MISSOURI SOCIALIST.

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF ST. LOUIS

Volume I.

St. Louis, Mo., Saturday, August 3, 1901.

Number 30.

Unity Is Perfect.

The Indianapolis Convention Successful in Every Particular.

"The Socialist Party" is the Name St. Louis Selected as Headquarters.

Padation adopted by the National Convention of Socialists at Indianap-Thursday, August 1st, 1901 :

Resolved: That the Social Democratic party, with headquarters at Springfield. Mass, the Social Democratic party, with headoccurrers at Chicago, the Socialist party of the State of Texas: the Socialist parties of the States of Kentucky, Iowa, Kansas and Nev beasks, hereby surrender their separate and independent existence and merge and amalgamate into one organization,

"As I cannot be present, I send gree;

Monday Afternoon.

p. m., Hillquit reported for the Cre-

dentials Committee. There were no

contests, but each side had thrown our

tendance directly represented 6,545 par-

were distributed as follows: Three una

1.402 members in twelve States; and

the Springfield faction had 70 delegate.

Two or three late arrivals increases

same manner as on the Credentials

A very lively debate then arose over

the combined vote to determine. Other

delegates interpreted the amendmen

to mean that a majority of each faction

would be required to carry on impor-

tant questions, and upon being pressed

are and may votes of the respective un

vention, which statement was heartily

land minurey votes

applauded.

report limited speakers in debate to

Inc above resolutions are the finishing top nes to the work of the great- ings to the convention and best wishest Secalist convention ever held in for the success of its deliberations. America. For four days the delegates had labored patiently and carefully to bring about the union of the Socialist forces of this country, and the resolu tion marked the completion of their work. The news will bring joy to theasands of Socialists and an imprecedented activity will follow in our ranks. The indianapolis convention will at about 50 votes on account of technical cays be remembered by those who at- lities. This allowance being made, it tended it. It was worth traveling appeared that the 125 delegates in ataround the world to have the opportmilty of mingling and conversing with ty members in good standing. Thes the noble-minded men who were there assembled. The spirit of comradeship filiated States has eight delegates with and high personal regard shown by the 352 votes; the adherents of the Chicago beligntes toward one another added a Board had 47 delegates, representing charm to the occasion that was de-

Early Sunday morning the delegates having credentials from 4,798 members can to arrive at the Grand Hotel, in fifteen States and one Territory, in which had been selected as headquar all twenty States were represented, bters Among the first arrivals were a side the Territory of Porto Rico. As portion of the St. Louis delegation many party members had not signed These were followed rapidly by dele- delegates' credentials. rates from all parts of the country. At thought it a conservative estimate to 4 p. m., the bicycle brigade from Chi | place the membership of the organizacage dismounted before the hotel and tions represented at 12,000 while they were engaged in enthusia- ! tically exchanging greetings with the these figures a little. other comrades the remainder of the The Committee on Rules reported Chicago delegation, which had come on and an amendment was offered by the Italia, arrived, to be followed five Derger, providing for representation of minutes later by the New York delega- each taction, on all committees in the Sunday was spent in hand-shaking Committee. After considerable discus-

and retting acquainted. The corridors sion the amendment was carried. The the hotel were filled with little groups of Socialists discussing the va- minutes. rious topics of the convention and exchanging notes about local movements | another amendment offered by Berger Sanday night the Arrangements providing that on all important ques-Committee met and elected Comrade J, tions the roll call should be taken by W. Kelley of Indiana chairman of the parties separately. Some confusion unlittee and instructed him to cat; arose as to the meaning of this amend-

the convention to order at 10. a. m., ment. Some delegates debated the ques Monday morning, to read the salls is tion on the assumption that it only sied by the two national committee, meant the recording of the votes of the and then to call for nominations for parties separately and a majority of

temporary chairman.

Monday Morning.

deferates and visitors at the time for St. Louis, Berger stated that such was the convention. Comrade Kelling made a brief special and after read.

MacCartney of Massachusetts of asonic Hall was well filled with for a y ing the two calls asked for nominations fered the following substitute, which for temporary chairman, A. M. Simor's was accepted by Berger and unarof Chicago promptly nominated Geo. mously adopted: "The vote by roll call 1). Herron and Victor L. Herger see on all important questions shall ombot the nomination. Comrade Rest taken by the parties separately, the

tie made an eloquent address on the ties shall be added, and the majority decis of the convention and was in terrupted by frequent applause. Philip as a whole be determined; the majorit, Brown of Chicago was nominated for cots of the whole shall be the act of temperary secretary by Berger and second the convention." oncled by Simons. Elected by acciama-tion. | furing the discussion, Stedman of Chicago, a member of the "Chicago"

Motion carried to elect a commit- N. E. B. declared his mind was made tes of ten on credentials, four from up to abide by the result of the coneach national party and two from the independent State organizations.

The following committee was elected: Illinois, Winchevsky of New York, Be-Springfield side-Hillquit of New York. Hayes of Ohio, Greenbaum of Missouri, and Richter of Illinois; together with Robinson of Kentucky and Jacobs of

A committee of five on rules and or der of business was elected in the same way, consisting of Harriman of New York and Ryan of California for the Springfield side: Steadman of Illissachusetts, Goebel of New Jersey: hois and Seldel of Wisconsin for the Springfield party, Harriman of New Chicago side, and Dobbs of Kentucky for the independents.

Telegrams of congratulation were "Rate of the "Voice of Labor" and Carey and Simons: Chicago party Forward associations of New York Berger, Hale and Westphal, Independ-

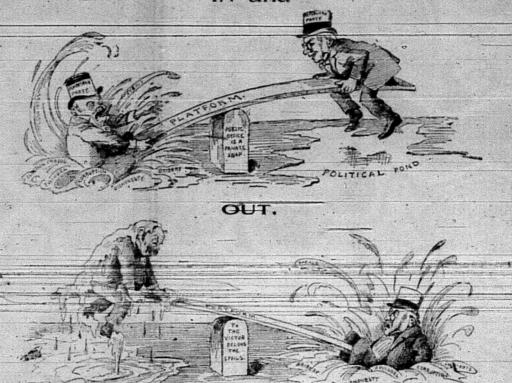
Comrade Herron was then elected from the Chicago side-Westphal of perasnent chairman of the day. Mailby of New York was "chosen permanent secretary and Strickland of Chicago less of Michigan, and Elizabeth Thomas of Wisconsin; from the assistant secretary.

Resolutions - Springfield : party, Hochn of Missouri; Chicago party, Kelly of Indiana; Independent, See is

of Kentneky. Constitution-Chicago party. man of Chicago; MacCartney of Mag-

York Morgan and Mills of Illinois; Independent, Robinson of Kentucky Platform-Springfield party, Hillquit,

Eugene V. Delis sent the following out Dobbs. Before the convention adjourned for THE GOOD OLD GAME OF



from locals in Georgia, Oregon and again before the delegates were satis Nebraska, all expressing their desire fied to pass it. The word "un-Ameri-

Tuesday Morning.

elected chairman. The Indianapolis. Sentinel having published a malicious and false report of the first day's proceedings, stating that "Debs had been shely3d" and giving out the impression delegates brought the matter to the attention of the convention. Hochn of St. Louis moved that the following ploitation; telegram be sent to Comrade Eugene V Debs

"Be not decrived by talse newspaper reports. Unity Convention is harmonious and enthusiastic. The union of Socialist forces will soon be an accouplished fact. Convention sends cordial greetings. You have our esteem and love now, as you have always had. Three cheers for the International Socialist movement and the Social Reve- and ill-treated in the most shameful mands, it is speech was well received Intion. United we stand.

plied as folows "The expression of the convention

united and harmonious party crown tal action of the administration; your labors. Press reports do not desturb me. I am a Socialist. A thousand thanks to the delegates for their to continue their struggle for the right personal, expression. But for illness in of organization and for the emancipu my family I would be with you." The first order of business was the

tional Committees.

mittee, outlining she work done shee ministration against the working peoaidst of great difficulties.

to 22h Reports from 147 locals show- and political organization," \$20.41 Due stamps had been sold to the barbers to study Socialism the number of 52,579. Liabilities were A resolution on the negro question

at \$1,083.55. He stated that a complete preferred that he should be considered purpose to be collected from the revel society, based on the collective own r of the convention is accomplished and workingmen. The resolution was to administered under the control of the distribution. his office transferred to his successor, bled. Another resolution was then in working class. Both reports were accepted.

The Resolutions Committee submitted its report next. A resolution on the Porto Rican situation furnished an opportunity to observe the difference between an old party convention and a Socialist convention. In the former resolutions are hurried through as a rule just as they are presented, without much regard to the meaning of the words. But when the Porto Rican res olution was introduced, the quick ear of the Socialists caught several ina curate expressions, and they immedilately set to work to amend the results

the day telegrams were read from tion. Not less than a dozen amend form Committee. cial Democratic Club of New York and and the resolution was read again and platform, but is much shorter, misrule," on the ground that the latter phrase implied the possible exist ence of a capitalist rule that was good The resolution, as finally adopted,

PORTO RICAN RESOLUTION.

"Whereas, The wage working people of Puerto Rico are in a deplorable condition, owing to capitalist rule and ex-

"Whereas, The present administration, under the pretext of giving to Puerto Ricans a free government, is making every possible attempt to destroy the trade union movement and prevent all labor, and Socialist agita-

"Whereas, The organized workingtitleat and military tools of the present administration; therefore, be if "Resolved, That we hereby enter our is gratifying in the extreme. May a most emphatic protest against the bou

> "Resolved. That we appeal to the or ganized wage workers of Puerto Rice tion of labor

"Resolved, That we appeal to orga hard struggling brothers of Puert; National Secretary Botcher read a Rico and to call a halt to the brutaliengthy report for the Springheld Correligies and crimes committed by the mi-

the negro delegates and draw up an duct of their labor. address to negro voters.

dense it.

