

The Farmer And Socialism

Reprinted by permission from a copyrighted pamphlet entitled Socialism and Farmers, by A. M. Simons, copies of which may be had at 5 cents each from Charles H. Kerr & Co., publishers, 56 Fifth avenue, Chicago.

(Continued from last week.)

Every one remembers the rush that took place to the West a few years ago, which, as we all know, was but the last of a long series of similar westward waves that have been flowing across the country at fairly regular intervals for the last century. Wonderful stories were told of the rich black soil of the prairies, waiting only for the plow of the farmer to tickle it into a bounteous laugh of all the good things of the world. Hosts of farmers from the middle and western states who had just begun in a strange, undefined way to feel that their present surroundings were undesirable, were lured to Dakota, Kansas or Nebraska by the siren song that "Uncle Sam is rich enough to give us all a farm." They did not then see what many of them have since learned, that "Uncle Sam" is simply another name for the possessing classes, to which the farmers will some time discover that they no longer belong. Had they realized these facts they might have called to mind that old proverb to "Beware of the Greeks when they bear gifts," and would have looked with suspicion upon the wondrous generosity of the "homestead law." But they can comfort themselves with the fact that they were not the only ones who were deceived by this apparent bounty. It was hailed by the great majority of the social students of the world, including, I am sorry to say, not a few Socialists, as a restoration of the class of "independent farmers." But in little more than a decade these independent farmers, the recipients of so wonderful a gift, are in almost open revolt against the economic conditions in which they find themselves, and turning blindly toward free silver, popular banks, fiat money, and a hundred and one other economic vagaries in the hope of securing relief. What has happened?

Let us take a look at the territory referred to as it was at the beginning of the eighties. Thousands, yes, millions of acres of fertile land were as yet untouched by the plow. The country had just recovered from the commercial crisis of 1873 and was in a stage of great "prosperity." The capitalists of America had just discovered and begun to apply on an extensive scale a new method of organizing their business. This was called the corporation. Not that corporations had been previously unknown. On the contrary they had been common enough in some lines of industry for more than a century. But they had been hitherto largely confined to certain peculiar lines of industry, such as railroads, telegraphs, canals, steamship lines, etc. They had as yet not been largely introduced into ordinary business. But in the years from 1880 to '88 more charters were granted for corporations than in any equal number of years before or since. Thousands of industries that had been previously conducted as individual enterprises were now turned into corporations. This had exactly the same effect as the invention of a new labor-saving machine. It made it possible through a better organization of industry to produce more goods with less labor.

Now it is a peculiarity of the system under which we are at present living that since the laborers are only given a small portion of what they produce, they naturally cannot

buy back the whole product, and so every once in a while we have periods of "overproduction," when the mills and factories shut down and

to work only ten or twelve hours a day. The capitalist knew a game worth two of that. All he was after was the products of the farmer's labor, and he could get these much easier by leaving the farmer in full possession of his farm. So the latter received his title to the land and then proceeded to raise crops which the capitalist stood ready to take away from him. We have seen some of the ways in which this was done in our examination of the process of agricultural production.

Los Angeles daily paper a report of a speech by City Superintendent of Schools Foshay, delivered before the assembled teachers of Los Angeles county.

Two clippings will serve as evidence of the utter shallowness, the paucity of ideas, the narrowness of view, and the degrading subservience to capitalistic conditions portrayed in the effort of this leader in educational fields. He says:

"I'd like to say to every married man here, and to every man about



—Ryan Walker in Appeal to Reason.

An Illustrated Lesson that Never Grows Old

great numbers of people go hungry and naked because there is too much food and clothing in the world. Now, of course it is to the interest of the capitalist class to postpone these crises as long as possible, because profits are much less at such time than when there is "prosperity." The only way in which such a crisis can be delayed is by finding new markets for the "surplus goods" that have been taken from the workers. At the time of which we speak this need for "new markets" was being felt most keenly by the capitalist class of America. They cast longing eyes to these great fertile tracts of land in the West. The problem before the American capitalist at this time was to settle this land in such a way as at the same time to secure the product created by the settlers and yet retain them as a market for the product taken from their toiling brothers "down East."

How this was accomplished is an interesting story. The capitalists had control of the machinery of government, as indeed they have always had, and, had they so desired, could have divided the ownership of these lands among their own class under some form of sale, as they had ordinarily done in the years immediately following the Revolution. Indeed, the history of railroad land grants shows that a very large portion of the soil was so divided at this time.

If the capitalists were as a whole to retain the ownership in these great tracts of land and secure any profits from their possessions, they would have to buy labor with which to operate them. In most cases this would have to be adult male labor, which could ordinarily be forced

The capitalist retained the ownership of the means of storage and transportation and was thus able to secure the lion's share of the product. Another slice was secured through the creamery, cheese and beet sugar factories, all of which represent improved methods of doing work and should make the farmer's task lighter and his income greater, were society properly organized.

With the development and improvement of farm machinery it too becomes a means to the farmer's enslavement. With the machinery as with the land, it was more profitable and involved less risk to allow the farmer to retain a nominal ownership and then under the guise of credit pluck him to the last cent with exorbitant prices, usurious interest and excessive "repair bills." Many and many a farmer has thus become as completely enslaved to his self-binder or sulky plow as any city worker to the great factory in which he toils.

Under this system, while the farmer is given the form of ownership of his capital, he in reality only accumulates this capital for the use of the actual capitalist. What he really owns is a somewhat permanent "job" with exhausting toil and low wages. Even this permanency is largely a delusion, as the uncertainty of the wage-laborer finds its counterpart in the fluctuations of crops and prices that destroy the farmer's peace of mind.

(Continued next week.)

Corners the Preacher On Every Single Point

Editor Common Sense: This morning, (Dec. 22) I read from a

to be married, take your wife to Switzerland and let her see how the women there work. They do the roughest kind of work in field and city; they plow and carry hods. They have to earn the bread by such toil as American women never know. It is enough to make any woman of this country glad of her nationality."

I'd like to say to Mr. Foshay, to every married man and to every man about to marry (who is able) to take himself, his wife and his children (if he has any) and visit the cotton mills of the south and of the north; the mines of the east; the sweat shops of any of our great cities, especially New York, wherein the Tribune tells us dwell at least 500,000 people in dens that are not fit for wild beasts; the plantations of the entire South where women work side by side with men at all work done on those plantations; again the sweat shops where Labor Commissioner Wright tells us 160,000 women work, the limit of whose hours of toil "is the limit of human endurance," and if he can't do this, read Elbert Hubbard's article on the white child slaves of America and any one of other writers on women and women's work in this glorious land of ours—go, Mr. Foshay and your married men and women and fathers and mothers, go look upon these things just as they are and then ask yourself seriously if it is necessary to go on a foreign junketing trip in order to rejuvenate your enervated patriotism.

