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An Open Letter to The Independent

Editor Helena Independent:

caption, "A Call of the Wild."

error or deliberate falsehood-I will thing Socialists have always claimed. the race of laborers. As it takes the be charitable and say it is the fromer -and may therefore mislead the unwary, in the name of justice and fair tion of wealth' but why cannot the the means of subsistence, he thereplay, I demand, for others and my- friends of organized labor look fore receives the value of only oneself therein misrepresented, space in judiciously at the purpose and limi- fifth of the product of his labor in the Independent for reply to the tation of all legitimate efforts in the wages, for, as we have seen, the law same. Failing this, I shall be compelled to expose the editor of the tivity." Independent as a deliberate spreader of falsehood and deception.

convicted of deliberate deception.

I shall pass over the implied inconsidering only the contents.

"One of the fundamental difficulclasses of men."

quite handy here. We will assume sand won't help matters. that the unions "consider conditions apart from men or classes of men." only the friends of organized labor, buy the use of these means to proditions" and not to "men or classes looked "judiciously" at she purpose self. of men"-absurd! They hire to and limitations of all legitimate ef-

line of commercial and financial ac- of supply and demand and demand

fertilizers. But I believe he is missult to Jack London in the title, of the Independent; I believe they Classic, Rocky Mountain United sider conditions apart from men or Bostonbeans straining after effect.

conditions, therefore they should financial activity, and discovering

the continual introduction of new ownership of the means of producthe laborer.

"The wages of the laborer are fixed by the value of what he 'puts festo) expect all who earn wages to into the business,' his labor-power, Canyon, Ferry, Mont., Feb. 6, 'og. person or thing exercises over which, like every other comodity, another. He acknowledges that is determined by the cost of pro-Dear Sir: Some time ago I re- these laws have power over employes, duction, i. e., by the amount of according to expectations." Then ceived from a friend in Helena, a therefore the employes are not free labor socially necessary, under the copy of the Independent of January agents to make contracts as to work existing condition, for its produc- of what in another column he calls 16 with a marked editorial under the or wages, but are forced by these tion-in this case for the produclaws (economic determinism) to ac- tion of the necessaries of life to As it is partly truth, and partly cept certain conditions-the same maintain the laborer and reproduce reading, perhaps, but it has no "It 'listens good' to prate about laborer only one-fifth of a day to 'wage slavery' and the 'centraliza- produce value equal to the cost of

keeps his wages at the lowest notch. "As to "wage slavey," the editor The employer gets the other fourof the Independent seems to object fifths. Now, attention! The value space. I would have answered this letter to our calling a spade a spade, per- of a day's product is five times as sooner, but had not yet received the haps, for the benefit of his esthetic much as the value of the labor-power manifesto therein mentioned. I now readers, he would have us call it an expended to produce it, because it troying 'the wage system' until they call on the Independent to publish unclean instrument employed in the takes only one-fifth as much labor this letter or that manifesto or stand art of agriculture for compounding to produce that labor power as that to take its place." Sober-minded labor power set in motion for a whole taken as to the tastes of the readers day is able to produce. This is why idea that if they "destroy" the wage the capitalist invests in labor power; system they will be able to set up a prefer their own colloquial English, because it is able to produce more system of their own choosing. Just value that it has itself, and thereby here is where Debs & Co., are not ties of unionism is inability to con- States-to any imported Johnny he is able to expand his capital-to weak. They all agree on what will make something out of nothing by The question is, Are the workers taking the something the laborer has The editor of the Independent slaves? If they are, let us face the produced. It is by virtue of the may possibly have heard of "reduc- fact, not try to hide from it-ostrich capitalists' ownership of the means all agreed that the wage system will tion ad absurdum" which comes in tactics of sticking our heads in the of production that the laborer is be replaced by collective ownership compelled to give four-fifths of his and democratic management of in-

men or classes of men and not to forts in the line of commercial and pressible conflict between the capi- case may be. talist class and the working class

labor saving devices throwing men tion; anything else would still mean out of work in every industry, labor a working class and an owning class power tends to always keep at its and class conflicts. The new unlowest price, i. e., wages tend to ionism will prepare the workers for keep at the point of subsistence for collective ownership of the means of production. "They (the signers of the mani-

join in overthrowing 'the wage system' and 'capitalism'-and why not? But the outcome is not likely to be why does the editor have an attack "Journalistic Gangrene?"