Many messages of good cheer were the

Margaret Hails reported for the Plat | ried.

Mother" Jones, from the Russian So- ments were made in the phraseology lows the outlines of the "Springfield" The discussion started on the

mands. Simons moved to strike out can" was stricken out in referring to the demands and appoint a committee the course of the administration in to draw up an address covering the Porto Rico. The words, "capitalist same points. It was decided to take rule," were substituted for "capitalist a vote at 11:45 a. m., Wednesday, if the debate was not closed before that The chairman made a list of I those desiring to speak, and the debate began in earnest. Murphy of St. Louis, Clemens, MacSweeney, Backes and others spoke in favor of Simons notion and Hochn, MacCartney, Berger, Silverman, Harriman, Goebel and Carey against it. To Comrade Job Harriman is largely due the credit of solv ing the famous question of "immediate' demands, so far as the convention logical address he pointed out that the proper position for a Socialist party is not to strike out demands for ownership," etc., but to develop and set forth the class issue in each demand promulgated, thus making it men of Puerto Rico, and especially practically impossible for so-called Socialists, have been persecuted "Socialistic" parties to copy our deand disgraceful manner by the po- and plainly marked a turning point in the discussion. The session adjourned at 6 p. m., after provision had been

Tuesday Night.

Before the convention reassembled et of demands had been formulated in accordance with the ideas advanced by Harriman, and shortly after the night ssion was called to order Comrade eading of the reports of the two X+ | ized labor of America to assist | their | Herron secure I the floor and | moved that the following be substituted for the demands presented by the Platform Committee

means of transportation and communications are by historical necessity or can Federation of Labor to unite with well as of all industries controlled by political affiliation is concerned. The report showed that the commit the Socialists of Puerto Rico in organ monopolies, trusts, and combines, the

\$677.02, covered by assets of \$865.29 next provoked an interesting discuss hours of later and the increase of with a surplus on account of \$176.27. sion, in which the three negro deless wages in order to decrease the share of Secretary Theodore Debs next to gates, Costley of San Francisco, Mc. the capitalist and increase the share

Committees were elected as follows be effected and said that when releved to a special committee, consisting of public credit to be unsatisfactory it was referred to a with instructions to report. Tuesday from office he would not be a candidate than the party. Who were instructed to confer with the workers he secured the full pro-Herron, for redrafting.

referred back to the Committee on to add: But in making these do of Greenbaum of St. Louis was recor-Resolutions, with instructions to con- mands as steps in the overthrow of sidered and carried. capitalism and in the establishment of read, among them one from Julius would warn the people against too olution on the farmer question, the Zorn, National Secretary of the United public ownership demands made by committee was made permanent and Brewery Workmen. capitalist political parties, which all instructed to report at the next Naways result in perpetuating the carle tional Convention. Tuesday Afternoon. talist system through the compromise or defeat of the Socialist revolution. Two resolutions were referenced to the socialist revolution. The motion to substitute was car-

Spring of California then moved strike out all demands," and the deand Hayes spoke in favor, and Morgan against, the latter contending that the movement to eliminate demands was a tendency toward anarchism

Wednesday Morning.

o clock. Max Hayes of Ohio was choses chairman for the day. Spring opened the debate in favor of the motion to strike out demands. The discussion was curtailed by many speakers relinquish ing their places on the list. The vor-when announced stood 1,325 for striking out the demands and 5,358 for retaining them.

The platform was then taken up by paragraphs. Many amendments were made. A "farmers" clause was stricten out and referred to a committee c three to draw up a statement. Several amendments were made to the demain'd The curreted copy of the plat form will appear in next week & issue

WednesdayAfternoon

A motion was carried to increase the Resolutions Committee. Slobodin. Atbott, Thompson, Wise, Brown and Tyle were elected.

The debate on platform was resumed and after the adoption of the platform the Committee on Constitution reported. The first clause stated that name of this organization shall be The Socialist Party, except in States wher a different name has or may be come a legal requirement." A motio: was made to substitute the name "So cial Democratic Party." Nineteen dele gates, having 1,398 votes, voted for the motion, and 79 delegates voted against.

Several amendments were proposed and carried. Decided to hold night ses-

Wednesday Night.

amendments to the constitution. Some delegates were contending for the plan omy," while others favored a strong national organization:

Thursday Morning.

Called to order at 9 a, 'm. Brown of Chicago elected chairman for, the day. Rules were suspended to allow Resolutions Committee to report. The following resolution on track unions was adopted:

SOCIALISM AND TRADE UNIONISM.

The Socialist Party, in convention assembled, declares:

The trade-union movement and indopendent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the wage working class. The trade-union move-ment is the natural result of capitallet production, and represents the ecopomic side of the working class move ment. We consider it the duty of So spective trades and assist in building un and unifying the trades and lab-I. The public ownership of all organizations. We recognize that trades ganized on neutral grounds, as far a

We call the attention of trades-ut. the has granted charters to 137 new izing the working class, industrially part of the revenue of such industries ionists to the fact that the class struglocals, with a membership of , 1.427, and politically, as their only hope of to be applied to the reduction of taxes, gle so nobly waged by the trades-union. Bringing the total number of locals up amanemation lies in such industrial on the property of the capitalist class, forces to-day, while it may result in but to be applied wholly to the in- bessening the exploitation of labor, cand a presnt membershit of 7.228 with | Resolutions were passed boycotting crease of wages and shortening of the never abolish that exploitation. The 82 not reporting. The total receipts certain represented barber shops of 10 hours of labor of the employes and to exploitation of labor will only come were stated to be \$4.187.66; total ex- dianapolis, reminding deposites to the improvement of the service and to an end when society takes possessenditures, \$4,267.22; cash on hand, patronize union shops and requesting diminishing the rates to the consum- sion of all the means of production for the leneat of all the people, it is the 2: The progressive reduction of the duty of every trades-unionist to realize the necessity of independent political action on Socialist lines, to join the Social Democratic Party and assisted porred for the Chicago N. E. B. The Kay of Richmond, Ind., and Adams of of the worker in the product of labor. building up a strong political move-report was a brief one, and showed re-Brazil. Ind., took an able part. The second showed re-Brazil. building up a strong political moveceipts since Jan. 1, 1901, of \$3,707.05, delegates showed an intelligent grasp working people in case of accident, ultimate aims and object must be the and disbursements of \$3.637.64. Liabil- of the problem. They declared that lack of employment, sickness, and abolition of wage-slavery and the ecs for loans and salaries were stated they asked no favors for the negro, but want in old age; the funds for this tablishment of a co-operative state of report would be given when the work on exactly the same feeting as other came of the capitalist class and to be ship of all the means of production and

The Committee on Address to Negro He expressed his hope that unity would produced by Costley. This was referred "4. The inauguration of a system of Voters reported, and as the same was

> A resolution to appropriate \$200 to "The remaining points (5 to 8) to send an agitator to Porto Rico was at The resolution on trade unions was stand in the committee's report; but first voted down, and then, on motion

> > The "farmers'" committee reported, Co-operative Commonwealth, we and, after the adoption of a brief res committee was made permanent and

> > > Two resolutions were referred to the

The constitution was again taken up.

(Continue on Page 2.)

Missouri Socialist

Control and Patricipal in Local & Local of the Authority Party

array Relation

RIPTORIAL APPET SEPRENTS



Workingman's Marseillaise.

Te some of too, awake to glory! Hark! has!! what myrisels hid you

Behold their tears and hear their Shall hateful tyrants missipped level.

With hireling hosts a ruffing band.
Affright and devolute the land.
While peace and therry he bleeding?

To arms' to arms' to brave! The avenuing sword numbersh'
March on' march on' all hearts reserved. On liberty or death!

With hance and pride surrounded The vile, insatiable despets dare. Their thirs, of power and gold in

To meet and vend the light of air Like beasts of hurden would they load

Like gods would bid their slaves

But man is man, and who is more? hen shall they longer lash and goad

Oh, Liberty, can man resign thee,
Once having felt thy gen rous fame?
Can dungeous, bolts and bars confine
thee?
Or whips tay noble spirit tame?
Too long the world has wept, bewalling,
That falsehood's dagger tyrants
wield:

wield; But freedom is our sword and shield. And all their acts, are unavailing.

RALLY ROUND THE BANNER.

There can only be one comment on the work of the Indianapolis convention. The story of the eleven a is a record of work faithfully and care fully done. The unity there achieved has exceeded the expectations of th most sanguine. It is complete. The referendum vote to be taken by th. Chicago Board is a neere formality and its:members have pledged themselves to stand by the result of the onven-

it is a mistake to suppose that there was anything like bitter disputes beconvention. Almost every point tween the two factions was settled before it came to a vote by one side or will that prevailed among the delevates was an additional bond of units and when the convention adjourned every Socialist felt that real unity had been accomplished in every particular The chapter of the past year of strifts is closed and there now opens to us a new c. a in the Sex labet movement of

As the news of the success of this remarkable convention reaches the S. claffet throughout the states a wave of enthusiasm is bound to sweep across the country. There is now absolutely nothing to discourage the comrade The field is ready. They have but to enter with their_propagands to reap the harvest. The immediate future will be a period of astounding progress in the Socialist movement. He who will not do his utmost now for the cause is indeed apathetic. Let us rally round the red banner of Social ism and carry it into every village be tween the Atlantic and the Pacific

Owing to the length of the conven tion this issue is delayed. The full report of the proceedings well, we trust atone for the delay.

