (Received.)

|  |          |
|--|----------|
| Aug. 9. George D. Herron, donation to equip National Headquarters                | \$200.00 |
| Following amounts pledged at Indianapolis Convention to defray expenses of party |          |
| Aug. 9. George D. Herron   | 25.00    |
| Aug. 9. Carrie Herron  | 25.00    |
| Aug. 15. Local, Davenport, Io.   | 5.00     |
| For National Does  |          |
| Aug. 20. Connecticut State Committee for September                               | 10.00    |
| Local, Butte, Mont., for August  | 1.76     |
| Local, Girard, Kas., August, September and October                               | 1.86     |
| Local, Atlanta, Ga., August and September  | 1.25     |
| Local, Chattanooga, Tenn., August  | 1.00     |
| Donations in August, to defray for funds to defray expenses of party             |          |
| Aug. 28. Local, Fremont, O.  | 3.50     |
| Local, Cleveland, O.   | 5.00     |
| Local, Covington, Ky.  | 1.00     |
| Local, Vineland, N. J.   | 1.00     |
| George D. Herron   | 100.00   |
| Total  | \$381.29 |

### (Expended.)

|   |          |
|---|----------|
| Rent of National Headquarters   | \$16.00  |
| Equipment of National Headquarters as follows:                                |          |
| Six chairs  | 7.00     |
| One small roller-top desk   | 9.00     |
| One bookcase  | 11.00    |
| Window shades   | 4.25     |
| One large roller-top desk (oak)   | 20.00    |
| One letter press  | 2.50     |
| One small table   | 1.00     |
| One leather upholstered office chair  | 5.00     |
| One ten-foot oak office table   | 10.00    |
| One water filter  | 1.69     |
| Bucket, duster and tray   | .45      |
| Map United States   | .90      |
| Hauling furniture and effects   | .70      |
| Stationary account for ink, walls, envelopes, etc.                            | 17.00    |
| Postage   | 17.00    |
| Stenographer's services   | 3.84     |
| Chas. H. Vail, account services   | 40.00    |
| Freight N. E. C. effects, Springfield, Mass.                                  | 3.25     |
| Telegrams   | 2.80     |
| Fifty copies Worker, New York, containing account convention                  | 50.00    |
| One hundred and fifty copies Missouri Socialist containing account convention | 1.50     |
| National Secretary's salary   | \$3.00   |
| Express transcript convention proceedings                                     | .60      |
| Exchange money orders and checks  | 2.50     |
| Aug. 31. Balance on hand  | 125.71   |
| Total   | \$381.29 |

### (Strike Fund.)

|   |         |
|---|---------|
| The following was received to aid the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers: |         |
| Aug. 27. New London (Conn.) Socialist Club  | \$3.00  |
| Aug. 28. Newcastle (Pa.) Socialist Club   | 2.61    |
| Aug. 31. Socialist sympathizers   | 25.00   |
| Aug. 31. Coopers' International Union No. 3, St. Louis, Mo.                                   | 10.00   |
| Total received and forwarded to Amalgamated Ass'n   | \$41.61 |

### OTHER BUSINESS.

I also submit herewith a report of the business other than above transacted during the month of August, as follows:

1. Equipment of National Headquarters.
2. Aug. 10. Address issued and sent to all secretaries of State and local organizations announcing opening of National Headquarters and assumption of work.
3. Aug. 15. Issued letter of appeal and advice to Socialists with regard to the steel strike and sent same with official circular letter to 800 unions in the strike field.
4. Aug. 20. Circular letter to all secretaries of State and local organizations with regard to new printed matter and supplies.
5. Aug. 23. Circular letter to all secretaries of State and local organizations regarding finances of National Committee.
6. Aug. 24. Circular letter to Socialist organizations in Kansas, relative to charter for State organization.
7. Aug. 27. Circular letter to towns in New England States arranging lecture tour of Col. H. G. W. W. W.
8. Aug. 31. Circular letter to party workers regarding printed matter, instructions on organizing and finance.
9. Aug. 31. Circular bulletin to Socialist papers with regard to strike fund in aid of Amalgamated Association.