"A manifesto may be interesting magic power to transform many men of many minds into many men of one mind." Then why has the editor wasted so much valuable space in the Independent on this article? If it cannot transform men's minds, how is his article which uses scarcely any logical reasoning going to do it? But perhaps he writes for so much per, and that is why he uses the

"Sober-minded men who work for wages are not likely to join in deshave tolerably clear idea of what is men are getting a tolerably clear take the place of the wage system. There may be slight differences on how to bring it about, but they are

We of the new unionism-not product to the capitalist in order to dustry. As to the latter part of this (the last) paragraph, the editor Why? Because they hire to "con- but the laborers ourselves-have duce the necessaries of life for him- should read up Socialism and the new trade unionism, or get the kinks Now here is just where the irre- out of his moral anatomy-as the

The editor says, "There is noth

S. L. P. Corrects An Error or Two

Butte Mont., Feb' 17 '05 | that the S. L. P., since its birth has Dear Mr. Walsh: Owing to ab-

ence from the city the first of the nonth I did not until day before yesterday see the News of Feb. 1,

containing my letter and your reply. Without wishing to overburden our columus with controversy there are one or two points in your reply, which, if left unanswered would place the S. L. P., in a false light before your readers. In using the term 'development" referring to your advance toward the S. L. P., position I did so, not from a sence of personal superiority, but from a consciousness of the superiority of

mountain top of Marxian Socialism, the humblest worker in the S. L. P. can observe intelligently, the movements and progress of those below, who have not yet emerged from the mists of bourgeois economies. His the superior vantage ground of the gives official expression to the princiscientists, whence the latter may readily see the fallacies, inconsistencies and contradictory attitudes this weapon-the press-against the of his unscientific opponents. Hence my use of the scientific term 'develoment."

Regarding the Lord De Leon letter it was hard to escape the conclusion implied in my reference thereto, viz:-that since you, editor of a S. P., paper, published De of these papers being "popes," they Leon's letter without unfavorable comment, you thereby showed sympathy with the S. L. P., point of view on the important question of tactics discussed therein. In the circumstances, your silence spoke

progressed steadily toward a more nearly perfect revolutionary party, while as you yourself have testified, the S. P., has degenerated more and more into an "opportunist middle class" party.

Finally Mr. Editor, you say you would balk at the pope rule" in our organization that will not permit you or anyone else to publish as an official S. L. P., paper, a privately owned journal. Your language on this point sounds decidedly familiar. It is the invariable language held by every man, inside and outside the S. L. P., who has tried in vain to interthe S. L. P., viewpoint. From the pose his individual will and interests in opposition to the collective will of the party. The S. L. P., early insisted that "a revolutionary working class party must own its press," so that this most important of propaganda instruments might at all times ples and tactics of the party, without the danger of some individual's using party, in furtherance of his private interests. Such a press the S. L. P., has in the Daily and Weekly People, and in the German, Swedish, Jewish and Hungarian organs of the S. L. P.,-owned and controlled absolutly by the party. Far from the editors are subject to the directing authority of the national executive committee. and for cause may be removed at any timeby referendum of the party membership. So the "pope rule" against which you "balk" Mr. Editor is a rule established, not by any individual but by the S. L. P., as a collective body. More might be said on the evils of private journalism, as exemplified by the S. P. papers, which show that the real "popes" are in that party but space forbids. I leave the whole matter to the candid consideration of your readers. Meanwhile I am would still a believer in the saying that "all things come to him who faltereth not and knoweth how to wait."

and not "conditions."

these and fixed his prices and his at the point of a revolver or by force workingmen's wages accordingly, it of necessity. is unnecessary for us to consider surd. It is evident he does not speak of the farmers, whose employment is regulated by climatic conditions for they are not organized. Do the great industries stop for ticed in America today is as essenrains, snows, shines or blows? Of tial a feature of the conduct of buscourse not, they run night and day, iness as the division of profits on a men," the capitalist owners.

employers with never a thought of great deal more so. the essential laws of economy, of supply and demand, of trade equlibrium which govern employes."