Pleture of convention in next issue.

Unity Is Periect.

(Continued from Page 1.)

and the question of forating headquarters arose. A motion was made to insert the name of Chicago. A susbattute person lasted till norm

Thursday Afternoon.

majority vote being necessary for cheice Chicago and Geneland were considered nominated. Thornton nor. inated Indianapolis, and Leonard 16 abbot of New York, possissaned Louis. Mills and Simous spoke for Chi are Caren Harriman and Hillenin spoke against Chicago and for extrefanci or St. Levis. Max 2tay :: took the floor, speaking for St. Louis and withdrawing Cleveland, Indianacolic was withdrawn, and the vote was taken on St. Louis and Chicago. The result was as follows. St. Lotis, 3.51" Chicago 1996, St. Lonis' majority, 471

After further work on the constitution, the convention adjourned till & p. m. 'The Chicago Comrades took the a committee of five from the party ction of St. Louis with good humor and jokingly remarked that they would seed annex St. Fours to Chicago, any. the party headquarters.

Thursday Night.

that the convention elect a "querous" - we conseque any official error st the Mational Committee and a As 1962, and that representatives of the different States take their seats/isstane year, beginning February 1, 1992

The "quorum" was then elected as discretion follows: G. A. Hochn, M. Baihard Dun-Wm. H. Baird, E. Val Putnam and L. E. Hildebrand

Goebel, Butcher and Lenn Green saum were nominated for National secretary. The first two declined and Comrade Greenbaum was elected in icclamation.

Resolutions, thanking the two for mer National secretaries, W. Butache and Theo Debs, for their efficient and faithful services, were passed unante-

The following was adopted

INJUNCTION RESOLUTION.

"Whereas, The injunction has beome, in the hands of the judiciary, an instrument by which the capitalist lass seeks to destroy the civil and

Resolved. That we, the Socialist Party, in convention assembled, call the attention of the working class to the fact that our judemiciary is but a service tool in the hands of the capests of labor, and 'we wall upon the working class to use the ballot in defense of their own intersts by voting the Socialist ticket.

A resolution was passed that the member of the Socialist Party shalf become a member of any armed force of subject to a referendum of the party. the capitalist class."

Comrade Herron reported on negro

A resolution against members accepting appointive office from the captional Committee with instructions to frame and submit to a referendum us amendment to the constitution.

esolution prikted at the head of this unity as an amendment to the constitution Berger objected on the ground ter that he wanted no Combstones to the Blobodin accepted his suggestion to

Berger took the floor and stated that a meeting of the Chicago party's delethereto. gates had been held to discuss the possibility of dispensing with the re!erendum vote on the unity matter. He stated that they had decided that they had no power to dispense with it, bull they assured the convention that they would work for the ratification of the acts of the con This statement was greated with her;

The National Committee was instructed to edit and publish the steno graphic report of the convention

The Arrangements Committee 1 called for to be paid within thirty days and \$243.00 was pledged.

The convention adjourned, singing the "Marselllaise" led Comrade Strickland of Chicago.

The Constitution.

The following summary of the con titution may be inaccurate in some de tails and a verified copy will be published next week

be the Socialist Party, except in States where a different name has or may become a legal requirement.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

The name of this organization shall

a quorum of five to be elected from three different States,

the membership of the heality of the

"The members of this con shall be elected by and from the mem bership of the States or Territories which they respectively represent by referendum vote. Their term of office they shall take their seats in month of January DUTIES AND POWERS

The duties of this committee shall he to supervise and direct the work of Be national secretary, to represent the party in all national and international

ventions called by referendum of the party and to submit questions to refer from the state committees and to make quire the secretary to submit to a vote estableration any part of the work of the secretary or of the local committee or any business belonging to the sational committee.

* membership of the locality assected for and applied the secretary he the nations committee shall require and direct , of and be a quorum of the national commuttee but shall be subject to removal at any time by the national comorganization was adopted, providing This committee shall neither publish

nonal Secretary to serve until Pete 1. pletted by the national committee bis term of office to be for the periand shall be subject to removal at its

there is one central brganization affiltated with the party and representing ferent parts of such State or Territory. respectively, the State or Territorial organization shall have the sole jurisstation of the number their respective territories, and the side control of all matters pertaining to the propaganda, organization and financial affairs within such State or Territory, and the national executive committee and sub-committee or offi cers thereof shall have no right to interfere in such matters without the consent of the respective State or Ter ritorial organizations

"Expenses of the national committeemen in attending meetings shall be paid from the national treasury.

"The national secretary shall be in communication with the members of the national committee, the officers of the organized States and Territories. and with members in unorganized Italist class and heetile to the inter-efftates and Territoles. The secretary shall receive as compensation the sun of \$1,000 annually.

HEADQUARTERS

The headquarters shall be located at be changed by the national committee STATE ORGANIZATIONS.

Each State or Territory, may or esolutions, submitting an ably frame paulse in such a way or manner, and under such rules and regulations, as it may determine, but not in conflict with the provisions with this consults

deemed organized and shall have s right to amiliate upon the organization Comrade Stobodin introduced the of not less than four branches, and each branch to consist of not less than article, declaring the establishment of five members. Each State and Territory so organized shall receive a char-

'The platform of the Socialist Par past placed in the constitution and ty adopted in convention, or by referendum vote, shall be the supreme dos put in the form of a resolution, it was laration of the party, and all state and adoption of their platforms, conform

DIFES

The State committees shall pay to the national committee every month a sum equal to, 5 cents for every mem her in good standing within their reapective territories.

REPORTS

secretary , shall prepare ,a doubt but that it would be carried monthly statement of the financial and other business of his office, and w approved by the local quorum of five shall issue the same to all party or ganizations in such way as the national committee shall direct,

"The national committee shall preported, and was given a vote of pare a semi-annual report of all the fi-thanks. A collection was taken up nancial and other business of the par-amounting to \$28.20. Fledges were ty and issue the same to all State and Territorial organizations.

"The State committees shall make semi-annual reports to the national ommittee concerning their membership, financial condition and general standing of the party.

"The national committee shall also arrange a system of financial secretaries' and treasurers' books for locals the same to be furnished at cost to locals upon application

AMENDMENTS.

"This constitution may be amended by a national convention, subject to a majority referendsim vote of the party or by a referendum without the action of such a convention, and it shall be the duty of the national committee to There shall be a national commit-tie, composed of one member from each organized State or Territory, and

REFERENDEM.

TABLACTS of the national committee half be subject to referendum rote after the same manner as provided in the preceding section.

"All propositions or submitted for the referendum of the party shall be represented without outs

BASIS OF REPRESENTATION

The banks of representation in intional convention shall be by States each State being entitled to on gate at large and one additional dete-

List of Delegates.

From "Independent" States.

\$1-W. A. Jacobs, Davemport. 15- John M. Work, Den Moines. KENTUCKY.

T.F. R. Markert, Louisville 4-F L Roubean Louisville. 22-F. E. Seeds

TEXAS 171-S. J. Hampton, Bennam

From "Springfield" Locals.

CALIFORNIA. Wm. E. Costley, San Francis 28-Harry Ryan, San Jose 102-F. J. Spring Los Angeles. 96-H. Gaylord Wilshire, Los A

168-Wm E White New Haven. HAINOIS ...

Jan. H. Bard, Chicago The Count Chicago S. A. Gundt Chicago 51-Aug. Elephe, Chicago 1-Jas Lambert Chicago

1-Rela Lowete Chicago. M. Jacker, Chicago, Marcus Hitch, Chicago 108 - Walter Thomas Mills, Chicar 33 Thomas J. Morgan Chicago

1-M. J. Morris, Chicago. TOPE Richter Chicago. 1-1. W. Saunders, Chicago 106-A-M Simons Chicago

Fred G. Strickland, Ch. -John R. Tonse, Chicago. B-Julius Vahiteich, Chicago 1 Jos Wanhope, Chicago 1-John Will Chicago.

INDIANA 18-Wm. L. Hamilton, Indianapolis MAINE Fred E. Irish, Portland

1-Wh. H. Wise, Chicago.

MASSACHUSETTS. -Richard S. Brooks, Springfield 14 Wm. Butscher, Springfield, 115-Jas. F. Carey, Haverhill. -S. E. Putney, Somerville

21 - Silvio Origo, Springfield. MICHIGAN. 72-Clarence Neely, Saginas

MINNESOTA. 95-1. B. Nash, Minnespolis

MISSOURI 23-Wm. H. Baird, St. Louis 1 M. Ballard Dunn, St. Louis Leon Greenbaum, St. Louis. 1-Wm. J. Hager, St. Louis

18-G, A. Hoehn, St. Louis 1-R Murphy, St. Louis. 10 E Val. Putnam. St. Loui-I-data Virting, St. Louis

70-George H. Turner, Kansas Cit 21-C. Lipscomb, Liberal. 15 - C T. Behrens, Sedali NEW JERSEY.

149 Carl Pankoff, West Hoboken her-Ernest Schilling, Newark, NEW YORK 197 Joonard D. Abbott, New York 343 Job Harriman, New York

1-Carrie Rand Herron, New Yorl 1-George D. Herron, New York

237-Morris Hillquit, New York. 5-Wm. Mailly, New York. 158 Frank A. Sieverman, Rochester 234-Henry Slobodin, New York.