In addition to the above mentioned 162 letters were written in answer to communications received from comrades in thirty States and Territories. The total number of pieces of mail matter sent out during period covered by his report was 1,554. A set of books and accounts have been opened. Property of the National Organization has been insured. Printed matter has been designed for the use of national, State and local organizations, consisting of State and local charters, letter heads, membership cards, due stamps, application blanks for charter and membership and a leaflet containing instructions to organizers. Telegram was sent to convention of International Typographical Union at Birmingham, Ala., applications for local charters were received from Girard, Kan., and Atlanta, Ga., for exchange of charter from Chattanooga, Tenn., and to replace lost charter of Local Butte, Mont.

Numerous letters have been received from Socialist lecturers and organizers who are enthusiastic to stomp the country. A national lecture and organization bureau would be required in addition to the co-operation of the respective State organizations, in order to utilize the services of these comrades. Such a plan, however economically administered, at National Headquarters would require extra space and service for handling which together with other affairs of immediate importance, involve a financial expenditure out of proportion to the very limited means at the present disposal of the National Committee.

Letters have also been received from scattered points throughout the country, asking for public speakers and organizers, indicating the general desire for agitation. These letters have been duly answered and placed on file for future reference, awaiting such time as means are at hand to enable the undersigned to comply with said requests.

Yours Fraternally,

LEON GREENBAUM,  
National Secretary.

Approved,  
W. H. BAIRD,  
G. A. HOEHN,  
M. BALLARD DUNN,  
E. VAL PUTNAM,  
L. E. HILDEBRAND.

### HASTEN THE DAY.

The better day must soon be here. So many workers are within the field and hard at work. We see, and not afar. The harvest that must soon be reaped. Rewarding men for toil. The evil day is almost past. That can their efforts foil.

The rule of love shall away men's hearts. For just equality, And the base evils of the past—Must surely cease to be. Oh! work and pray, my brother men, To bring the day around. When in the place of greed and strife, Will love and peace be found.

Too long, the selfishness of man, Hath seemed the world to sway, And let us use all efforts now To win the better day. When man in loving brotherhood Shall gladly learn to live, And deem life's brightest crown it won. When, pleasures, he can give, MARTHA SHEPARD LIPPINCOTT, Moorestown, N. J.

## Oppression Begins.

### The Kind of Legislation Asked for by the Building Trades Council.

The body of the late President had not yet been laid in its last resting place when the effect of the howlings of the daily press began to show itself. It was the constant effort of these foul sheets to stir up an unreasonable passion over the death of the chief executive in order that the way might be paved for the establishment of a strong government. Organizations of all kinds were encouraged to pass libelous and rashly worded resolutions calling for legislation. To the credit of the trade union movement it may be said that only a few labor organizations were trapped into passing anything more than mere expressions of sympathy. The Building Trades Council of St. Louis was one of the few exceptions. This body is unfortunately under the influence of a few politicians who seek to make the labor movement an aid to their own aggrandizement. These politicians must of course always be on the popular side in order to reach the pie counter, and in the present excitement it was an easy matter for them to induce the Building Trades Council to pass a resolution which to many people appeared harmless, but which will act as a boomerang against trades unions. The last clause of the resolution reads as follows:

"Resolved, That we, as union men, repudiate anarchy as a pestilence, whose progress tends to retard the growth of the true trades union movement, and its teaching as a seditious act, antagonistic to the fundamental principles of our general government, and, believing the time has come to call a halt upon its further advancement in this country, we favor the enactment of legislation making the teaching or preaching of anarchistic doctrines and the circulating of anarchistic literature a treasonable offense, subject to dire punishment, and that we urge upon all affiliated unions and organizations of workmen everywhere, to strictly prohibit during their meetings, the promulgation of any subject even suggestive of the tenets of anarchy."

Now comes the answer to these resolutions. In Wednesday morning papers appeared the following item from Richmond, Va.:

"The Virginia Constitutional convention to-day decided to eliminate from the Bill of Rights of the State the words 'freedom of speech.' This action was taken after a scene that was dramatic. In the present bill of rights occur the words 'guarantee the liberty of the press and freedom of speech.' The committee to which the instrument was referred for revision recommended the words 'freedom of speech' be eliminated."