is essentially a producer of masters explain them both. and slaves, knowing full well that he must be what he is or be himself re- employed always with us, that the to wage slavery. And these laws of into the business" always exceeds economy of supply and demand, that the demand, therefore the price of the Socialists have at last forced the labor power will always be at its acknowledgment of even out of the lowest figure, for, by the law of supeditor of the Independent, are just ply and demand, we know that when what the new unionism is built on. the supply of commodity is greater Mind the editor says that these laws than the demand it will be cheap class conflicts. "govern" employes. The definition and vice versa. As there is always The only way the working class

these; all we need to consider is how conjur with, but it simply means identity of interests between them. much he takes from us above the lawful and takes no cognizance of cost of production. If the editor right or justice. As laws are sancmeans eliminate conditions it is ab- tioned by a majority they can be unmade by this same majority, and what is legitimate today is illegiti- creased hostilities. mate tomorrow.

"The wage system as it is prac-

"A workers wage or salary is his

prorata, based on the value of work (he means labor power) as estab-This was true of the old trade lished by supply and demand. It unionism, and is yet true of the "pure is his 'dividend' fixed by the value and simple" unions, but the new un- and cost of what he puts into the ionism, the only kind the editor of business."" True again. If the edthe Independent fears enough to take itor keeps on he will be quoting other of the classes is complety annotice of, berates no employer ex- Karl Marx-but no, he would never cept as he upholds this system that explain the last sentence so I must

It is shown by the millions of un-

of govern is: That power that one a surplus of labor power caused by can triumph is by taking collective

"consider men or classes of men" that they are the making of profits comes in: It is to the interest of ing natural, unless it is slavery, to and nothing else, judiciously can the working class to get as much of The only conditions I can find find no justice in them. There is the value of what they produce as "apart from men or classes of men" no justice in taking the product of a possible, (I might here interject are natural conditions, and, as the man's labor without an equivalent that in justice it all belongs to them) capitalist has already considered whether it is done by force of muscle, and it is to the interest of the capitalist class to get as much of the value of this product as possible, "Legitimate" is a good word to therefore there can be no possible

Every scale of wages is but a truce patched up between the opposing classes and must, sooner or later, end to give place to renewed and in-

It is to the interest of the capital ists to get as much as possible for these products when they sell them, and it is to the interest of the laborers to pay as little as possible when regardless of weather, till they have basis of investments is vital to the they buy; again there can be no produced more than the workers can management of trade." Sure! It is possible identity of interests and buy with their wages, when they are as necessary to the existance of a again the irrepressible conflict. The closed down by "men or classes of robber gang that there be people to laborers are always opposed to the rob as it is that the robbers divide capitalists, either as sellers of labor "It (trade unionism) will berate the "swag," and I should think a power or as buyers of products.

> The only thing that can end this conflict is for the producing class to become the owning class so that pro duction and ownership of the production shall be in the same hands. From the foregoing it is clear that there is an irrepressible conflict and that it must continue till one or the nihilated. This cannot be the working class, for this would mean the

distruction of the human race. Should the present working class be annihilated, the capitalists would duced to the ranks of the workers- supply of what the laborer "puts have to go to work or starve and, unless the system were changed, there would still be two classes; but on the other hand, if the workers triumph there will be only one class, the working class, and as one is no classes, there would be an end to

take the place of the relation of employer and employee," thereby as-As to the coming split in the So-

wage system are not man-made, but it is evident to any one who has given the question the slightest study that they are both products of different stages of society, that is of men collectively-that his assumption is absurd. "Any substitute must be an artificial contrivance.' And pray, what are chattle slavery and wage slavery but artificial contrivances? That two or more can

agree on an artificial contrivance is proven by corporations and trusts, to say nothing of governments, etc. An artificial contrivance does no more necessarily involve despotism than a natural one. Besides the coming society will be more natural than any that has obtained since civilization began. Under it the worker will receive the value of the full product of his labor, no more or no less; the veriest booby can see that this is nearer natural than chattel slavery, serfdom or wage slavery.

"There is not the least danger that all the workers will fall in and march with the Debs ranks." Then why all this grumbling of facts and fancy, or falsehood? If there is no danger, why does the editor have an attack of "Journalistic Gangrene?" Yours for the truth and justice,

CHARLES SCURLOCK.