"They (the Swiss women) have to earn their bread by such toil as American women never know." That statement is so utterly false that ignorance is the only means of

(Continued on page 3)

Letters That Are Pointed

Faribault, Minn., Dec. 10, '04.
To the editor of the People:

Dear Comrade: I call you comrade, because you are a comrade, in this great struggle through which we are now passing in an awful storm and thousands of us mean well and toward the one great end—the cooperative commonwealth.

While I am a member of the Socialist party, I do not hate those of the Socialist labor party and there are bad men in the Socialist party, who are not Socialists and bad men in the S. L. P., who are not Socialists. Socialism is the name no matter where we find it.

It seems to me it would be better to expose the bad men in both the S. P., and S. L. P., with their capitalist tactics, and relegate them to the rear, rather than for our party to abuse our party, and for your party to abuse our party.

Let's have clear cut, revolutionary Socialism, based on the class struggle, and a workingman's movement, with "labor as the whole" for our end.

Please send me several copies of your national platform, and Corrigan's vote.

This letter is not private if you see fit to publish it.

Yours for Revolutionary Socialism,
E. B. FORD.
Editor Referendum.

New York, Dec. 22, '04.
E. B. Ford, Editor Referendum.

Dear Mr. Ford: No slight is meant if I do not reciprocate with the title of "Comrade." In your party the title is applied as a term of friendship. It is not so in the S. L. P. With us the title is more technical. We apply it only to members of the party.

It is refreshing to me to see the stand your paper takes in the matter of the importance of the personal agency. In my many years of experience in the movement, one of the most frequent charges I have heard against myself is my "personal abuse." I have ever looked upon the charge as an echo by fools of words that knaves invent. No principle, however good or bad, can be more than a dead letter unless upheld by man. The mailed glove is innocent until the human hand animates it. He who attacks a wrong must perform attack the wrongdoer. Any other course is to trifle with right. I congratulate you on your being unaffected by the counter charge of "personal abuse," on your being determined to pursue the line of policy that you have entered upon in the matter, and upon the decency you have shown in ever substantiating your personal charges against the freaks and knaves with verifiable allegations of fact. Your exposures of your own party men are admirable.

But much as I admire your clearness of sight in the matter of exposing individual wrongdoers, I detect a glaring contradiction, indeed, serious error, in the posture implied by your words that for the S. L. P., to attack your party is to "abuse" it. Is not that holding toward the S. L. P., the same unwarrantable language that is held towards you by the elements in your party whom you so justly castigate? Your posture in this matter leads, however, to some thing graver than mere contradiction. It leads to error fraught with evil results. We laugh at the capitalists with their philanthropic schemes. Why is the ridicule justified? Simply because capitalist philanthropy is engaged at the Malaprobian fool work of mopping back the ocean. For every waif whom philanthropy relieves, two are bread by capitalism. Capitalist philanthropy's work is love's labor lost.

To uphold the institution of capital-

ism, with its wholesome breeding of pimples, and then to chase the pimples, even if they could all be chased and as fast as they spring up, is a Sisyphus work, that Socialism justly riddles with ridicule. What difference is there between such a posture, and yours with regard to your party? You would like your party to remain "unabused," but favor the "abusing" of the scamps that it produces. Do you not find the latter to spring up faster than they can be chased down and away? Is not your party organization similar to the institution of capitalism in that it is a regular breeder and attracter of such pimples? Your own words prove the fact. You have proved that your national platform is a fly-paper affair; you have proved that the bulk of your national committee men are traitors; you have gone further and claimed that in your late national convention there were only 56 Socialists out of 188 delegates. Moreover your columns fairly teem with the names of your party members whom you pillory. Does not that tell the tale that the system of your party, like the capitalist system, can be sooner ended than mended? We breed salmon and game to catch them and eat them. But can it be worthy of a serious man's endeavor to breed scamps for the sport of lambasting them? Or can it be a serious man's posture to find fault with trespassers on the scamp-preserve, while approving of the individual shots at the individual scamps? I wish to think that the point need but to be made in order to be made clear to you. An organization that can produce such wrongs and wrongdoers as you have correctly pointed out must be inherently defective. How much superior is not that organization, which, like the Socialist labor party, is so constructed that the freak or knave ejects himself, than that organization, which like your party, not only breeds its own quota of freaks and knaves but attracts those that we cast off?

Moreover, watch what misleading language your posture leads to. Not a charge that your paper brings against the Wisconsin state platform of the Social democracy but is true. Your charges are a series of bull's-eye hits. The platform is a disgrace to Socialism; it is a cross between freakishness and the political chicanery of the get-jobs-quick politician over the backs of the proletariat. And yet what are the flaming headlines that ornament your issue of November 17? "600 per cent gains for Socialism in four years—Debs beats Parker in Milwaukee—6 Legislators in Wisconsin." Such a declaration is at fisticuffs with your previous and masterly demonstration that the Wisconsin platform is non and anti-Socialist. A vote raked together by such means is everything but Socialist. In the measure that the voters were deceived into the belief that such a platform was Socialism, the cause of Socialism was sinned against. The glorification of a vote gathered by such means as a Socialist vote does not square with the burning denunciation of the means as non and anti-Socialist. Such are the inconsistencies that flow from misplaced loyalty. Can such inconsistency aid in clarifying the public mind?

I join you in the wish for clear-cut revolutionary Socialism, based on the class struggle, as alone it can be based upon. Seeing such is the single purpose of the Socialist labor party, its unflagging effort is to educate and organize the working class. Such work is both constructive and destructive. With charity for all, with malice towards none and ever

(Continued on page 4)

THE MONTANA NEWS.

ISSUED WEEKLY.

J. H. WALSH Editor and Publisher

OFFICE 22 PARK AVE. P. O. BOX 908

Entered at the Post Office for transmission through the mail at second class rates.

SUBSCRIPTION, \$1.00 PER YEAR.

Advertising Rates made known upon application at this office.

Any subscriber not receiving the News regularly should notify this office at once. It only takes a one cent postal card. Our mailing list is practically perfect, and many errors are carelessly made at certain postoffices, and our readers can assist us greatly in promptly notifying this office of the same.



The Seattle Socialist, or Next, has suspended for a month.

Alva Adams has been inaugurated governor of Colorado and, now begins the contest of Peabody for the much-coveted seat.

The capitalist legislature started on its third week of hard work Monday by electing Thomas H. Carter to the United States senate.