This is the kind of legislation the workmen of this country will get as measures to suppress anarchy, and resolutions like those of the B. T. C. will be used as a pretext for its passage. When the B. T. C. asks the trade unions to suppress the discussion of anything "even suggestive of the tenets of anarchy" it is affording the capitalist class who control the government to-day ample excuse for the passage of laws against the promulgation of anything "even suggestive of anarchy." Once those laws are passed it will soon be found that to the capitalist class, who are in office and do the interpreting of laws, nothing is more "suggestive of the tenets of anarchy" than a laboring man who goes on strike. How easy it will be to haul a member of the Building Trades Council off to jail, when he tries to induce a scab to leave his work, on the grounds that his action is anarchistic.

Wake up, wake up, you members of the Building Trades and see what your corrupt leaders are doing! Can you not see that they are only using you as a tool to advance their individual interests? What do they care for you, or for trades unionism, as long as they can curry favor with your enemies by betraying you? Turn the rascals out and put honest men at the head of your movement and then you will have a labor movement worthy of the name.

## Will Study Socialism.

### Action of the Montana Labor Unions.

The following resolutions were recently adopted by the State Trades and Labor Council of Montana:

"Whereas, in all civilized countries the natural order of economic development has separated society into two antagonistic classes—the capitalistic, a small class, the possessor of all the means of production and distribution, and, mines, machinery and means of transportation; and the larger and ever-increasing class of wage-workers, possessing no tools of production; and

"Whereas, this economic supremacy has secured to the dominant class full control of the government, the public press, and is fast reducing the working class to a condition of dependence, making their boasted political equality a bitter mockery; and

"Whereas, the introduction of a new and higher order of society is the mission of the working class, and as the workers can only gain a full conception of the economic conditions and of their own interest by a full knowledge of the social and economic questions of the day; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That we urge upon the workmen of Montana to study the question of the ownership of the means of production and distribution; be it further

"Resolved, That this eighth annual convention of the State Trades and Labor Council of Montana in convention assembled establish a standing

committee of five, for the purpose of circulating and disseminating among the people of the State literature that treats clearly, concisely and accurately the following subjects:

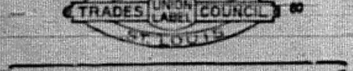
1. The nature of the capitalist system of production.
2. The development of the capitalist class.
3. The development of the wage-earning class.
4. The functions of the capitalist class in modern society.
5. The functions of the wage-earning class in modern society.
6. The class struggle.
7. The nature of the co-operative commonwealth.

"The treasurer of the State Trades and Labor Council of Montana shall be the treasurer of the educational board. The fund for carrying on this educational work to be procured by appropriating 10 per cent of the revenue derived from the per capita tax and by such voluntary contributions as the different unions may donate. No member of this board of education shall receive compensation for services, and they shall report back to the State Trades and Labor Council at its next annual convention."

A convention of the Socialists of Herkimer County, N. Y., for the purpose of negotiating a county ticket for the impending election, will be held at Frankfort, Monday, Sept. 23, at 7:30 p. m.

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

Are you doing anything to emancipate the working class?



It is time for you to renew your subscription and get a new one from the office below. Get it first from you.

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 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.

The City Central Committee has decided to give a ball at Concordia Turner Hall, on Sunday evening, October 27, for the benefit of Missouri Socialist. Tickets will soon be out and the comrades are expected to make it a howling success. Full particulars later.

Comrade Frank P. O'Hare has gone to Girard, Kan., to attend the training school for Socialist speakers opened by Walter Thomas Mills. Comrade O'Hare has decided to devote his entire time in the future to the Socialist movement, and he takes this means of preparing himself for the work. While the local movement will miss his services and loyal comrades will suffer the loss of his pleasant companionship, they know that the general movement will acquire a good worker and with him all success in his new field.

"If the men who eat their bread in the sweat of the face would act in concert at the polls, a speedy and inexpensive remedy would be found for every evil complained of." The Commoner. Yes, if they act in concert for their own interest Mr. Bryan does not ask them to act for their own interests. He asks them to break up the trusts in order that the middle class may continue to exist and that laboring men may be exploited by an army of small business men instead of a committee of big fellows. Laboring men should act together at the polls, but for the purpose of destroying the exploitation of abolishing capitalism, then will their concert amount to something.