Stark Mont., Feb., 28 1905. Comrade J. H. Walsh: Your letter to hand, and contents noted. Will say it is hard to get subs for the on for a couple of months and I will be one to contribute \$5.00. I am starting up my placer works. The water is low yet. Best regards,

Yours fraternally T. F. FABERT.

to me as elequently as so many words of approval of DeLeon's answer to Ford.

suming that both slavery and the cialist party and the futuer "line up," suggested in your editorial, "Will Go To S. L. P." your reply to the point I raise there (which was that your recognition of the S. L. P., as a "revolutionary, class conscious proposition" make necessary your separation from the "opportunist middle class elements" controlling the S. P.,) suggests a possibility I had not thought of before viz: that you simply intend to be an interested spectator of the "splitting up" process and not an active participant therein. In that case perhaps you and the News have not reached "the parting of the way." I am well aware that it is one thing to give intellectual assent to a proposition and etc., will permit. another to stand on all the practical consequences of such assent. That the points in the letter this time, and is why I suggested the only consistant leave the matter for the reader to course for you to follow, provided

you had arrived at the S. L. P., viewpoint viz: withdraw from the So-

cialist party, sever connections with tionary army. That was the only way you could escape the contradictory attitude into which private interests would inevitably lead.

Certainly your objection to the S. L. P., on the plea that it is "not infallible" and "will need many improvements before the ushering in of the co-operative commonwealth,' can have little weight even in your own mind. For if improvments are News here. The lumber-jacks have necessary in the S. L. P., before it gone out and nothing doing. Hold will be as I claimed, "adequate for the emancipation of the working class," how infinitely more must be the improvements in the S. P., before it will even be on a level with the S. L. P., But bear in mind Mr. Editor

Yours for the S. L. P., B. H. WILLIAMS.

Member Section Butte, S. L. P.,

The limited means and rush of work at this office for some few weeks has been the cause of delay in publishing the above letter; however the Montana News is always pleased to receive communications, and all will appear as soon as space,

I shall only comment on a few of consider.

As to "developing," there is no doubt but the party is advancing. If the S. L. P., is not advancing, then the News as a S. P., paper and take it stands in the position of Mr. your place in the ranks of the revolu- Coxey, of the noted "Coxey Army Fame," says that he is still where he was ten years ago, but that Bryan and Roosevelt have advanced to nearly that point. According to his own words Bryan and Roosevelt are to be commended while he is to be charged with laggard propensities.

> I believe that our party is developing, and I also believe that the S. L. P., can still develop.

As to the paper, DeLeon, etc., and assuming that I have arrived at the parting of the way, if I understand you correctly, I would shut up the News, just walk out, lock the door, leave my subscribers and cred-

(Continued on page four.)

MONTANA NEWS, HELENA, MONTANA

THE MONTANA NEWS.

ISSUED WEEKLY.

J. H. WALSH Publisher

view.

the prairie.

solved itself into a farce public

meeting from beginning to end.

with but little good to anyone,

except the grafters who filled

party representatives-the labor

fakers. Invariably these were

the jackasses of any body of sup-

posed intelligent men that ever

their pockets on good salaries.

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mmmmmm



Roosevelt, the trust buster, hasn't scared the trusts very badly as yet.

Socialism means co-operation, and co-operation means the abolition of the wage system.

assembled and by their moves at Late estimates state that about different times showed their contwo millions of workers are out temptible bourgeois proclivities. of jobs at the present. And this during prosperity.

The endorsement of the Socialist city ticket of Helena by the climbed over himself to introduce unions is giving some people a great amount of trouble.

Father Hagerty will make 15 a business man, a typical bourspeeches in this state, the first geois, became conspicuous by inbeing March 18. He will prob- troducing a bill to reduce the ably speak several times in Butte. license of professional men. This

From now until the next congressional election, two years this he attempted a cowardly hence, should be spent in organization and propaganda work.

Have you read the Socialist city campaign platform? If not, you should read it, and then offer criticism It is not a finished piece of work, but one to be improved upon.

one understands the game better than Old Rocky.