The report that the czar of Russia is insane at times may be true, but he is sufficiently sane to keep those Russian workers in subjection.

Thomas E. Watson, presidential nominee on the populist ticket last fall, has established a new magazine to be published in New York. Its mission will be to sing the story of the dying middle class set to the tune of populism.

It is no cinch as yet that Peabody will not be seated as governor of Colorado. The capitalist hirelings of the right wing appear to be doing good work for the octopus, while the left wing hirelings are being ejected from the legislature by the sargeant-at-arms. Good, go to it!

Practically the first appointment by governor Toole—A. M. Alderson—as adjutant general of the state militia, is a proper slap in the face of organized labor. Mr. Alderson, it is said, is a labor hater, and now at the head of the militia. How do you like it, "idol worshipers?"

It appears that the simon pure initiative and referendum bill will never run the demo-republican gauntlet of the Montana legislature this winter. Why should it? Do you look for old partyites, pockets stuffed with free transportation, and owned by corporations to pass laws in the interest of the workers?

What a delightful pair De Leon and poor Ford would make! But we always thought better of De Leon.—Seattle "Next."

That is a pretty heavy thought, eh? Coming from one of the framers of the Chicago platform, is it any wonder the platform is what it is? Another exemplification of the utter impossibility to make the bourgeois professional class realize the real class conscious spirit. That superiority caste will bob up.

The report comes from San Francisco that certain sailors refused to work to save a sinking vessel unless their union demands were complied with, and while they were standing out for certain demands all on board were going down, themselves included. This is getting class conscious, or at least conscious of knowing when to strike for what they want. The capitalists crowd things at the point of the bayonet, and why should not the worker, if he is in earnest, crowd things for himself, even at the point of death?

A republican exchange says the majority of men in the United States senate are exceptionally able and honorable, but a few men have

broken into that body in recent years who have done much to cast reflections upon "the most dignified assembly in the world." The indictment of Senator John H. Mitchell of Oregon for alleged complicity in vulgar land frauds adds strength to this statement. When the senate concludes to purge itself of men like Clark, Tillman, Dietrich, Burton and Mitchell it will have done much toward restoring its old time fame. The senate can never be what it once was as long as it whitewashes or tolerates such misrepresentatives of the people and of honorable states.

WILL GO TO S. L. P.

The first real revolt in the Socialist movement arising from the "impossibilists" and the "revisionist compromisers" since the trouble in Chicago shortly after the last national convention, occurred lately in Faribault, Minnesota, when the local of that place withdrew from the party organization of the state, and passed condemning resolutions against the opportunist, middle-class element that appears to be in the majority.

There is no doubt but that the local did the right thing in withdrawing, for, according to the letters from such men as some of the membership write, who claim that they supported part of the democrat ticket and that they would repeat the dose under similar circumstances, they would not be considered good populists, let alone being revolutionary Socialists.

There is a wonderful change coming in the present Socialist organization, and it looks very probable now as if it would go to a middle class movement. If the organization and party drift along in the future as in the past, endorsing the national platform (read it on the last page), that Wisconsin compromise and mess of labor union rot, that double-jointed contradiction and class caste hemorrhage run out at St. Louis, where Socialists are barred from working unless of a year's residence in the city; yea, if this is a criterion, the movement has already slipped into the hands of managers and leaders who are not only false to the Marxian revolutionary movement, but are ignorant of the real class struggle from the proletarian standpoint.

The intellectuals who are living in good style and never did a day's work in their lives, may write books and articles on Socialism that captivate the worker who has not given the same study, that he might see the deception, were there any, only understand the class struggle from a scientific stand-point; actual experience has not entered into their make-up. And consequently when a new comer to the party criticizes their actions they pass it by with ridicule and expect to float at the top of the movement upon popularity—egotism.

This condition, comrades, however, is no barrier to Socialism. The only question arises, is it advisable for these locals that pull off—and many more will in the future—to organize a new organization as mentioned by Comrade Theodore Meyer of Chicago? There is another Socialist organization in this country, and there is no need of three or more. With all the criticism of Dan De Leon acting as the pope of the S. L. P., that organization appears to be as near a revolutionary class conscious proposition as it is able to get the same at the present time.

In the next four years a great development will take place; none however will retard the advancement of Socialism. The Bryan-Hearst-Watson gang will come out with a platform "more radical" than the Chicago literary edict, and far in advance of the Wisconsin-St. Louis middle class rot hemorrhages, forming an excellent rendezvous for the "intellectual leaders," while those who are revolutionary will probably align with the S. L. P.

This bourgeois class who pose as leaders of the Socialist movement in America today will rule or ruin, and it looks now as if they would ruin it.

The proposed platform of the Chicago Socialists was not written

by Hearst, Bryan or Watson, although the report has gained currency that such is the case. However, the platform as proposed is noticeable for one thing, the same as President Roosevelt's message to congress—its length; in fact it only missed one thing and that was, giving a biography of its framers, or Bertillon measurement of each individual Socialist in Chicago, and especially of the heads of the intellectuals. It endorses revolutionary Socialism of the international stripe as supported by Hillquit and De Leon at the late international congress and then it endorses the national literary edict adopted at Chicago. All things to all men. As to work hours, etc., they propose to starve king capitalism into submission by degrees.

PREFER DOGS TO BABIES.

Charles W. Dabney, president of the Cincinnati university, before an audience of 2,000 people in Chicago the other day declared that in the year 1903 there were 106 murders and homicides, exclusive of suicides, and those accidentally killed, in the city of Chicago.

"Of that number there were 34 convictions," he continued, "53 were set free, 18 adjudged insane, and but one was hanged. 19 were not arrested at all and are entirely unaccounted for."

"In London, which is three or four times larger than Chicago, during the same year there were only 24 murders and homicides in all. All of the murderers were arrested. Seventeen of them were convicted, three set free, four adjudged insane and nine were hanged.

"Chicago, which is only one-third of the population and area of London, has far more murders and only one out of the list is given the extreme penalty. 19 are not accounted for. They either escaped or had a political pull and thus gained their freedom."

"Anarchy and lawlessness are rampant in America. Murders and homicides increased four and a half times from 1881 to 1893.

"There are more pet dogs to be found among aristocratic people in this country than babies," he continued. "I believe with President Roosevelt there is a tendency toward race suicide in this country. The sanctity of the marriage institution and the home is being constantly undermined. In New England, I venture to say, it will not be long before the entire original race is wiped out."

According to the assertions of the professor from Cincinnati it doesn't look as if we would need to wait for Socialism to destroy the home; capitalism is already destroying the home and nearly everything else, itself included.