The police of Philadelphia naturally must do something in the present crisis to maintain their reputation for stupidity. The Northwestern branch of the Socialist Party of that city has been accustomed to holding its meetings in Fairmount Park. The usual postal notices were sent out for a meeting last Sunday. The police interfered with the mails, took possession of one of the cards and arrested the first five comrades who appeared at the meeting place on the charge of holding an anarchistic meeting. British police they have in the city of brotherly love. The chief of that force deserves a medal for ignorance. That the Socialists will be annoyed frequently by the police heretofore is to be expected, for the men who are at the head of the police force of every large city are not supposed to have brains. They act like automatons, according to the orders they receive from their capitalist masters.

An Insult to Labor.

The Chronicle's Remarks on Anarchy.

By T. M. Putnam.

The Chronicle, true to its capitalist instinct, ever since the deplorable tragedy at Buffalo, has been bending every effort toward coercing the public into a frenzy of grief, and in its hot zeal to serve its master, has not hesitated to insult labor organizations, charging them by implication with being in sympathy with anarchy, as witness the following extract from an editorial in a recent issue under the caption "Labor's Great Opportunity."

"Labor organizations especially owe to themselves to make it clear to the world at large that there is no sympathy between them and that madly misled class which is represented by the Czolgoszs, the Goldmans, the Moats and the Isaaks."

Workersmen, of the hundreds of organizations and societies of various kinds and objects, yours alone has been singled out, arrested on suspicion as it were, brought before the bar of this little muscular wart of a capitalist journal, and ordered peremptorily to plead "not guilty" to the charge of being in sympathy with the tenets and practices of anarchy! If the Chronicle's suggestion is not supreme arrogance and insolence, then the devil himself must be the very essence, the embodiment of meanness.

Quoting from the Chronicle: "The National Trades Council has promptly proclaimed its position of loyalty to established forms of government and of opposition to the anarchistic idea of revolution by force, and other labor bodies no doubt will follow the excellent example at specially called meetings if regular meetings do not occur in the immediate future."

It were idle, perhaps treasonable at this juncture, to remind the Chronicle that this government to which it arrogantly assumes to counsel working people to proclaim their loyalty, had its origin in a revolution by force—not a revolution by assassination, mark you, the difference between which the Chronicle pretends not to perceive. The Chronicle shows its insinuating logic when it speaks of "loyalty to established forms of government" (that is, any old form of government) and in a succeeding sentence refers to Russia as a "devil-breeding despotism." Has not Russia, the "devil-breeding despotism," an ESTABLISHED FORM OF GOVERNMENT? And would this syndicated friend (?) of labor, the Chronicle, urge upon the laborers of that accursed land the virtue of loyalty to such an "established form of government?"

Again I quote as follows: "The laboring men, who are the bone and sinew of this country, will not permit their position to be questioned as a result of the utterances of paranoiacs, degenerates, or products of the devil-breeding despotism of Russia or any other despotism." If not then why in the name of decency or the devil are you going into hysterics and indulging in this "pumped-up grief" and torturing fear lest labor permit its position to be misunderstood? Sir Chronicle, in the name of all labor, organized and unorganized, I charge you, YOU, with questioning the loyalty and the position of labor!

"The bone and sinew of this country!" Bah! that old phrase has been overworked in these many years, though, alas, I fear it still tickles the vanity of labor. Let the workman know that it is uttered by those who wink at his wrongs and try to "Mollify damnation with a phrase." Why does the Chronicle profess to be alarmed less "the bone and sinew of this country" be influenced by the "utterances of paranoiacs and degenerates unless it is on the hypothesis that these same bones and sinews are themselves PARONIACS and DEGENERATES? Answer, thou ranting, canting, driveling, sniveling hypocritical friend of labor!

Again it says: "The labor organizations realize that there is no greater foe to the true cause of labor than the Anarchists." Ah! there, now! They realize that the anarchist is their greatest foe, and yet the Chronicle is in a state of hysteria lest the working people are such fools that they sympathize with their foes! Queer logic—the logic of a fool or a knave, or both.