Some of which will be taken from The Twenty-ninth ward, with ment.

the S. L. P., people and will be of twelve delegates, will have the The resolutions, as presented to great interest to the union work- largest representation in the city the Trades and Labor Assembly, ers especially, as unionism gets convention. The Thirty-fourth are as follows:

threshed out from all points of ward has the least representation, To the Helena Trades and Labor with only four delegates. The So-

cialists' city convention is to be

Legislature Has Adjourned. sion of the Montana body of law- p. m.

makers, the Ninth legislative ses-"The primaries will give work at least should) to their bands on

The session was typical of two pay to the campaign fund. "The city hall and all saloons that of a Free Public Employthings-a good working republi-

worthy of mention. It was a useless session so far as any labor lamation to that effect in accord- benefit of the unemployed legislation was concerned, and ance with the law, and the Social-men and women of the city; it was needless to hold a session ists will be placed upon an equal also a Public Scales and an so far as any added legislation footing with the other parties so Inspector of Weights and for corporation or capitalists were far as a half holiday is con- Measures; the City Ownership of concerned. Consequently it re- cerned.'

Answer-If You Dare.

Is perfection in the art of war the highest manifestation of civilization?

In the body of law-makers were Is war in line with the highest found democrats and republicans ideals of ennobled manhood? both falling over themselves to do Is war and conquest-wholesale something for the capitalist class murder-in line with the Christian while they stood agast when ethics of the universal church of fake labor measures came before Christ?

them. Added to the democrat and republican hirelings of the thereto of the pulpit? law-makers who disgraced both

law-making houses as well as meat, and sugar-and whisky, too themselves, was the third set of -or war? grafting fakers far below the old

destroying life and property and creating suffering and misery and tax and fine and rob the producers of comfort, bread and happiness? Why is there no tax on property to support the army and build the navy

One instance was when a wage Where and when did I ever slave from the railroads introbenefit for all the indirect daily duced a bill in the interest of his taxes I have paid for war these own class and the next day past sixty years?

Will the taxes continue after I one for his masters. The next get too old to earn money by was when a labor fakir of Lewis labor-or wit? and Clark-not a wage slave, but

Why do people go to war anyhow

If all the officers and soldiers and sailors of America were put to raising wheat and beans how big a pile could they make in four Would it feed

Amalgamated sheet, gives the Amalgamated governor of Montana a boost in the following: "One of Governor Toole's official acts that will prove extremely popular among the mining interests in Montana was the appointlabor faking class, and all that labor organizations have been to them was a means to boost themselves into some good job which is under the thumb of the Amalgamated Copper company. Had they been true union men, and not of the "spineless" labor faking kind, they would never have been the Aanaconda Standard would would be impossible to get a lot their conference afternoons in the not be found boosting them unless the Amalgamated knew where they stood. The question working mules awake and put surmounted. men of their own class into the ing? The time is coming; the be, came slowly to the conscious- ning a city ticket in Chicago. workers have been fooled about ness that we were living under long enough. They know that a money power.

Assembly: Whereas, On several occasions held at Brand's hall, Clark and the union men of this city have

and the aldermen, prior to the regsion has adjourned, and most of to 1,060 Socialist officials at \$5 a ular spring elections, that if given the members have returned (or day, and most of the workers have the support of the workingmen,

can majority, and not a thing done will be closed for the primaries. ment Office to be conducted by Mayor Harrison will issue a proc- the city of Helena for the

Water Supply-all of which under the reign of both political parties have been wholly ignored after being elected to power;

now, therefore, be it Resolved, By Federal Labor Union No. 199-a part of the Helena Trades and Labor Assembly -that we petition you through your officers and in compliance with your newly adopted constitution, that you submbit to the several unions united therewith, the following questions, to be voted on and returned on or before the second meeting in March.

1005 Be It Resolved, By the labor unions of Helena, that in the past the two old political parties, represented by the republicans and the democrats, have violated all pledges made to us, and it would be the height of folly to trust any longer to political parties who only make promises in order to violate them.

Therefore, We, the toilers, do hereby declare for the election to office only those who are of our own class and who advocate the direct principles that "to labor belongs all the product of his toil," and which is advocated by the Socialist party, which party has at the present time an entire ticket. composed of men who live by honest toil, to be voted for at the city election to be held on the first Monday of April, 1905.