Hasten the day when dogs shall occupy dogs' places, and babies enjoy the luxuries of the fine homes and beautiful firesides.

If plans now nearly completed by Butte unions carry, Herr Daniel Bandmann, the peer of Shakespearean actors, will be seen on the stage again this spring. He will appear, as last year for the cause of labor, this time under the auspices of the Butte Labor Temple association, the directors of which have held a number of conferences lately looking to the signing of a contract for Mr. Bandmann's services. It is planned that he tour the state with a professional company in Lord Bulwer Lytton's "Richelieu." The association is moving slowly in the matter that it may receive the full co-operation of all interested before launching out on such an important enterprise. It is proposed to profit by the experiences of the laboring people who handled the Bandmann benefit of last spring, when the "Merchant of Venice" was put on in the interest of the suffering miners in Colorado. It will be remembered that the performances then drew magnificent audiences in all cities of the state and that as a result it was possible for the unions of Butte to send more than \$5,000 to Colorado, the profits after all expenses were paid.

In Denver one society lady issues invitations on behalf of her pet dogs to other dogs that are pets of other society people, and has them all

come to a Christmas tree, where bejeweled dog collars are distributed to the guests (the dogs) In Denver an undertaker has been awarded a contract for burying the dead at the astonishingly low price of 1 cent for 500 paupers. In Denver—but perhaps we'd better stop here and let these two facts browse around awhile before attempting to tax the sluggish human mind with any more of our frenzied peculiarities.—Miners Magazine.

THE COMRADE

an illustrated Socialist Review of Reviews. Contains a monthly digest of the whole Socialist press, American and foreign. Review of current events by Franklin H. Wentworth.—Quotes the utterances of several hundred papers on all questions that interest Socialists.—The ideal paper for the busy Socialist.—The best magazine for the Socialist who doesn't like to miss anything of importance.—Cartoons—Portraits—Illustrations.

\$1 per year; 10 cents a copy. None free. Six month's trial—three back numbers and three forth-coming numbers, for 25 cents.

A new volume begins with the January number. Subscribe now and take advantage of this extraordinary offer. Upon receipt of \$1 we will send you The Comrade for one year, six different back numbers, and also pictures to the amount of 45 cents, selected from the following list:

- Triumph of Labor, By Walter Crane, 13x19 25c
- Race of The Nations Toward Socialism, 13x19 20c
- Life size portrait of Eugene V. Debs 20c
- Life size portrait of Ben Hanford 20c
- Karl Marx, by F. A. Dahme, 13x15 20c
- August Bebel, 11x14 10c
- Ferdinand Lasalle, 9x12 10c
- Mother Jones, 8x9 5c
- George D. Herron, 7x10 5c

These pictures are printed on good paper and are a suitable ornament for any Socialist home or club room.

Do not postpone sending in your dollar for this remarkably liberal offer, but order today and get \$2.25 worth of the best Socialist literature and pictures for less than half the regular price. This offer may soon be withdrawn. Please mention this paper.

The Comrade Co-Operative Co., 11 Cooper Square, New York.

Union Sent Miners Six Hundred Dollars.

Alex Fairgrieve, president of the Montana Federation of Labor, arrived in Butte yesterday, says a news item in the Miner, and reported that he was making good progress in getting subscriptions for the broom factory which is to be built by union laborers. In regard to the letter sent the Butte Central Labor council he stated that it was from his organization and was in reply to one received from the Butte body stating that they did not wish to assist the Western Federation of Miners as they had a grievance with the miners' body.

Mr. Fairgrieve stated that the Western Federation of Miners were assisting the Aldridge and Horr miners as much as possible and that the Butte Miner's union had sent \$600 to the Aldridge and Horr miners last week. Other unions in the state are assisting and Mr. Fairgrieve stated that he was glad that the Central Labor council had favorably considered their action and indorsed the letter and requested unions affiliated with that body to assist as much as possible.

SEND YOUR JOB WORK

TO THE NEWS OFFICE

FOR SALE AT THE HUB



The HUB

L. WEIGEL, Pres.

CORNER MAIN AND 6TH

SEND FOR CATALOGUE SEND FOR CATALOGUE

MONSTER CLEARANCE SALE!

Values Swept Away Profits swept Away Surplus Stock Swept Away

Success and a great trade is well and satisfactory; at the same time we are not unmindful of the debt we owe our great army of friends and patrons. As a consequence we are making this colossal sale to show the public that we are prepared to sacrifice values for the next twenty days so that you can and may reap the harvest of the destructive prices as quoted in our January catalogue.

The New York Store

EVERYBODY ADMITS

Anderson Bros. Co.

CARRIES THE BEST LINE OF

OVERCOATS AND SUITS

In the West

It is the **CROUSE & BRANDEE** line; it is made by tailors and not by Children.

We ask all friends to call on us and get the best Clothing line in America

ANDERSON BROS. CO.



Copyrighted 1904 by CROUSE & BRANDEE, UTAH, NEW YORK

SHIRTS

WITH A GUARANTEE

Did You ever try one of these Ferguson McKinney Shirts?

Money Back if not Satisfactory, \$1.00

CAPITAL CLOTHING COMPANY

James Walker STAPLE AND FANCY GROCERIES!

Also Boots and Shoes—New Line

We make a specialty of Large Mining and Ranch trade.—will figure on your bill at any time.

SATISFACTION GUARANTEED

Montana Railroad Company.

TIME CARD EFFECTIVE NOV. 6, 1904

Daily Except Sunday		Daily Except Sunday	
Leave 7:30 a. m.	Lombard	Arrive 3:45 p. m.	
Leave 11:02 a. m.	Dorsey	Arrive 12:55 p. m.	
Arrive 11:30 p. m.	Summit	Leave 12:30 p. m.	
Leave 12:01 p. m.	Summit	Arrive 12:00 p. m.	
Leave 12:40 p. m.	Lennepe	Arrive 11:20 a. m.	
Leave 1:06 p. m.	Martinsdale	Arrive 10:53 a. m.	
Leave 1:41 p. m.	Twodot	Arrive 10:23 a. m.	
Leave 2:20 p. m.	Harlowtown	Arrive 9:55 a. m.	
Leave 3:50 p. m.	Ubet	Arrive 8:35 a. m.	
Leave 4:58 p. m.	Moore	Arrive 7:50 a. m.	
Arrive 6:00 p. m.	Lewistown	Leave 7:00 a. m.	

MONTANA RAILROAD CO.,

Helena, Montana

Send in \$10 for a Share on the Press!

G & K CLOTHING

Bears the Union Label, a guarantee of excellence that the working man cannot afford to overlook.