OHIO. 15-W. C. Benton, Cincinnati. 27-W. C. Edwards, Portsmouth 48-Samuel Ernest, Toledo. 7-John Evans, Massillon

329 Max S. Hayes, Cleveland 1-Mrs. M. S. Hayes, Cleveland. 1-Martha H. McHugh, Clevelan 1. 15-Alois Nick, Columbus, 1 E H Randall, Springfield

. - Cavanaugh, Toledo PENNSYLVANIA 198 Chas. Heydrick, Erie. TENNESSEE 10-John M. Ray, Nashville. WASHINGTON. 347-E. Lux Whatcom.

PORTO RICO. 483 Santiago Igiestas, New York

From "Chicago" Branches. CONNECTICUT

67-J. W. Brown, Hartford, Michigan. 31-Wm. L. Benessi, Kalamazoo NEW JERSEY. 68-Geo. H. Goebel, Newark

NEW YORK. 38-M. Winchevsky, New York. KENTUCKY. Adam L. Nagle, Newport. HANSAS.

6-G. C. Clemens, Topeka. ILLINOIS. 1-Theo. Debs, Chicago. 51-Chas. Alchorn. Staunton. 107-J. A. Ambrose, Chicago.

10-Chas. Tyl, Chicago. 8-Corinne S. Brown, Chicago. 45-Seymour Stedman, Chicago, 50-E. Backus, Chicago.

2-M. J. McSweeney, Chicago. 2-Philip S. Brown, Chicago. A. S. Edwards, Chicago. 33-S. T. Westphal, Chicago.

13-John H. Adams, Branil 17J. H. Argold, Terra Haute

-Adrian Babcock, Indianapolis 1-Martha A. Biegier, Indianapoliti n-Bt. H. Bringer, Terre Han -Graeling, Indianapolis.

4-J. H. Hellingsworth, South

6-Theo. Helicrita, Indianapolis -Rich, Hitaze, Indianapolis. 14-J. W. Kelley, Marion.

3-H. R. Kepler, Richmond. I SOC-GAL 12-DUKE 5-AUG 5 1-Edward D. McKay, Richt I'm E. H. Meyer Evaluatille. s-Hugo Miller, Indiana, 2018.

29-Jas. Oneal, Terre Haute. -Henry W. Smith. Clay Cit. Palerny E. Snyder, South Bend. 18-Chas. A Thornton Indianapole 14-Martin H. Wofel, Port Wayn

MASSACHESETTS. s-Margaret Halle, Northby Preservick O. Harrans, Ros

OHIO

2-Antheny Bury: Cincional). -Or. J. W. Dennie, Cincinnat 1-Harry C. Thompson, Cinciana -Relit. J. Waite, Cincinnati WISCONSIN.

16.1-Victor L. Berger, Milwanker, n. C. A. Born, Sheboygan. 49-Albert Forman, Milwankee 121-Emil Seidel, Milwaukee. 114-Elizabeth H. Thomas, Milwa-

The Transit Company's Philanthropy

A Socialist's View.

transportation of poor children by the lation of these United States is some Transft Company this "would-like-tobe-the-friend-of-labor and Capital, that the country has resources suff "philanthropy" and "real charity" times \$6,000,000 persons. The Was it real charity" to wait till the of the Orinoco is said to have lowing children of the needy poor free for the entire human family for age riding to the city's breathing grounds? All this is possible with our present it seems to a skeptle Secialist like a disorderly hit or miss method of arri meant to say 'tis strange only to the guilible public that this philanthropic States Department of Agriculture corporation is so be ated with its "real showed that the sprayed side c' the charity." Spencer is a better diplomat than Whitaker and Baumhoff; capitalist sets up no fixed idols betwirt himself and the great god, mammon. Baumhoff served him well when needed bullying managers to make conductors and motormen pliable; that task done, the bullies must make way Temporary Office of National for the diplomats. Then new names eninus oid prejudices make it possible for the daily paper to say soft things for the hated corporation, via their managers, without creating that bad

taste in the average reader's mouth. Noah Webster used to think the meaning of the word "philanthropy" was limited to persons who have "love will: readiness to do nood to all men'

than Webster; a daily paper likes to meaning of a word till it suits the "Evening Post" last November says worker (the gullible kind) and tickles the plutocrat.

A plain, blunt-spoken Socialist would, pay for itself." count the philanthropy of Spencer and Reviewing the foregoing we find that his Transit Company as a synonymous | the masses are denied ordinary necessary mankind; cheap benevolence adver- ural riches are hardly scratched and so long as wicked Socialists are considers droughts as inevitable denied the relas of government.

'Good will to all mankind!" a monster like the Transit Company, We of the working class can still hear they can furnish themselves? the pictol and the riot gun which car-ried death at this vuiture's behest so many innocent ones; we vividly renember the physical and mental torture of hundreds of it; workmen who were forced for months before th strike to waste an entire day to earn so cents; we have living examples of its "good will" to destroy all men having the temerity to oppose its ghoulish greec in the ex-railroad men who are on the black list.

Setting aside motives, it is interest ing to determine the good done by this chary giving. The pass, accepted in lieu of fare, must be a doctor's tificate, stating the need of fresh air for the pauperized claid. This com-pels a medical examination of each child. The usual fee for this service is from \$1 upward. It means pay or accept a physician's charity.

Certificate obtained the paupers board the cars and suffer humiliation No. 2 when they hand the "certificate" to the conductor, who reads it over carefully while the passengers compre hending the situation look knowingly at the paupers. Arrived at the park they suffer humiliation No. 3 they go to the paupers' refreshment

seath and present their doctors on estionie

The bold and brazen beggar 255 take such gifts, but the dense self-respecting poor will die of hem their tenement rather than sto

This economic system is that attempts by fadducts and work he philanthropists to palitate its eno. mities serve to draw the more : tion to its injustice.

Mr. Spencer discovered a problem of this our beinous economic system a the very beginning of his "real and The problem to use "I don't know who words, was this: it was, but every dairy in town gamthe same answer to our inquiries they could not spare a gailon of mile

Philanthropist, Spencer, nately for .nis understanding or or problem confronting him, studied brand of political ecotomy in our on teges and universities, where they sta teach that "profit is the reward of an stimence", that seifish sain is the 'a IN HERITAL However sad may be the ret-

n present civilization and upon he er's economic knowledge to Socialist answers that milk pribles reus. I Dairies don't supply mas to all who need milk; only to all was an pay for milk, 2. Therefore, the supply of milk to St. Louis is regulated by the amount of money the people can right

The logical deduction from this is that however much Mr. Spencer may feel that these poor children nees add they have never been supplied all aith because they could not pay to a A CONTRACTOR OF SE

or not, there is a rapidly growing of obtaining even life's barest neces sities for great numbers of people What name one time serving a cape not because these necessities carretalistic paper is capable of was shown be produced in sufficient quantities in the columns of that pseudo labor. not because labor is wanting planof it is waiting at all times for hampion. The St. Louis Chronicle. chance to produce; not because as on July 25, in an editorial on the free unal resources are wanting-the rope 000, vet careful statisticians estimate too sheet lands this chary giving as clent to supply all the needs of te charity " times 80,000,000 persons. The Valley both day of the hot season before his sources sufficient to supply the foot elever trick to bid a most sincerely culture. What intensive cultivation hated corporation back in favor with a can do to vastly increase the yield has stillible public it's strange that this been demonstrated time and again t "real charity" begins on the coolest recent published account of the result day since summer's aivent; that is, I of dally spraying one side of a reach tree in the orchard of the United tree bore not only a better fruit but the yield was 60 times greater the that of the unsprayed side. There are shallow critics who will insist that the present drought calamity makes all th foregoing "fine-spun theory" and that

Secretary of the Socialist Party. 4014a Evans Av., St. Louis, Mo.

suffering humanity must bear the fi evitable and trust to an "omnip test God" for succor. Why should an low nipotent God" listen to these prayers maskind; benevotence toward the for succor to people who can, by will whole human family, universal generator neip themselves? The losses to rops during this one season will each But a Twentieth Cutury daily like \$100,000,000 in Missouri alone the "Chronicie" is higher authority than enough to establish an irrication system which would make eros fall make owords elastic; there's dollars, ares impossible and double or treble and cents in it when it can stretch the the yield. An editorial in the New York It is within the range of sonn finance to make this work (frrigation)

term with: Love of the nickels of all sities in spite of the fact that the nattised judiciously to cover up our blood- spite of the fact that workers stand stained history, "universal good will" (eagerly waiting an exportunity to apso long as it costs our corporation ply their labor power, in spite of the nothing and so long as we can absorber that every dollar of capital in lutely dictate terms of employment to vested in agriculture, even in the worst our wage slaves and accommodations, dreught years, would be repaid been strap and otherwise, for the people; this bear out the shallow critic was lamities and points burganity to con-What pipotent God" for rener? Was shere to attribute such virtue to ever greater blasphemy than the praers of the people for a relief which

> Since it's not God's fault, let seek the cause on terra firms. Natur-we find does her share, but we find labor waiting to apply itself. What waiting, when bables are starving for lack of milk? Yes, labor must wall till capital says work; this capital never does unless it has first carefully determined whether it would profit thereby. So here is the key to our problem; private ownership of nat ural resources (free gift of nature) and of the tools or machines (the product of labor) is the tyranny of tyransie which lies at the bottom of all our economic and social problems. To this present generation of the working class falls the soul-stirring task of abolishing that private ownership. Its place will be filled by the system of colletive ownership. Then we will have pro duction for use. Babes won't need to wait then for milk till "philanthropist Spencer's money induces milk produ ers to increase the supply. Fathers and mothers wil scorn pailanthropy, and loath charity when they can apply the labor power freely to nature's ? s and obtain the full product of Source their labor without paying tithes to a parasitic plutocracy.