Again: "For when those dealing unfairly with labor find their plans frustrated and labor about to secure its just demands, anarchists sometimes step in and by their riotous deeds give basis for the cry of 'Anarchists' raised against labor itself, which is law-respecting and law-abiding." Oh! what rot. The Chronicle knows full well that the anarchists who thus step in and raise the cry of anarchy when labor is about to secure its just demands, are not of the Czolgosz or Goldman type. They belong to that type of whose interests the Chronicle is so solicitous—the capitalist class, as, if it has forgotten, it may learn by consulting its own files covering the period during the street-car strike. Does the Chronicle remember its minute account last summer of the arrest and confession of Ora Havill, ex-convict and employe of the Transit Company, who dynamited the cars when the strikers were on the eve of securing their just demands? Let the Chronicle calm itself. Labor is beginning to understand there are two types of anarchists; the murderous Czolgosz type, who defy all law and suffer the penalty, and the other type, who defy all law not made in their own

interests and go scot-free—both rooted in a system based on the utter incompatibility between Political Republicanism and Industrial Despotism. This thinly-veiled attack of the Chronicle on labor should excite no surprise, however. It is only a variation of what seems to be united, concerted effort of demagogues, divines and the capitalist press, to identify Socialism and labor organizations with anarchism, and to procure the enactment of laws for the suppression of free speech.

The other effort from the same source—the effort to lash the public into expressions of grief through cold, formal, stereotyped resolutions deserves equal condemnation and detestation. Sincere grief does not flaunt its insignia of mourning in the face of the world exulting. See how profound is my sorrow. No, poignant sorrow, like true charity, is unobtrusive, unostentatious, shrinking from publicity, striving to conceal it, the truth of which, nowhere, at any time, was ever better employed than in the bearing of the stricken wife of the dead President. What hollow mockery and despicable hypocrisy on the part of a venal press that takes its cue from Wall street gamblers, to coerce the nation into these external exhibitions of sorrow while they at the same time were equipping gold out of the anxiety and suspense of the nation—aye out of the death agonies of the President and the bursting heart of his invalid wife. The public can not be persuaded that there was not a conspiracy from the beginning to deceive them as to the President's condition. It will not believe that there was no relation between Wall street and Dr. McBurney's hasty visit, optimistic views and sudden departure. To me it seems too horrid, too diabolical for belief. The dying President and the public deceived by lying, wrangling physicians.

Morgan speculating on the death-claims gathering on the President's brow, "Coining checks" out of the tears of his stricken wife.

The nation in hysterics. The utterances of Rev. Talmage. The outburst of Rev. Naylor. The Globe-Democrat diluting its "pumped-up grief" by charging the Republic with responsibility for the murder of the President. The Republic howling for a revival of Torquemada tortures. The Chronicle counseling labor. Ah! in good sooth it does seem as if anarchy had already come down upon us like night and "Poured the sweet milk of concord into hell, Confounded all Unity on earth, Turned order into chaos, Up-rolled the universal peace, And thrown the brazen gates of hell wide open."

Individual Liberty. By Harold A. Faies. The industrial conditions of to-day indicate the necessity of the speedy inauguration of Socialism. Competition has ended in a system of monopoly, the representatives of which are rapidly organizing into one great body. This industrial growth is in accordance with that law of evolution, viz.: "Differentiation of the parts and integration of the whole." The development of all the great industries into trusts has been in accordance with the first half of this law, the uniting of trusts into one great unit will be in accordance with the second.

This result is inevitable. A system of great centralization is being evolved, which imperils the very life of this civilization. It is to such a system that the downfall of all former civilizations may be attributed—centralization of power with the suppression of personal freedom; for with the destruction of individual liberty comes the death of personal worth, and personal worth being dead, the national spirit soon dies.

It is true that in the past the centralization was political and monarchical, but because ours is industrial it is for more reaching and deadly. For a lasting government, centralization counterpoised by individual liberty is necessary. Centralization is required in order to administer the functions of government most effectively and economically. Individual liberty is required in order to prevent these centralized forces from being despotic. Centralization without individual liberty is tyranny; individual liberty without centralization is anarchy. Their union cements a government into one grand brotherhood, rendering at last possible the hitherto Utopian dream of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity.

There are to-day in the field of political battle two forces: "Conservatism" and "Radicalism." Both favor a strong central organization, but the former desires it with the suppression of individual freedom; the latter, with its preservation. The former seeks to administer government in the interest of the few; the latter, in the interest of the many.