Gans & Klein
HELENA, MONT.

CORRESPONDENCE

Hamilton, Mont., Jan. 12, 1905.
Mr. J. H. Walsh, Helena, Mont.

Dear Comrade: Yours of the 9th inst. at hand. Will say that local thinks favorably of the lecture proposition, and have practically made arrangements for one night at Darby, one at Como, one at Grantsdale and two in this city. Will write you more fully later.

Yours fraternally,
C. SANDOVEN,
Secy. of Hamilton Local.

Forsyth, Mont., Jan. 14, 1905.
Comrade Walsh: Yours of the 13th at hand. You may print 1,000 each of envelopes and letter heads, and send them C. O. D. when ready.

I noticed your lecturing scheme in the News. I was glad to hear it. I am quite sure that the woods, the

hills and the valleys, will be full of Socialists before you get through with them.

Sheep men are refusing 19 cents for wool. If Mr. Roosevelt's friend (the tariff) gets a hair cut they will probably be sorry they didn't sell.

They are working on the bridge across the river. The electric light plant is nearing completion. Poor old Rockefeller. What will he do when he can't sell any more oil?

A little old dried up looking man told me the other day that Socialism would destroy individuality. Judging from his appearance capitalism had destroyed his. The world will never know how many lives have been destroyed under this tyrannous system.

Yours for the world for the workers,
H. C. HOLTkamp.

Socialist News From State Headquarters.

Local Hamilton reports that a county central committee has been formed in Ravalli county and that an effort is to be made to thoroughly organize the county. There are three good locals in Ravalli county and if they co-operate and work systematically Ravalli will be heard from in 1906.

At a recent meeting of local Livingston a committee was appointed to make arrangements for a card party or some other entertainment that will raise funds for educational purposes.

There has been no donations to the organization fund during the past week and there has been a large falling off in receipts for dues; this is bad, for dues is the only regular source of income that headquarters has. There is a large amount of literature continually being sent from headquarters to unorganized districts preparatory to organizing; this costs money and if dues do not come in faster we will have to stop this work of agitation.

At the next meeting of your local see that a committee is appointed to interview the members who are in arrears and get them to pay up back dues or be reinstated.

Remember when there is a dues-paying membership of two thousand in Montana, we will be able to keep a lecturer in the field continually without any cost to the locals, except hall rent.

At the last meeting of the local quorum it was decided not to put an organizer in the field until there was \$100 in the organizing fund and the secretary was instructed to issue an appeal for donations.

There are twelve counties in the

state wherein no local exists; in some counties a Socialist speaker has never been heard, besides the unorganized territory in the other fourteen counties that need organizing work and the strengthening of the locals that now exist.

There are about 350 members in good standing. If every member would donate 25 cents we would soon be able to put a speaker in the field.

We know comrades that the demands upon your limited means are never ceasing, but it is upon ourselves we must depend for the emancipation of ourselves and our class, and surely no one ever sacrificed for a more noble cause.

We therefore call upon you to contribute as liberally as possible in order that we may have a solid militant organization in Montana.

Special organizing fund stamps are being sent to the secretaries of locals; all members wishing to contribute to the organizing fund can purchase a 10c, 25c, 50c or \$1 stamp from their local secretary and have same pasted on their due card.

We would suggest that each local appoint a committee to solicit and receive subscriptions from Socialists not members of the party. Get your committee to work immediately.

Please send as soon as possible all money contributed as we want to get an organizer started at once and have work done that will give returns in the spring elections.

JAS. D. GRAHAM,
State Secretary.

Tom Carter Elected United States Senator

Taking up our short review of the work of the capitalist legislature on the 12th, we find them continuing to vote for United States senator during the remainder of the week, but on their return to the capitol Monday they broke the record and elected Tom Carter, just as the News prophesied they would do at the opportune time. As to how much it cost "Tom" to turn the rebels to him has not been given out as yet, but will probably leak out in the near future.

Other than the voting for senator nothing was done in either the house or senate except a little routine work and offering notices of new bills to be introduced.

The fellow servant bill that was rushed along with the senatorial vote went to the governor after passing both houses on the 14th.

After the election of the United States senator Monday noon the house read a few bills for the sec-

ond time and adjourned till Tuesday. Of course it goes without saying that the senate adjourned after that laborious job of electing a senator.

It looks very plain now that the initiative and referendum bills introduced and copied after the Oregon law will never be passed. The republicans appear to believe that the "safely guarded" law is what is needed and this of course, when properly interpreted means a law that will be ineffective. But nothing more could be expected, and if an initiative and referendum law is passed by this session of the legislature, it's dollars to dough-nuts that it will be so framed as to be useless and as a result will take the people ten years to undo the work, and get a law of the kind on the books that would be of some good.

On Tuesday the 17th short sessions were held and no work done except to convene and adjourn.

Movements of Socialists

National Headquarters,
Socialist Party.
William Mailly, Nat'l Secretary,

New members of the national committee are: Montana C. C. McHugh, Anaconda; Nebraska G. W. Ray, Omaha; North Dakota A. S. Lampman, Fargo; Wyoming D. A. Hastings, Cheyenne.

The state secretary of Washington notifies the national secretary that the Washington state committee at a meeting held January 1 suspended Geo. E. Boomer from membership in the Socialist party for one year, "for fusion in acting or allowing a mass meeting of citizens to use him as secretary of a municipal nominating convention at Prosser, Washington, on November 30, 1904." As Boomer was national committeeman from Washington, this action of the state committee renders his place vacant.

The balloting of the national committee upon the election of national executive committee and national secretary closes on January 22, and votes received after that date cannot be counted. The vote upon the motion to grant Utah a state charter closes January 26.

Vernon F. Hing of Holland, Michigan, has been endorsed and recommended by the Michigan state committee for the reserve list of national organizers and speakers.

E. W. Perrin has resigned as state secretary of Arkansas.
Geo. E. Bigelow has started on a western tour which will take him through New Mexico, Arizona and California.

The annual report of the national secretary is in preparation and will form part of the January official bulletin.

Hundreds of Dollars in Cash Given Away

There is one lucky day every month, and if you purchase on that day, you are cheerfully refunded in cash the amount you buy.

December 9, Last Lucky Day! SANDS BROS. CO.



He (cautiously)—Do you believe there is really any danger in kissing?
She—There may be if papa sees you.

Their Restraint.