a vain effort to find relief from the sive heat. I stepped into a South in the afternoon. The seared dole charity and do justice? rustled overhead, stirred by a e hot as the breath of a demon. few blocks beyond the park the ill whistle of a large factory not! the inmates that their day's work done. Presently a stream of hubeings poured through the park way to the places they call ade a detour through the park, ing to catch a breath of the fresh of which they had been deprived day. One of them threw himself onto "Vor look wearied rass near me. I said to him. "Why dn't 1?" he retorted, almost sav-"I've been up to my waist in fer twelve long hours," d to pass in groups of two, half- tional creeds and dogmas. men bent with and scores as who looked scarcely youngerclient, gloomy-a veritable muope picture of Cuban reconcentraor galley slaves. Not a smile was

in the long ago, in my boyhood chattle slaves from the cotton fields. t the pathos and tragedy in the one at had just filed out of the park was ging in that from the cotton field, oped. ughing, shouting, singing, cheerlly they trooped along to their homes which there was rever a dread of ing turned out. Happier they than white slave of to-dey. Involuntar-I had picked up a Sunday issue of Globe-Democrat and ah! the irony change in its theology. it The list thing that caught my ly's suburbs. A finely appointed sumse health is looked after by a satried physician. Dogs with salaried es and waiters! I tore the paper to sareds and dashed it down. Just a fat, sleek, we'll-groomed indidual, whom I recognized as a memof the Humane Society, swept by ith a pharicalcal stride. Then the eep tones of a bell rang out from a istant church. Ah! the horrible, hell-Churches, Humane h incongruity! leties, Summer Resorts for Dogs, starving, white slaves! You an't a transcript of my thoughts and elings and those of the grim-visaged that has just passed by so, ask the sans culottes what they hought and felt of Louis the Sixteenth ad his licentious court, and how they alt with him A Christian land, this! lah! I am almost, persuaded to transmy allegiance to Dives' adopted Down with capitalism! Vive

Newspaper Charity.

That old cappy sheet, the Republic, se linguistic gymnastics and marsattle with its capitalist cotemporary, be G.-D., long enough to femark: This hot weather has developed a noe lot of charity." And the underigned pairses long enough to remark hat that same charity has developed a she cald on the mount: "Therefore

can't get ice to preserve its milk," said begging for ice," said another.

"I am 71 years old, live in one small, oom, and have not seen a piece of ice his summer," said an old lady.

though they cry for it," said John Founta. Thus the P. D. describes the and the Transit Company, and the ing misfortune overtakes, you some and all others who support the system which makes such conditions possible. Ists are filling the people with disconsists are filling the people with disconsists. bridge Company who are shorting time. of their toil to purchase a million tons "You think then that contentment ling, August 8th, 8 p. m. Do not fail to crowded them like animals in a stock-

car, into these reeking, sweltering "And you think Socialism would denoisome, health-destroying, soul-with- stroy all incentive" ering tenements infernoes? "Oh, ya generations of vipers and hypocrits"-Louis park and sat down. It was and robbers, when will you cease to

Higher Criticism.

Are science and the so-called higher eriticism undermining Christfan .theclogy, as Greek philosophy undermined and destroyed Pagan religion? The Westminster Review thinks few many of them, no doubt, hav- competent authorities will be disposed to deny that a great deal of Christian theology which was once firmly believed in and made the basis of Chris tian ethics, is now no longer tenable People who never think things out

for themselves, who without question or investigation accept the dictum of accredited authority are little aware of They cond the extent of the collapse of tradi-

Pulpit teachings, which to-day are of toil and harlship and despair considered entirely orthodox, would have laid the author open . to the men-middle-aged men-all charge of heresy even fifty years ago. grimy, greasy, laggard, spirit- Except in remote rural districts whose people have not kept in touch with the rest of the world, he would be a -very bold preacher who would stand up con these grim, hard-set features before his auditors and insist on a literal interpretation of the dogma of hell or the story of Eden. The quesi witnessed other processions tion has been raised as to whether the ethics of Christianity could survive the overthrow of Christian theology out of which they have been devel-

Some believe they must stand or fall together, and that in the event of their destruction moral and intellectual chaos will ensue.

It has generally been held that a nation's downfall inevitably follows a

To my mind, however, thes was a picture of a "Summer events do not stand in the relation of for dogs out ing one of the cause and effect, but rather they both seem to be the effects of some other resert for aristocratic dogs! Dogs, common cause. Be that as it may, there is no question that Christianity is in a critical transitional evolutionary stage, from which it will emerge, if at all, so modified as to bear little resemblance to its former self. These reflections lead me to reiterate the Socialist contention that at all times and in all nations every branch of the social organization-religious, ethical educational and political-are but a reflex of prevailing economic methods that they all undergo changes and modifications corresponding to economic changes. Hence, Socialists are neither surprised nor disturbed over the radical changes now taking place in theology, knowing that economic methods have changed. Nor are they alarmed over prognostications of moral confusion resulting therefrom.

Child Labor. Chief State Factory inspector Nord-

meyer, in the last two months, has dren were taken from one dry goods shooting chunks of "law and order elous power of word deglutition don't store. Seven hundred violations of the into a lot of fool workingmen; and this seem to have scalered in the least from State inspection laws passed by the reminds me again that I have more rehe excessive heat, pauses in its sham last General Assembly, by the benefit, spect for a scarabee retrograding his of whom are sticklers for "law and-order." Yet, they go rect-free while if the least of these little white slaves on entomology.) were to purloin a penny's worth from precious lot of hypocrisy; that is, if their master's counter, she would be any credence is to be placed in Him promptly cent to the Workhouse Bend'iful, Christian system! Glorious when thou doest thine alms, do not country in which everybody is equal cock, on whom the itepublicans and ound a trumpet before thee as the hy- before the law. The munificent sum Democrats combined against the Sosecrites do in the synagogue and in the paid these little ones for being on cialists, was elected, receiving streets that they may have glory of their little feet in a hot, stuffy atmo-The Post Dispatch is not sounding Some of them were only 9 years old. two Lereditary foes, like the Dems. any bot-air-charity trumpet—oh! no. 10 Great God! The negro-children of the and Reps., are forced into an alliance is a far more efficient way of pro- South before the war lang and danced against the Socialists, it gives ground laiming its alms-by flaring head and remped all over the old plantation, for the belief that They both had one lines such as "Post Dispatch Free Ice," never Going a lick of work before they of old Belshazzar's kind of fits. They'll chowed by a minute description of were 12 or 15 years old. That's not at be scared worse than that when men the scramble at the Ashley building, all strange, however, now I think of mene tekel upharsin stares them in the P. D. Pres he wagon drove the cause. White slave children now the face from every billboard-and lamp into the Ashley building alley. It says: are much cheaper than the black pick- post in the land in another year or One hundred and thirty-three familes animies under the old regime. The two. in that building ate food that was not latter were worth a good round sum | Such alliances only prove the conkept on ice, and drank hydrant water. in eash; hence, the owner could not tention of Socialists, that the aims and hot, muddy and utterly 'repulsive' afford to dwarf them physically by objects of all other political parties They children, old men, feeble women. overworking, any more than he could are identical—to maintain the statu que weary mothers surged around the war- his ox or mule. Show me a man whose of capitalism. on with baskets, pails, aprons and gun-little son or whose little daughter is a "My baby will die if I victim of such a system, who yet whoops it up for old giory and asserts a mother. "My old mother is sick and that this "is the freest and best Gov- time in twenty-nve years looked into a ernment under the sun," who falls in mirror a few days ago. He must have italist helota show me such a man er and I'll show you a snave, a cowardly whom there isn't a molecule of manhood. Ah! I hate you and your sort, and if you can never see the error of dition of whose occupants is not a whit your way, why, I'll not indulge in any loud lamentations if some withering, ers in this city, and the Post Dispatch blistering, scorching blighting damn

alle them poor? Who and incentive are compatible." I said, attend. "Certainly," he replied.

"I do," said he. "Why do you think so?"

"Because," said he, "under Socialism according to your contention, everybody would be happy and contented, and therefore could have no incentive to progress."

'Then you think 'contentment' and 'incentive' are incompatible? "Yes."

"Thought you just said they are ompatible

"Oh! you go to H-alifax! No use to argue with a blamed fool!" claimed my trate friend, rising to go. When I told him I agreed with him on that proposition, at least, and regretted very much that I had been inveigled into acontroversy with one, he glared at me and beat a rapid retreat. As his footfalls echoed back up the stairway I'm not sure-I thought they were mingled with some such euphemism as damphoole Socialists.

When the capitalists and their henchmen allude to "the people," "the public" or "the government," they have no more reference to the wage slave than the ante-bellum master had to his "niggers" when using the same terme

A fair illustration of the truth of this assertion is afforded by Chief Kie ly's recent notice to "The Public, in which he requests all persons leaving the city for the summer to notify him of their intentions, giving location of residence and also address during absence.