As has been shown, the principles of the former have always been destructive in the past by destroying individual liberty, and they are equally destructive to-day. Socialism seeks the development of the individual. It does not desire to destroy centralization, but to prevent centralization from destroying the individual. It recognizes that not by the annihilation, but by the nationalization of the industrial corporation is progress to be furthered and personal liberty to be secured. Such security is necessary to the welfare and the ad-

vancement of the nation and the race. Socialism applies these principles to the mechanism of government, hence, if progress is to continue, its speedy inauguration is above all things necessary.

The time has come for the beginning of a world-wide constructive movement. Delay is dangerous; the continuance in power of the Conservative forces will only render the change from the present system of monopoly to one of communism hazardous and difficult.

Should the progressive tendencies of civilization be denied an outlet, and Socialism fail to be instituted, then collapse of the social system is inevitable. Should its inauguration be too long delayed, the forces of Conservatism will have become so strong that the desired end will only be reached through civil strife. Stop evolution and you start revolution.

If, however, Socialism marshals its cohorts to action and meets in the field of politics its antagonist—it is possible to make the change a peaceful one. Only through active efforts can the new reign of Justice, based upon the Brotherhood of Man and the Fatherhood of God be ushered in.

O Socialists, fulfill your duty.

POEMS OF LABOR.

SONG OF THE TOILERS.

Thro' the gate of bygone ages, From the darkness of the past Comes the living dream of ages— To rouse the world at last, And a sound like distant thunder, Borne by silent breeze along, Warns all men who live by plunder That this sound is labor's song.

Clear the way, clear the way! Labor's army is advancing; See the new sun's rays are dancing, Heralding a brighter day— Clear the way!

Hear the song of labor's legions As they march toward the light, From the earth's remotest regions At last conscious of their might, Earnest throng of willing workers, Arm'd with tools and fertile brain, Stand aside, ye drones and shirkers— Hear ye not the bold refrain?

"Come into the ranks of labor," (Sing the toilers with clear voice), "Doubting stranger, timid neighbor, Come, and let us all rejoice. For we come to build the future— On the ruins of the past— And with faith in human nature We'll redeem the world at last." —WM. L. BINESSI

THE VOICE OF THE TIME.

"Hark to the throbbing of thought In the breast of the wakening world! Over land, over sea it hath come! The serf that was yesterday bought To-day his defiance hath hurled— No more in his slavery dumb— And to-morrow will break from the fetters that bind And lift a bold arm for the rights of mankind!"

"Hark to the voice of the time! The multitude think of themselves, And weigh their conditions, each one. The drudge has spirit sublime; And whether he hammers or delves, He reads when his labor is done, And learns though he groans under penury's ban. That freedom to think is the birthright of man. The voice of opinion has grown; 'Twas yesterday changeful and weak, Like the voice of a boy ere his prime. To-day it has taken the tone Of an orator worthy to speak. Who knows the demand of his time, And to-morrow will sound in oppression's cold ear Like the trump of the seraph to startle our sphere. Be wise, oh, ye rulers of earth, And close not your ears to his voice, Nor allow it to warn you in vain; True freedom of yesterday's birth Will march on its way and rejoice, And never be conquered again; The day hath a tongue, aye, the hours utter speech! Wise, wise will ye be if ye learn what they teach." —ANON.

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.

The 17th Ward branch has changed its meeting night to Wednesday instead of Friday.

Socialism Not Anarchism.

Distinction Made Clear by Enrico Ferri, in "Socialism and Modern Science."

It is easy to understand how a man out of work, in the horrors of starvation, his brain giving way for want of nourishment, may fancy that by giving a policeman a blow with his fist, by throwing a bomb, by raising a barricade, by taking part in a riot, he is hastening the realization of a social ideal, from which injustice will have vanished.

And, even apart from such cases, it is possible to understand how the power of impulsive feeling, the dominant factor in some natures, may, through a generous impatience, lead them to make some real attempt—and not imaginary like those which the police in all times and all countries prosecute in the courts—to spread terror among those who feel the political or economic power slipping from their hands.