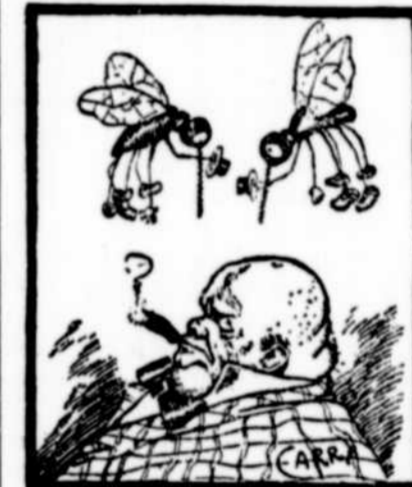
Gussie (gleefully)—Bah Jove! All the girls around here smile at me.
Tom—Well, that shows they have some manners. Anywhere else they would laugh outright.—Chicago News.

An Oversight.



"Oh, Harry, do you know you haven't called me Birdie for a whole hour!"—New York Journal.

Unsuspecting Victim.



The Mosquito—After you, my dear Alphonse.—New York Journal.

The Present State.



Customer—Waiter, what's this?
Waiter—It's bean soup, sir.
Customer—Never mind what it's been. What is it now?—Chicago American.

(Continued from page 1)

accounting for it. Even the capitalistic statistics issued by the administration that Mr. Foshay supports would serve to enlighten him. But it is well enough that he let these things alone and tickle the ears of listeners with such gush as he here deals in; for if he were to tell the truth about this glorious land of ours, he would lose his official head

in less time than it takes to tell it. Again, Mr. Foshay would have the married men of America all visit Europe. Now, we all know of millions of these men who work for our great corporations who should do just that thing. Their wages justify such a trip. The millions of poor devils who work from daylight till dark every day for a bare living should take a lay-off and go abroad. Perhaps their salaries would go right on just as doubtless Mr. Foshay's did. Ye powers! such rot. But Mr. Foshay would say that he made no reference to such married men as these millions. Certainly he did not. They are not any part of his reckoning. But some day these sleeping wretches will wake up and become a serious part of our reckonings; and when they do, Mr. F. and his ilk may take another trip and for other purposes.

And now the second clipping: "I thought when visiting Westminster Abbey that the Americans might pattern after the English in one respect. If we could have a national burial place for the heroes of our country it would be well."

Why, certainly, Mr. Foshay. Let's establish such a "garden of the dead" at once. Then we will read Mr. Lawson's article in the December number of "Everybody's" and go at once and bury Mark Hanna and a goodly number of American statesmen who use the secret wire in that hallowed spot. We should collect all these patriots on a few acres so that as the millions of toilers take their pleasure trips over this land of ours, it would be more convenient for them to visit and cast a tear on the sacred grave of each who has done so much to relieve the condition of our struggling masses, especially of the women. And as you have first mentioned the matter, you should be honored by being the first to be planted in that garden; and I agree to pay for the labor of carving in full upon your headstone the first extract herein contained from your wonderful speech in Los Angeles. It would make good reading for a few hundred thousand women in America.

N. A. RICHARDSON.

COMRADES ATTENTION!!

THE REFERENDUM, is the only Socialist paper in the United States, outside the Montana News, which has taken the stand against the Chicago document, called a Socialist Platform, the immediate demands and the Trades Union resolution. THE REFERENDUM is now the only clear cut Socialist paper out of the whole eastern bunch. It is time a decided stand is taken between capitalist reform and Socialism. Send 35 cents and get The Referendum and News \$1.35
THE REFERENDUM
E. B. Ford, Editor,
FAIRBAULT, MINNESOTA

Our Fresh Meats.

Are the Best and Our Prices Are the Lowest.

Bolling Beef, very fine lb	5c
Pot Roasts, lb	6c
Beef Steak, tender, juicy	10c
Fresh Pigs' Feet, lb	5c
Pigs' head, lb	4c
Home Cured Bacon, Best	15c
Home Made Hams, lb	15c
Corned Beef, lb	5c
Pork Spare Ribs, lb	12½c
Sauer Kraut, the Best, 7lbs	25c

Helena Packing & Provision Co
320-22 N. Main St. L. D. Phone 129

GOT 'EM ON THE RUN

Our Competitors say we cannot sell the Best Goods at our Prices.

== B U T ==

We Sell the Very Best Groceries

30 Per Cent CHEAPER

THAN THEY SELL TRASH

CRAGG & HARVEY

Representing **GEO. MELDRUM & CO., of Chicago**

Stop Your Cold Be Vigorous



with a superior bath cabinet one should always be well. By stimulating the circulation and opening the pores, it dissipates all congestions of COLDS, NEURALGIA, RHEUMATISM and all skin diseases.

Price Complete \$5.00
PARCHEN DRUG CO.,
AND PARCHEN BROS.



SHORT ROUTE FAST TIME
TO THE PACIFIC COAST

MINNEAPOLIS AND ST. PAUL

Connecting EVERY DAY

At St. Paul and Minneapolis with all Limited and Fast Mail Trains for Chicago, New York and the East and at Havre for Pacific coast points.

E B Trains Lv Gt Falls 3:05 a m
W B Trns Lv 4:40 a m 3:15 p m

All meal dining-cars served a la carte. For full information regarding rates and sleeping car, write or call upon W. C. Doherty, Lewistown, Stage office, or

L. H. YOUNG, Great Falls.

(Continued from page 1)

patient with the well meaning laggard the S. L. P's., sword is ever out against both wrong and the intentional doer thereof, whether the same be an individual or an organization. We hold such to be the correct course; I invite you to follow it.

D. DE LEON.

Editor the People.

Professor Tarrida del Marmol says in the Labor Leader of the 9th inst., that "the Socialist fraction which refuses to believe in the efficacy of political agitation and parliamentarianism is much in favor on the continent chiefly in France, Italy and Spain, but no where so much as in that last country, where there exists only a mere shadow of political Socialism under the leadership of Pablo Iglesias and Luejido." These statements are, obviously, easier made than proved. By the way, allow me to say that the "Socialist fraction which refuses to believe in the efficacy of political agitation and parliamentarianism," is thus called by Mr. Tarrida only in Great Britain. In Spain neither he nor his friends ever used

NEWS WANT ADS

Three insertions in our want column Free of Charge for workers desiring positions, or those desiring help.

Salesmen—Traveling—Selling our ideal side-line at sight to general stores. Sample small: Commission big. Reliable men address "Monopoly," Box H, Station D, New York City.

Wanted—All piano players to send 25 cents and get the "Brotherhood of Man," the first Socialist March for piano ever published. Address Montana News, Box 908, Helena, Mont.

For Sale—Few more copies at this office of "Socialism Made Plain," by Allen L. Benson. 135 pages for 15 cents. Address The News, Box 908, Helena, Mont.