He expresses his purpose of guard ing with extra vigilance the residences of such absetees. Is there a working man in this city so "short on brains' as to think for an instant that he was included in this notice to the public Is any one fool enough to believe that any but the wealthy aristocratic class were contemplated? Who but that parasite class can flee from the sweltering city to the cool summer resorts" Ah! it makes me laugh when I think of the alacrity with which the Chief would dispatch a platoon of his force to guard the tenement hell-hole of poor devil of a working man who had left the city for a few days' outing'

"The riot drill has been made a part of the regulation tactics of the lows militia, says a press dispatch. Of course. Do you suppose the militia is going to sit round like a wart on a log during a strike. Straws show the direction of the current, but it begins to look as if the wage class can't see either straw or current. Speaking of the Iowa militia reminds me that our own "brave boys" prior to breaking camp up at Camp Dockery, had a brilliant ball given to the "officers" and ladies-the high private in the rear rank wasn't in it. He belongs to a diftaken 700 children under the age of 11 ferent caste. Never mind, boys, every from factories and mercantile estab. dog has its day. You'll have a chance lishments in St. Louis. Fifty-six chil- some day of distinguishing yourself by ciaries of the capital st system-by steep declivity, than I have for the church members, some of them, and all contemptible "poor with trash" that "lines" a militia company or the regular army. (Vide some standard work

In a special Mayoralty election held in Sedalia last Monday Judson L. Bab 980 votes, John O. Fisher, Socialist cand phere for 12 hours at a stretch is \$1.25 | date, received 324. Straws, etc. When

An Andover Mass man for the first

line and parades with a lot of militia been disgusted with his counterfeit bums, posse comitatus thugs and cap- present presentment for no soon than he rushed out and said a little girl. "I support 8 children poltroen, a whining, cringing, crawl- threw himself in front of a rapidly on one dollar a day, and can't buy ice ing. groveling whimpering sucker in moving train and was crushed into a pulp. Which leads me to remark that there are thousands to-day who, if they could get one square, face-to-fac look with their consciences would do likewise-with no loss to Socialism.

14, 15, 16 AND 22 WARDS.

There will be an important meeting

. C. SCHEFFLER, Secretary.

Overproduction.

Once upon a time there was a Son of a Gun that inherited from his father who was the son of a thief, a large portion of the earth and the fulines thereof, and the inhabitants thereof that he might be a father unto them and "give - them employment," reign over them and receive the largest chare of the product of their industry and labor, in return for reigning over them and being a father unto them and giving them employment."

And the land was his, and all the un known and unsuspected riches that at any time might be dug out of it.

And as a father he "gave the people the employment" of digging up the riches out of the earth while he looked on. And the riches were very great and made a goodly heap.

And when he saw the goodly hear that his people by his gracious permis sion had dug out of his land, he said unto them: "God oless you my people; ye have done well. We will now divide this treasure; ye shall take half and divide it amongst yourselves as the reward of industry, and I will take the other half and divide it amongs myself as my reward. You we jointly produced this wealth You, assisted me with your indus try, and I assisted you by Looking On, and giving you permision to dig in my earth. We will joint ly divvy up, therefore and I will b your Captain of Industry.

And all his people said:. "The thing thou speakest is good; so let it be. And it was so: and they were happy.

And they dug and dug and he looke on and looked on, and by equally dividing the product they all grew well-todo: but he grew well-to-doer than any one of them

Then saith he unto them one day Behold now; let us, with the wealth WE have produced, start factories and make Things. I will give you permission to build the factories, and ye shall work therein and make Things; the factories shall be MY factories: I will pay you wages for making the Things but as my reward for Looking On he Things shall be mine, and I will sell them and the profit thereon shall be

And the people answered him and said: "The thing thou speakest is good; so let it be." And it was so.

Therefore did the People build the factories, and the Son of a Gun did Look On. They also did build machinery to make things; and the Son of a Gun assisted them by Looking On They also did, from morning till night work the machinery that made Things, and the Son of a Gun industriously Looked On: and when the Things were made he took them all and paid the people their wages

Then did the Son of a Gun hire som of the People to store his Things, and to sell-over the counter the Things to the rest of the People who came with the wages they had earned to buy such of the Things that they had need of.

Now there dwelt in those parts around and on the other side of a rocky hill called "The Corner," a cer tain Thief of the World, who, like the Son of a Gun, had inherited from his father a large portion of the Earth and the fullness theoreof, and the inhabitants thereof, who in like manner, had dug wealth out of the earth by his graious permission, and had built factories and worked in them and made Things which he, as the reward of his Looking On, took and paid them wages

And these people called themselves he Great Public.

Now, it so happened that neither the Son of a Gun's factories made all the ings that the People wanted, nor the Thief of the World's factories all the things that the Great Public wanted.

So after the People had spent a portion of their wages (which were but One-Half the value of the Things they Son of a Gun sent his hired servants to sell the rest of his Things to the Great Public Around the Corner (whose wages also were but One Half of the Things they produced), who bought all they needed up to the limit of their wages. Likewise, after the Great Public had spent a portion of their wages with the Thief of the World, the Thief of the World sent his hired servants to sell the rest of his Things to the People Around the Corner, who bought all they needed up to tories, the limit of their wages.

But when the hired servants returned, each set to their Master, they took back with them a goodly portion of Things they could not sell, because the producers of both sides had no more wages wherewith to buy. So they re-ported that trade was bad and there was a financial stringency.

Then goeth the Son of a Gun and calleth together all his People and saith unto them: "Behold, now; trade is bad; there is a financial stringency; the Great Public Around the Corner are not taking my Things. My servants report that my Things are to highpriced for them to buy with their wages; but if the Things were cheaper they could buy more. It behooveth me therefore to cut down wages some until Times mend and the financial stringency be loosened."

Then all the People lifted up their threatened they would be something ies were closed, even the mules and

awfuled before they would take the

But the Son of a Gun mildly beamed on them over his spectacles, and gently reminded them that the Earth, the Fac tories and the Things were his, and that he held the Keys of Hell and Death in his band. Whereat the peo ple agreed to produce Things for less

wages. Then did his hired servants go forth with the Cheaper Things to the Great Public Around the Corner, and sold them nearly all, and returned with joy unto the Son of a Gun who rejoiced with a great chuckling greatly.

But when the hired servants of the Thief of the World came with Things to sell to the People, they were dismayed to find that the People could buy as aforetime, for after they had spent all their wages, and bought what they could, there was left a grea-Unbought Things the hired servants had to take back to their mas

Then goeth the Thief of the World and called together the Great Public and saith unto them: "Behold, now trade is very bad; there is a great financial stringency, and business depression. My servants report that they cannot sell these Things unless price thereof be very much less. It is my painful duty, therefore, to announce a 25 cent, reduction until the financial constipation be over.

Then the Great Public lifted up their voices and wept and vowed they would be something-awfuled before would stand it. But the Thief of the World beamed on them and gently told them he had the power to make them suffer hunger and thirst if they dis obeyed. Whereupon they submitted.

Then did his hired servants go forth rejoicing, bearing cheaper things to the People, who bought a little more than at the last time. And the Thief of the World, though he rejoiced that he had effected more wies, saw with alarm that his heap of Unsold Things was gradually increasing.

But when the hired servants of the Son of a Gun went again to sell, behold, the Great Public were so poor that the servants could sell but very few Things even at the Reduced Rates and as Great Bargains. And they re turned with sorrow to the Son of a Gua and poured out their much sorrow and little cash at his feet.

Then goeth he again and calleth together his People and saith unto them Behold, the financial stringency in reaseth; the market is glutted; it is hard to make sales; I must retrench expenses; I must not only reduce your wages, but I am going to run some of my simplest machinery with donkeys which will work for bay and thistles. And the People wept sore, but saw

to way of escape So the Son of a Gun did reduce their rages, and imported a number of don keys who worked for hav and thistles

and displaced an equal number of men Then saith the Son of a Gun to himself: "Now shall I be able to compete; now shall I save all these wages, and sell to the Great Public Around the Corner. Yea, I do not see why I should not so simplify my machinery as to get rid of all these high-wage-earning men and employ all beasts; then should I sell marvelously cheap, and my Things would be all profit."

Then he sent forth his hired servants with Marvelously Cheap Things, who sold quite a large lot to the Great Public Around the Corner, and returned to their master in high glee. And the Son of a Gun had a light heart and slept well that night, for he had made large sales and good profits. But when the thief of the World's

ervants returned from their selling expedition to the People, They reported that times were very dull; that they who could buy could buy but little, that many were out of work and could not buy, and that their places had been filled with donkeys who eat only hay and Thistles and didn't want Things.

Which made the Thief of the World shake in his shoes with the fear of gether the Great Public and explained that really, if he could not produce more cheaply be would have to assign, as the financial constitution was more stringent than ever, and in order to and produced) with the Son of a Gun. and a market for things he was compelled to have Cheaper Labor to produce Thirgs with.

So he dischaged half of his men and got mules and donkeys that cor sumed but hay and thistles and didn't Hall, spirit of revolt, thou spirit of want wages.

And he sent his hired servants with Cheap Things to the People, who could buy but very few; so that the Thief of the World had to discharge more men and get more donkeys and mules, and, also, to shut up a lot of his Thing fac-

And the hired servants of the Son of

a Gun when they went to sell Things to the Great Public Around the Corne found nobody but men out of wor and hay and thistle-cating mules and donkeys who did not need Things. So the Son of a Gun had to discharge more of his men and get simpler machinery and more donkeys, and to shut

up a lot of his Thing factories. But the Great Public Around the Corner had grown so poor that his hired-servants had to seduce the little

wages they had out of their pockets by selling at a Great Sacrifice. And the Thief of the World did like

wise with the People Around the Corner.