But scientific Socialism, especially in Germany, under the direct influence of Marxism, has completely abandoned those old methods of revolutionary romanticism. Though they have often been employed, they have always remained abortive, and the chief reason the ruling classes in Europe dread them, since they are only light, localized assaults on a fortress which still has more than sufficient resistant power to remain victorious, and by this victory to retard temporarily the evolution by removing from the scene the strongest and boldest adversaries of the status quo.

The processes of evolution and revolution—the only wholly social or collective processes—are the most effective, while partial rebellion and, still more, individual violence have only a very feeble power of social transformation; they are, moreover, anti-social and anti-human, because they re-awaken the primitive savage instincts, and because they deny, in the very person whom they strike down, the principle with which they believe themselves animated—the principle of respect for human life and of solidarity.

What is the use of hypnotizing oneself with phrases about "the propaganda of the deed" and "immediate action"? It is known that anarchists, individualists, "amorphists" and "libertarians" admit as a means of social transformation individual violence which extends from homicide to theft or estampage, even among "companions"; and this is then merely a political coloring given to criminal instincts which must not be confounded with political fanaticism, which is a very different phenomenon, common to the extreme and romantic parties of all times. A scientific examination of each case by itself, with the aid of anthropology and psychology, alone can decide whether the perpetrator of such and such a deed of violence is a congenital criminal, a criminal through insanity, or a criminal through streak of political fanaticism.

I have, in fact, always maintained, and I still maintain, that the "political criminal," which some wish to class in a special category, does not constitute a peculiar anthropological variety, but that he can be placed under one or another of the anthropological categories of criminals of ordinary law, and particularly one of these three: the born criminal having a congenital tendency to crime, the insane criminal, the criminal by stress of fanatical passion.

Among the anarchist bomb-throwers or assassins of our day may be found the born criminal—who simply colors his congenital lack of the moral or social sense with a political varnish—; the insane criminal or mad-dog whose mental deficiency becomes blended with the political ideas of the period; and also the criminal through political passion, acting from sincere conviction and mentally almost normal, in whom the criminal action is determined (or caused) solely by the false idea (which Socialism combats) of the possibility of effecting a social transformation by means of individual violence.

But no matter whether the particular crime is that of a congenital criminal or of a political criminal through passion, it is none the less, true that personal violence, as adopted by the anarchist individualists, is simply the logical product of individuals carried to extremes, and, therefore, the natural product of the existing economic organization—though its production is also favored by the "delirium of hunger," acute or chronic; but it is also the least efficacious and the most anti-human means of social transformation.

But all anarchists are not individualists, amorphists or automatons; there are also anarchist-communists. The latter repudiate deeds of personal violence as ordinary means of social transformation (Merino, for example, has recently stated that in his pamphlet: "Necessita e base di un accordo," Prato, 1892), but even these anarchist communists cut themselves off from Marxian Socialism, both by their ultimate ideal and more especially by their method of social trans-

formation. They are not Marxian Socialists because it is by law-abiding and parliamentary, and they contend for the most efficacious and the surest mode of social transformation is rebellion.

These assertions which respond to the vagueness of the sentiments and ideas of too large a portion of the working-class, and to the impatience provoked by their wretched condition, may meet with a temporary, intelligible approval, but their effect can be only ephemeral. The explosion of a bomb may indeed give birth to a momentary emotion, but it cannot advance by the hundredth part of an inch the evolution in men's minds towards Socialism, while it causes a reaction in feeling, a reaction in passions, but skillfully fomented and exploited as a pretext for repression.

To say to the laborers that, without having made ready the requisite material means, but especially without solidarity and without an intelligent conception of the goal and without a high moral purpose, they are to rise against the classes, is to invite them to play into the hands of the very classes, since the latter are not of the material victory when the revolution is not ripe and the revolution is not ready.

History demonstrates that the countries where revolts have been the most frequent are those in which social progress is the least advanced. The popular energies exhaust and destroy themselves in these feverish, convulsive excesses, which alternate with periods of discouragement and despair—which are the fitting environment of the Buddhist theory of eternal abstinence—a very convenient theory for the conservative parties in such countries we never see that continuity of premeditated action, slow and less effective in appearance, but in reality the only kind of action that can accomplish those things which appear to us as the miracle of history.