For Sale—"Unionism and Socialism," by Eugene V. Debs. 10 cts. Order at once from the Montana News office.

the word Socialism to praise it; they talk always about anarchism, pure and simple.

Anarchism is more in favor in Spain than in any other country. So Mr. Tarrida says. If that is the fact I feel sorry for the Anarchists of other lands. Mr. Tarrida speaks like this in the very moment when Spanish anarchism has received from the people its notice to quit; when owing to the incapacity and dishonesty of some of its best known men, Spanish anarchism has been fatally injured. The membership of the Spanish Socialist labor party, the trades unions which follow the policy of the party (the only working class society officially recognized by the general federation of trade unions of this country), and the Socialist press are far more important than those of the anarchists.

"The mere shadow of political Socialism under the leadership of Pablo Iglesias and Luejido, can produce at any time the following figures, which may be verified at Brussels (International Socialist Bureau) or at Madrid (24 Calle de Ralatroes) paying members of the Spanish Socialist labor party 10,500; trade unions that support the policy of the party 60,000. Now, I challenge Mr. Tarrida to produce the figures concerning Spanish anarchism and indicate the way in which they may be verified. I shall consider myself defeated if he succeeds in producing a number in any way comparable to the above. I should be more pleased, as every Spanish Socialist would be, if what Mr. Tarrida says in a British Socialist paper was said in a Spanish anarchist one.—A. Fabra Ribas, Spanish Socialist Labor Party.

Stevensville, January 15, '05.
Comrade: In response to your letter we have arranged for the hall for entertainment. Mr. Price thinks he can fix us for music. If practicable send music so can practice. Messrs. Goodson and Etien will go to Victor tomorrow and if possible

arrange for entertainment there. We will see about Florence. As to admission for or collection, no conclusion; collections are uncertain, while admission dampens ardor to see the elephant.

We have recently, week ago, taken in 4 members and another applied. But education is more needed than numbers. God help us when democracy surrenders to us in a body as a coup d'etat and submerges us—mongralizes us—we being as ignorant and stupid as an ordinary rep. We will hold ourselves in readiness to carry out your suggestions as far as possible. Advise us early about things.

Fraternally,
H. C. WOODRUFF.

Clancy, January 16, '05.

Dear Comrade: Will you kindly send the News to Clancy again as I have left the Rimini country. The great wave of prosperity has closed down the mine where I was working, but as there are two jobs for every one who wants to work I will have no trouble in getting another. Please send me a copy of last week's paper too if you have one on hand.

Fraternally,
JOHN BRACK.



Professor—I don't know about letting you go to the theater with Mr. Smithers. Are you engaged to him?
Gwendolyn—Not yet. But if you'll let me go I will be by the time I get back.—New York World.

Official Popular Vote and Percent of Total.

The following table shows the official Socialist vote by states and each state's percentage of the total vote:

State	Debs vote	Per cent.
California	26,535	8.911
Montana	5,529	8.705
Oregon	7,619	8.45
Nevada	925	7.633
Washington	9,975	6.952
Idaho	4,949	6.818
Illinois	69,225	6.445
Wisconsin	28,220	6.373
Florida	2,337	5.945
Utah	5,767	5.674
Kansas	15,494	4.773
Minnesota	11,692	4.005
Ohio	36,260	3.619
Wyoming	1,077	3.507
Nebraska	7,412	3.298
South Dakota	3,138	3.093
Iowa	14,847	3.056
Massachusetts	13,591	3.025
North Dakota	2,017	2.874
Connecticut	4,543	2.384
New Jersey	9,587	2.232
New York	36,883	2.23
Maine	2,106	2.182
Missouri	13,008	2.027
Louisiana	995	1.836
Indiana	12,013	1.762
Michigan	8,941	1.721
Pennsylvania	21,863	1.604
Arkansas	1,814	1.558
Vermont	859	1.478
Rhode Island	956	1.402
Colorado	4,304	1.357
New Hampshire	1,090	1.211
Maryland	2,247	1.001
Texas	2,287	.985
Kentucky	3,602	.825
Alabama	853	.783
Mississippi	392	.672
West Virginia	1,574	.654
Tennessee	1,354	.557
Delaware	146	.332
Georgia	197	.143
Virginia	218	.122
North Carolina	124	.059
South Carolina	22	.035

What is the reason you comrades don't sell a few more press hares?

HEADACHE

"My father had been a sufferer from sick headache for the last twenty-five years and never found any relief until he began taking your Cascarets. Since he has begun taking Cascarets he has never had the headache. They have entirely cured him. Cascarets do what you recommend them to do. I will give you the privilege of using his name."



Pleasant, Palatable, Patent, Taste Good, Do Good, Never Sickens, Weakens or Grips, 10c, 25c, 50c. Never sold in bulk. The genuine tablet stamped O.C.C. Guaranteed to cure or your money back.
Sterling Remedy Co., Chicago or N.Y. 50¢
ANNUAL SALE, TEN MILLION BOXES



The Mechanic's Lunch

goes all the better with a bottle of beer—the work of the afternoon goes all the better, too. Capital Beer in case lots of 24 bottles costs only \$3.00 delivered at your home, and your wife will enjoy a glass or two at her noon-day meal. Capital Beer is a fine beer for lunch, dinner or supper.

CAPITAL BREWING COMPANY

DR. G. A. WILLETT
DENTIST

THOMPSON BLOCK, ROOM 9

Main St. opposite

Grand Central Hotel

Socialist National Platform

I.
We, the Socialist party, in convention assembled, make our appeal to the American people as the defender and preserver of the idea of liberty and self-government, in which the nation was born; as the only political movement standing for the program and principles by which the liberty of the individual may become a fact; as the only political organization that is democratic, and that has for its purpose the democratizing of the whole of society.

To this idea of liberty the republican and democratic parties are utterly false. They alike struggle for power to maintain and profit by an industrial system which can be preserved only by the complete overthrow of such liberties as we already have, and by the still further enslavement and degradation of labor.

Our American institutions came into the world in the name of freedom. They have been seized upon by the capitalist class as the means of rooting out the idea of freedom from among the people. Our state and national legislatures have become the mere agencies of great propertied interests. These interests control the appointments and decisions of the judges of our courts. They have come into what is practically a private ownership of all the functions and forces of government. They are using these to betray and conquer foreign and weaker peoples, in order to establish new markets for the surplus goods which the people make, but are too poor to buy. They are gradually so invading and restricting the right of suffrage as to take unawares the right of the worker to a vote or voice in public affairs. By enacting new and misinterpreting old laws, they are preparing to attack the liberty of the individual even to speak or think for himself or for the common good.