So the Son of a Gun became Bank rupt and the Thief of the World As signed; the People starved and Great Public Around the Corner lanpices and wept, and howled, and guished in idleness, the Thing factor-

donkeys did not get hay and thistles: all owing to Lack of Confidence, and the Thief of the World said it was all. wing to the Gold Basis having got off its base; and all the People and the Great Public Around the Corner, and all the mules and donkeys stood staring at each other like Damphules

But one day they came by that way a dusty, careworn stranger with no marks of respectability upon him, and he, seeing their plight said unto them: Brethren, why starve ye here all day. in the midst of plenty? Arise ye, abolish this losfing Son of a Gun and this Thief of the World who steal your produce and tie up your hands. Take your own. In one grand common ownership work ye the land and the factories: abolish the idlers and divide the profuct amongst the workers, each a cording to his deeds. So shall there be enough for each, enough for all, enough for ever more."

And some jeered and said; "Thou speakest new, strange and unorthodox. doctrines; gct out!"

But some pondered his words in their hearts, and thought there might be a better method than the present one.

Convention Notes.

Walter Thomas Mills is short in ctatire but long in logic. He promises to come to St. Louis in September.

Prof. Herron has donated two hurdred dollars to the National treasury to start the work of the committee

Secretary Wilson of the United M. Workers was an interested spectator at several sessions. He is a Socialist

Strickland of Chicago, who has a good voice and plenty of it, led in the singing and it giving the Socialist yell. vell.

The temporary address of the Na-

tional Secretary is 4014 Evans avenue,

St. Louis, Mo. An office will be rented within a few days. Street meetings were held by the Indianapolis comrades and addressed by

various delegates. Large crowds were

dways in attendance.

Red buttons bearing the words "Soialist Unity Convention" were furnished the delegates and were worn with red ribbons aptached.

The entire proceedings of the convention were marked by a flow of wit and humor that will make the stenor raphic report that is to be published far from dry reading.

Job Harriman and Morris Hillquit attracted the admiration of all the delegates with their logical arguments. These two make a team of which New York comrades are justly proud.

A photograph of the delegates was aken on the steps of the State capitol It will be a valuable son Tuesday. venir of the convention. It will be reproduced in next week's Missouri So-

The Hon. James F. Carey, Socialist member of the Massachusetts legislature, has gained considerably in aver dupois. He was constantly engaged in entertaining a group of delegates. He says he likes his job very well.

The Chicago delegation was as enthusiastic as it was big. It contained: some able men and the goal our comrades of that city have set for themselves, twenty-five thousand votes at next election, is quite within possibility of realization.

Owing to the amount of work in the convention and the holding of night sessions the representatives of the Se cialist papers found it im complete the organization of the Socialist Press Association. All were en-. thusiastic over the plan and at a short meeting held Thursday a committee of three was appointed, Mailly, Wanhope and Putnam, and further steps will be taken by correspondence,

Revolt.

Child of the ideal, daughter of the far

away truth! Without the the nations drag on in a

llving death; Without thee is stagnation and arrested growth:

Without thee Europe and America would be sunk in China's lethargy, Smothered in the past, having no hori-

zon bu the actual.

Hall, spirit of revolt, thou spirit of life. Child of eternal love .-

Love rebelling against lovelessness life rebelling against death!

Rise at last to the full measure of thy birthright; Spurn the puny weapons of hate and

oppression: Fix rather thy calm, burning, protesting eyes on all the myriad shams

of man and they will fade away Thus and thus only give form and body to thy noblest aspirations, And we shall tee done on earth as it is

in heaven. God's ever living, growing, ripening

will -From "Plain Talk in Psalm and Par-

able," by Ernest Crosby.

Socialism and Trusts

Rev. Chas. Vail's Address at Los Angeles.

One of the strangest things is that

industrial interests in the hands of irresponsible persons to be controlled for private emolument. the people in their power, and admit of no responsibility. This department of life is of the utmost interest to an. Why should a man be deprived of a voice in the industrial group of which he is a member, more than in the political group? Of what value is it to democratize politics and not industry? Socialism proposes to distinite a popular self-governme in the industrial as in the political world. Economic democracy is a corollary of political democracy. Socialism would bring the industrial regime under popular government. To be exercised by the people in the interests of

The present industrial regime is des potic. In place of this despotism it is proposed to substitute a Social De mocracy. There is no reason why we should have sovereign rule in the industrial realm more than in the podiffical; or why we should abrogate chattel slavery and leave untouched wage slavery

Industrial democracy being in the line of evolution is certain of attainment. Democracy has already been attained in pulitics and religion, and in dustry is passing through similar stages of development

In the early period of human history men fought singly Next they gatheredinto groups for self-preservation, forming the tribe or nation, which necessitated a leader chief or king. When these rulers began to abuse their power the people rose in their might and asserted their independence They dethroned the monarchs and selected their own governors, making them responsible to society for their official acts. In religion, we find the same development. Men first worshiped alone, then they gathered into groups and formed religious societies. These organizations were led by men

priests began to abuse their power, the people rebelled. Reformations were Inaugurated and religious democracy mustry? Men first worked individually, in quality. Those entering the mer as in the Handicraft Stage, then grad- cantile middle class were not attractnally they became associated in groups and division of labor was introduced as in the Manufacturing Stage. These en there by the closing up of other to a criticism of Bellamy's Samous associations grew into greater and greater magnitude, as in the Factory

Stage each requiring special direction and management, and so the master workman developed into an industrial rhief-a captain of industry. These rulers. like those in politics and religion, have perverted their power, and the reople are rising, and will make their economic rulers, as they did their political and religious rulers, responslble to themselves. Democracy has always followed despotism. -Will it fall baxe an Industrial Republic planted Republic

cialization of the instruments of production to correspond with the socialization of production on the one hand and political democracy on the other

The question then to-day, is Shall we have organized capital in the hands of individuals, or in the hands of soclety? The choice is not between competition and combination, for the former is rapidly disappearing. Combinaeither of the few or-many is in evitable. Combination is the Socialistie way of doing business; competition Is the individualistic way.

Industry then has successfully phased from the handicraft stage of production into the era of manufactures, and from thence into modern tion of the laborers to the introduc- the ranche like old Billy Hades beatmechanical industry, and this era has then of new machinery. The inhorars ing tan bark, Stop him, Well, I tried in stock stage and is now rapidly tak. because they saw in it only an instruing on the form of monopoly. But this ment of oppression, and their strength | with a litter, but broncho didn't Nov. monopolisti stage, which has been en was wasted in an endeavor to force a it is just such tactics and native and have combined into corporations, and duction. The same is true to-day of the part of the irrepressible combine into a Co-operative Common Chergies toward the dissolution of the that broncho, though I protest any in wealth. This being logical, is meetia. Dust system, not realizing that the terence as to further analogy. If his wealth. This being logical, is mey taretrogression. It is only in universal combination that a complete consumsmation can be attained Trusts must combine into the great trust—the nation. There is no more possibility of in their collective ownership and con- Socialist camp without delay. But not our re-entering any of the past eras of trol. production from which we have industry has passed, or is rapidly passing, into innocuous desnetude. As slaervibling in its own order, first full corn in the ear.

The fruits of industrial evolution are now reaped by the few. The trust is Socialism for the few at the expense of the many. What we wantis Socialism for all at the expense of none. The trust atilizes the methods of Socialism-combination, co-operation and co-ordination—to get the best out the inevitableness of the concen-results from man and nature without tration of industry and the advantages the Socialist aim and spirit. Every which flow from increased production

The development of the trust is ess of \$20,000.

of the 1.168.243 firms doing business in the quicker the final consummation of the United States and Canada in 1897, the industrial evolution will be effect-223,322 either failed or wound up their ed.
affairs after losing their last dollar. The trust is systematizing and uni-At this rate it would take about five tying industry and preparing the way whole middle class were there not an Any industry organized into a trust is their small carnings or laberitance in the community. It is useless to say the inequalities of life ann alleriating middle class enterprises. But the sure these aspirants of bankruptcy will managed by a hand of capitalists. The soon by absorbed by the plutoeracy. Board of Directors who usually do and then society will be divided into not own the capital invested-can as ously wealthy families on the one side.

in the concentration of wealth in the people, Socialism is thus seen to be breakers. The field of production is upon a solid economic foundation. already nearly closed, and the men of means, having nowhere else to invest their increasing wealth, are now begin ning to invade the field of distribution appointed for the purpose. When the be as scarce as the small factory is

the other.

Let us not be deceived by statistics here. There was an apparent growth Do we not find the same thing in in- a growth in quantity, but a decrease avenues of employment and enter only work, death. This very phenomencu is a of the middle class, Is it any wonder, very able brochare on Socialism upon the foundation of our political then, that the middle class should cetration when it sees its special I never could differentiate him proper

half of its own existence. Its cry is not up his back and start off nickety brimagainst the exploiting system of pro- dle, never taking his eye off of the duction, but against the new capital- goal, nor swerving a hair's breadth, ism, represented by plutocracy, becom ing the sole exploiter. The middle notion that you would be at your desclass does not object to some riding tination before you could say lineign on the backs of others, it only objects Robison. But there's where you'd err to being the party ridden. The old cap- and be doomed to disappointment Italism cries out against the new, be- Whon he'd get so nearly there that cause it feels the iron heel of capitals you began to get in shape to dismount oppress

ever; is about as futile as the opposi- ends simultaneously, and start back to were blind to the benefits of machinery once-only once. I stopped and stal's return to the Handicraft Stage of pro- caracoling and doubling back on the s into trusts, so trusts will imbide class. They are bending their moves me to observe his similarity to bie, in economic evolution there is go itrust is a natural product of industrial "smart set," for whom he writes want condition. The solution of the problem to extend the simila, well and good for both the laboring class and the About the first article by William I destroy machinery and the trust, but land stealght into heariquarters of the