Therefore Marxian Socialism in all countries has proclaimed that from this time forth the principal means of social transformation must be the conquest of the public powers (national administrations as well as national parliaments) as one of the results of the organization of the laborers into a class-conscious party. To further the political organization of the laborers, in civilized countries, shall progress, the more one will be realized, by a restless evolution, the Socialist organization of society, at first by partial concessions, but ever growing more important, wrested from the capitalist class by the working class (the law restricting the working day to eight hours, for example), and then by the complete transformation of individual ownership into social ownership.

As to the question whether the complete transformation, which is present being prepared for by a process of gradual evolution which is nearing the critical and decisive period of the social revolution, can be accomplished without the aid of other means of transformation—such as rebellion and individual violence—is a question which no one can answer in advance. Marxian Socialists are not prophets.

Our sincere wish is that the social revolution, when its evolution shall be ripe, may be effected peacefully, as so many other revolutions have been, without bloodshed—like the English revolution, which preceded by a century, with its Bill of Rights, the French revolution; like the Italian revolution in Tuscany in 1859; like the Brazilian revolution, with the title of the Emperor Dom Pedro in 1889.

It is certain that Socialism is spreading culture and education among the people, by organizing the workers into a class-conscious party under its banner, is only increasing the probability of the fulfillment of our hope, and is dissipating the forebodings of a reaction after the advent of Socialism, which were indeed justified when Socialism was still utopian in its means of realization, instead of being, as it now is, a natural and spontaneous, and therefore inevitable and irrevocable, phase of the evolution of humanity.

We have demonstrated the profound difference there is between Socialism and anarchism—which our opponents and the servile press endeavor to confound, and at all events, I have demonstrated that Marxian Socialism is in harmony with modern science and is its logical continuation. That is exactly the reason why it has made the theory of evolution the basis of its deductions and why it thus marks the truly living and final phase—and therefore, the only phase recognized by the intelligence of the collective democracy—of Socialism which had theretofore remained floating in the nebulosities of sentiment—and why it has taken as its guide the unerring compass of scientific thought, rejuvenated by the works of Darwin and Spencer.



# 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.

- 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.
- The officers to be elected are:
  - A Chairman at each meeting.
  - Recording Secretary.
  - Financial Secretary.
  - Organizer.
  - Literature Agent.
- Order of business—
  - Reading of the minutes.
  - Admission of new members.
  - Communications and bills.
  - Report of Organizer.
  - Reports of Committees.
  - Unfinished business.
  - New business.
- 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.
- A full report of the meeting in which organization was decided on, 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.
- 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.
- 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.
- 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.
- For further information not contained herein, address Leon Greenbaum, National Secretary, Room 427, 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 pamphlets, 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 localities.

### 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 wel-

comed 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 interested 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.

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## 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 conquering 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 form of production, is owned by the capitalists and not by the workers. This machine 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 of the working class, and it divides society in two hostile classes—capitalists and wage-workers. The once powerful middle class is rapidly disappearing in the mill of competition. The struggle is now between the capitalist class and the working class. The possession of the means of livelihood is in the hands of the capitalists, the government, the press, the pulpit and the church, and enables them to reduce the workingmen 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, war, 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, and all other parties, and all other parties which do not have as their political representatives of the capitalist system of production, are all enemies of the working 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 render the overthrow of the capitalist system, we recognize that the time and manner of the transition to Socialism also depend 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 towards better condition and to elect Socialists to political offices, in order to facilitate the attainment of this end.

As such means we advocate:

- 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 of the consumers.
- 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.
- State or national insurance of working people in case of accidents, illness, of employment, sickness and want in old age; the funds for this purpose to be furnished by the government and to be administered under the control of the working class.
- 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.
- The education of all children up to the age of eighteen years, and the municipal aid for books, clothing and food.
- Equal civil and political rights for men and women.
- The initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the 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 so-called 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 the amelioration of the conditions of the working class.

## APPLICATION FOR CHARTER FOR A LOCAL BRANCH OF THE Socialist Party.

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

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.

Organizer \_\_\_\_\_ P. O. Address \_\_\_\_\_  
Signed: \_\_\_\_\_ P. O. Address \_\_\_\_\_  
Rec. Secy \_\_\_\_\_ P. O. Address \_\_\_\_\_

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