By controlling all the sources of social revenue, the possessing class is able to silence what might be the voice of protest against the passing of liberty and the coming of tyranny. It completely controls the university and public schools, the pulpit and the press, arts and literatures. By making these economically dependent upon itself, it has brought all the forms of public teaching into servile submission to its own interests.

Our political institutions are also being used as the destroyers of that individual property upon which all liberty and opportunity depend. The promise of economic independence to each man was one of the faiths in which our institutions were founded. But under the guise of defending private property, capitalism is using our political institutions to make it impossible for the vast majority of human beings to ever become possessors of private property in the means of life.

Capitalism is the enemy and destroyer of essential private property. Its development is through the legalized confiscation of all that the labor of the working class produces, above its subsistence wage. The private ownership of the means of employment grounds society in an economic slavery which renders intellectual and political tyranny inevitable.

Socialism comes so to organize industry and society that every individual shall be secure in that private property in the means of life upon which his liberty of being, thought and action depend. It comes to rescue the people from the fast increasing and successful assault of capitalism upon the liberty of the individual.

II.

As an American Socialist party, we pledge our fidelity to the principles of international Socialism, as embodied in the united thought and action of the Socialists of all nations. In the industrial development already accomplished, the interests of the world's workers are separated by no national boundaries. The condition of the most exploited and oppressed workers in the most remote places of the earth inevitably tends to drag down all the workers of the world

to the same level. The tendency of the competitive wage system is to make labor's lowest condition the measure or rule of its universal condition. Industry and finance are no longer national, but international in both organization and results. The chief significance of national boundaries, and of so-called patriotisms which the ruling class of each nation is seeking to revive, is the power which these give to capitalism to keep the workers of the world from uniting, and to throw them against each other in the struggles of contending capitalist interests for the control of the yet unexploited markets of the world, or the remaining sources of profit.

The Socialist movement, therefore, is a world movement. It knows of no conflicts between the workers of one nation and the workers of another. It stands for the freedom of the workers of all nations; and, in so standing, it makes for the full freedom of all humanity.

III.

The Socialist movement owes its birth and growth to that economic development or world-process which is rapidly separating a working or producing class from a possessing or capitalist class. The class that produces nothing possesses labor's fruits, and the opportunities and enjoyments these fruits afford, while the class that does the world's real work has increasing economic uncertainty, and physical and intellectual misery as its portion.

The fact that these two classes have not yet become fully conscious of their distinction from each other, the fact that the lines of division and interest may not yet be clearly drawn, does not change the fact of the class conflict.

This class struggle is due to the private ownership of the means of employment, or the tools of production. Wherever and whenever man owned his own land and tools, and by them produced only the things which he used, economic independence was possible. But production, or the making of goods, has long ceased to be individual. The labors of scores or even thousands, enters into almost every article produced. Production is now social or collective. Practically everything is made or done by many men—sometimes separated by seas or continents—working together for the same end. But this co-operation in production is not for the direct use of the things made by the workers who make them, but for the profit of the owners; and to this is due the present division of society into two distinct classes; and from it has sprung all the miseries, inharmonies and contradictions of our civilization.

Between these two classes there can be no possible compromise or identity of interests, any more than there can be peace in the midst of war, or light in the midst of darkness. A society based upon this class division carries in itself the seeds of its own destruction. Such a society is founded in fundamental injustice. There can be no possible basis for social peace, for individual freedom, for mental and moral harmony, except in the conscious and complete triumph of the working class as the only class that has the right or power to be.

IV.

The Socialist program is not a theory imposed upon society for its acceptance or rejection. It is but the interpretation of what is, sooner or later, inevitable. Capitalism is already struggling to its destruction. It is no longer competent to organize or administer the work of the world, or even to preserve itself. The captains of industry are appalled at their own inability to control or direct the rapidly socializing forces of industry. The so-called trust is but a sign and form of this developing socialization of the world's work. The universal increase of the uncertainty of employment, the universal capitalist determination to break down the unity of labor in the trades unions, the widespread apprehensions of impending change, reveal that the institutions of capitalist society are passing under the power

of inhering forces that will soon destroy them.

Into the midst of the strain and crisis of civilization, the Socialist movement comes as the only saving or conservative force. If the world is to be saved from chaos, from universal disorder and misery, it must be by the union of the workers of all nations in the Socialist movement. The Socialist party comes with the only proposition or program for intelligently and deliberately organizing the nation for the common good of all its citizens. It is the first time that the mind of man has ever been directed toward the conscious organization of society.

Socialism means that all those things upon which the people in common depend shall be by the people in common be owned and administered. It means that the tools of employment shall be long to their creators and users; that all production shall be for the direct use of the producers; that the making of goods for profit shall come to an end; that we shall all be workers together, and that opportunities shall be open and equal to all men.

To the end that the workers may seize every possible advantage that may strengthen them to gain complete control of the powers of government and thereby the sooner establish the co-operative commonwealth, the Socialist party pledges itself to watch and work in both the economic and the political struggle for each successive immediate interest of the working class; for shortened days of labor and increase of wages; for the insurance of the workers against accident, sickness and lack of employment; for pensions for aged and exhausted workers; for the public ownership of the means of transportation, communication and exchange; for the graduated taxation of incomes, inheritances, and of franchise and land values, the proceeds to be applied to public employment and bettering the condition of the workers; for the equal suffrage of men and women; for the prevention of the use of the military against labor in the settlement of strikes; for the free administration of justice; for popular government, including initiative, referendum, proportional representation, and the recall of officers by their constituents; and for every gain or advantage for the workers that may be wrested from the capitalist system, and that may relieve the suffering and strengthen the hands of labor. We lay upon every man elected to any executive or legislative office the first duty of striving to procure whatever is for the workers' most immediate interest, and for whatever will lessen the economic and political powers of the capitalist and increase the like powers of the worker.

But, in so doing, we are using these remedial measures as means to the one great end of the co-operative commonwealth. Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of industry, and thus come into their rightful inheritance.

To this end we pledge ourselves, as the party of the working class, to use all political power, as fast as it shall be entrusted to us by our fellow workers, both for their immediate interests and for their ultimate and complete emancipation. To this end we appeal to all the workers of America, and to all who will lend their lives to the service of the workers in their struggle to gain their own, and to all who will nobly and disinterestedly give their days and energies unto the workers' cause to cast their lot and faith with the Socialist party. Our appeal for the trust and suffrages of our fellow workers is at once an appeal for their common good and freedom, and for the freedom and blossoming of our common humanity. In pledging ourselves, and those we represent, to be faithful to the appeal which we make, we believe that we are but preparing the soil of the economic freedom from which will spring the freedom of the whole man.