Socialists recognize that the ulti- ing to leap over the Socialist cheval evolved than there is of the butterfly mate goal of capitalist evolution is defrise, he reversed himself and their re-entering the chrysalis. The stage of the trustification of every department toward the menarchical camp mandleraft and manufacturing: and of production and distribution, so that such precipitancy as to recall fo my even the competitive stage of modern the greatest possible product may be mind the pasquinade on Gen. Burnapie realized from the least expenditure of which we wicked "rebs." set to music economic forces. The difference be- and sang around the campfires. On very gave way to feudalism and fend-alism to capitalism, so capitalism trust lies in the department of dis-must give way to Socialism. But ev-tribution, and capacity of the people courage his wavering command, but to consume the product of their labor seeing the enemy in a overwhelming blade then the ear, and after that the at cost. The capitalist trust is Social-numbers, wise, as well as brave Genism in production, but individualism eral that he was, he beat a hasty re in distribution. We want Socialism in treat, which tickled the "rebs." awful-

both production and distribution. The captalist class, as represented fellow to then and there improvise by the Republican party, endeavors to fald pasquinade, which runneth as followed to the captalist class, as represented fellow to then and there improvise by the Republican party, endeavors to uphold the trust and its private owner- lows, to-wit. ship in order to maintain its own supremacy. Senator Hanna has pointed

is one-cided, and endeavor to cover up under consideration is an exception clalist charges, that competition is one-cided, and endeavor to cover up under consideration is an exception wasteful, and that by combination the the pathway of blood, the bitterness rowever it doesn't start anywhere ost of production is greatly reduced, and fahures that have attended his and doesn't go anywhere and cons realm. The only solution of the probabilities, as represented by the Demo turning tail and so forth 'I' do him is that which has been pointed out static party chooses to see only the the honor and myself the pleasure. the socialisation of the trust, that evils, overlooking the great power that the benefits now monopolized by the concentration brings and the enormous. Whether the readers have any honor few may become the inheritance of all, economy effected by unified industry, or pleasure or interest in the matter The choice must be between Plutocrat- is remains for the Socialist, untramie Socialism and Democratic Socialism, meled by the interests of the other once to me. He says in the outset that great andoyance to the middle class out both the good and evil of concenof small producers and distributers, tration and show how the evil can be life and that notwithstanding his inand so we find them raising a bue and eliminated and the good retained. We cry about the tyranny of the trust note with satisfaction the progres, false I concede that if his premis-Why is this? It is because they be- which has gone hand in hand with the false, his conclusions must also be long to the competitive stage of mod- development of industry, but we clearorn Industry, which stage is fast be- 15 see that we have now reached it i mistake, evincing an ignorance of Scientific and instance of Scientific and instance of Scientific and instance of Scientific and Industry, which stage is fast be- 15 see that we have now reached it instance, evincing an ignorance of Scientific and Industry, which stage is fast be- 15 see that we have now reached it instance, evincing an ignorance of Scientific and Industry, which stage is fast be- 15 see that we have now reached it instance, evincing an ignorance of Scientific and Industry, which stage is fast be- 15 see that we have now reached it instance, evincing an ignorance of Scientific and Industry, in the Industry is the Industry in the Indu ing supplanted by the monopolistic, court where the system of private cialism that is surprising. Every acand as a result they are being forced ownership of the trust blocks the way gament in the pamphist into bankrupley. The trust, which is to further progress. We see that the by no means ingenious, as are Bella the logical sequence of the competitive only salvation is in pushing the evosystem, is the great labor-displacing lutton on to its logical consummation machine of the big capitalist. Of the |--public ownership. We reject the are synonymous terms-that they are 14,000 failures annually 87 per cent are Democratic middle-class policy of dethose whose capital was \$5,000 or less, stroying the trust and so throwing and 9 per cent those whose capital was civilization backward. Socialism, then, over \$5,000, but less than \$20,000 Con- welcomes the trust, not as a finality equently, of the total failures, only but as a step toward Socialism, and the about 4 per cent have a capital in ex- quicker the constructive work of these great combines work out their destruc-But this is not all. We are told that tive counterpart in failure and crises,

years to wipe out the existence of the for the Co-operative Commonwealth. equal number standing ready to invest eminently ripe for appropriation by laws would go far toward remedying The wealth of aged by the State, when it is being classes a few hundred prodigi- readily be made responsible to the whole people as to the shareholders. and the great mass of projetarians on The directors in charge at the time can be retained, if thought advisable, sim-The middle class reads its own doom ply making them responsible to all the hands of the few. It is pearing the practicable, " inevitable, and to rest only "possible," but that "much of the

The Flavor of Folly.

and the small store will, in a few years, It is Necessary to Make Life Interesting. Says Wm. Marion Reedy.

of the middle class from 1880 to 1890; A Review of His Pamphlet on "Equality."

Last month the ebullient, accurrient od there by any enlargement of its transcendental William Marion Reedy field of opportunities; they were driv- devoted his entire monthly pomphlet "Equality," in which he labors to feed the fire of bankruptcy. Driven hard to prove the fallacy of Socialism from the field of production, they en. After reading it over 16 times exceter the mercantile body only as a half-fully, critically. I laid it down week a ing place on their way to commercial very strong conviction that William would have been more of a success if symptom of the aproaching collapse, he had confined his efforts to a dis-As before pointed out, roncentration sertation on Brontology or somettang in this field has been delayed, but the equally casy, the hydrostatic parameter time has now come when it will go for instance. Mayhap, though, if Hiller forward with alacrity as the other would lay off a couple of weeks, mean fields for investment are being closed, time, making liberal use of such harm-The statistics of 1900 will undoubtedly less medicaments -my mild aperious in the industrial realm? No. We shall show a rapid decrease in the number and antheliminties, he could write a

William is an "amusin' cuss," lemetraise a cry of protest against this con- wise he always impresses me that way ap- from a trick broncho I saw out West proaching trustification of industry? one time. No sooner than the rider got Its protest, however, is not in be- astride of him and headed toward the half of the laboring class, but in be- place you wanted to go to, he'd bow so that you would be inspired with the the d suddenly execute a fanciful car-Their opposition to progress, how- scole, reverse himself, fly up at beach middle class is not in endeavoring to over read I was sure he was soing to so. Just as I thought he was preparly, of course, and inspired a smart Alec

> Hurnsides rode up Into ranks Right straight up in his saddle And drew his sword - cried right about Right about, Yanks, skedaddle, Now, that's the way with Billy in

trust virtually admits the truth of So-, and economy. But such statements are nearly all of his dissertations. The or and harmony restored in the industrial growth. The middle class, on the other quently, is not under the necessary of however, of making a few comments or not, is a thing of supreme indiffer classes and parties, to clearly point Beliamy's premises are wrong in that genious arguments his conclusions are false. But William makes the same my's-is based on the false assump tion that Bellamyism and Socialism one and the same thing Hence, his in this article to point out, for Mr Reedy's edification, the difference be tween scientific Socialism and Bella myism, further than to say that So clalism is both a science and an art As a science it investigates and de-

> government. While Socialists believe that knowledge and application of such many of the evils Incident to the existing capitalist system, they do not maintain, as Mr. Really charges them of doing, that Socialism will reradieate every misery but death," and eliminate all passions, etc.

termines the evolutionary laws of eco

these laws to the affairs of society and

teaches the practical application

Reedy says that "equality" is a ream one might wish to come true It aims at an existence that would be "pleasant, if possible," jet in the very next serience he admits that it is not dream will come true, some day.

A few sentences further on he slips his trolley again, when he says: "My Impression of the world as Mr. Fejlamy pictures it is that it would be a world of insufferable prigs. The world if it ever comes to the Bellamy stage will seek suresme in ruicide. It will make itself theed." Thought you just said "one miglit wish that the dream would come true;" that it "will come true, some day" and that such a state of society would be "pleasant."

What sort of logic is that which says a thing "is possible." pet "impossible. which is "pleasant," yet makes you "tired" and impels you to "suicide

Under Bellamyism he says the "salt of sin, the flavor of Tolly gone, and life would be stale, dull, figu and improfitable. Vice makes for vertebra in humanity. Wipe it out urterly, and we are reduced to a state of moral-jelly fishery."

Such sentiments savor very strong er of downright percentage, and I can magine no society that sould regard then complacently outside of the particular coterie who constitute the Mirror's clientele. Moreover, to my mind they convey a subtle high that William would like to pose as a modified edition of Don Juan.

There are hypocriters in vice as wel as in virtue. There are tilose who affeet the rone as well as the saint. After citing a long catalogue of catamitles that would overwhelm the homan racit equality of life were established, he caps the climax of abunchity by say ing: "Inequality in life is what brings the world up toward equality." Now, as brother Reedy doesn't establish any metes and bounds beyond which th world shall be brought up toward equality. Tinfer that the process will continue until "inequaitty," which he seems to think is the mainspring of human action, gives way to "equality." with all of its innumerable evils.

How's that. Willie! You are hysterical on your advocacy of a heaven of inequality, though, in your exoberance, you admit that it will transform itself into a hell of equality. Wiffiam Marion says: "Bellamy telescopes bimself in his arguments." I am not defending Bellamy's kind of Socialism, but must say that if the author of "Equallity" were alive be could Reedy 'corks' himself in his arguments. But I desist, 'Fwore value to follow the fautasies, false assumptions, contradictions and tergiversa tions contained in that pamphiet

Ci! William Marion Reedy, I surely think Uneeda prescription, calling for large quants ties of the ingredients hereinbefore mentioned

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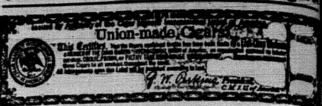
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