Therefore, We, as union laboringmen, hereby pledge to the Socialist party of the city of Helena, our undivided support at this time, and promise to assist by all fair means, their election to office in order that the public necessities which are needed, shall be owned and controlled by the people. Adopted by Federal Labor

President. C. J. MACKEY, Secretary.

FREE FREE TO ALL OUR CUSTOMERS AN ELEGANT TALKING MACHINE

After the usual sixty-day ses-tion of the Montana body of law-p. m. Erie streets, on March 8, at 8 been promised by both republican and democratic parties, the mayor you have \$15 worth of coupons, bring them in, and receive

This Beautiful Graphophone Free

notified the central organization ordinances would be enacted by Call at our store and hear the specially prepared Records of Bands and that they will contribute their them that would be of great instrumental music, songs, stories, etc., and assure yourself that this is benefit to all classes-notably, the most liberal offer ever made to people of this vicinity.



CORNER MAIN AND 6TH



convention, and send the nom- tion is not going to drop from the inees through that are previously skies, even if every industry on determined upon. Another inconveni

earth is reduced to a perfect, faultwith less machine, turning out the max-

act was of great interest to the workers of the state. Following years campaign? all the hungry? amendment for an initiative and referendum bill, that he might win The Anaconda Standard, an the glory of having done some-

thing even though he did assist cited, but suffice to say, these will show the reader that the law body Don't fool yourself by thinking lings of the money power, and ment of William Walsh to be that Rockefeller is worried by the attacks of Kansas or Montana bourgeois. Nothing to it and no

If not, why such silent consent

Which costs us most, bread,

Why do you pension men for

Parry's Industrial Independent, the official organ of the Citizens' Alliance, publishes about a page of correspondence from Socialists to be somewhat of a puzzle to Parry.

The capitalist has always kept up the cry of "unions should keep out of politics." But it apthing.

All union readers should obgraphical union label, and the News might say that an imported Citizens' Alliance editor grinds out the hog-wash for the editorial page for so much per.

Send in your orders at once for American says: a bundle of our next issue containspeech

church, i. e., the which is skulking behind the spring." skirts of the sisters, is about to Socialism! in Montana. Good say: We welcome you into the inthe shining truth of Socialism.

noted labor manifesto which calls elected. a convention in Chicago in June,

and with little thought as to what laws were needed.

in securing the adoption of a fake

Many more instances might be

initiative and referendum bill.

In the aggregate the republicans showed no more signs of inferiority than did the democrats, but the money hirling labor fakirs showed them selves to be the laughing stock of the whole; monthly. The Socialists appear bunch; they could have saved themselves and the class they (mis)represented the odor of fakedom by remaining home with the excuse of being sick.

The session has closed, however, and it is to be hoped that pears that a change is coming, the next time the people elect men and the workers will soon be to that body they will select a found uniting at the ballot box, few, at least, who will be found where they can accomplish some- doing something for the working class.

However, to elect men who will work for the interests of the laserve that the Helena Independ- boring people, it will be necessary ent does not carry the Typo- to send class conscious Socialists to the law-making body.

Socialist Leaven Working.

In speaking of the changed condition of the city of Chicago since

ing "Robert Randall's Defense," be a contributor to the Socialist propaganda material than his have obtained consent to hold in the convention, their mayoralty primaries March Better, because it tells the 4 and will be allowed a full comstory and explains the inci-dents relative to the matter Real plement of judges and clerks of This is one of the instances of ers-heads of families, supported heavily on their work-benumbed

It is said that the Catholic pay to the party treasury to be panies will be satisfied if you are. priest- used for the propaganda this

The Tribune, of the same city make a desperate fight against and date, had the following to

> "Printed information for the giving the time and place of the

South Dakota, is authority for the who had voted the ticket last fall they want to be slaves." system runs behind each year? privilege is that only household- portunities, have always pressed howl.

announced in brief the action of into which that throws the revolu-The News will soon publish the the number of delegates to be Such action has been taken and of electing an alderman.

A City Campaign.

Chicago is in the fight at the man" whenever it wishes.

The coming spring election.

Chicago.

discourage old bachelors. In our issue of last week we chairman." Imagine the hysterics weaker by the stronger.

which the capitalist last over imum of product with the mininight. To the public whoever is mum of human effort. in office is the permanent chairman. But the Socialist Party though so far are a splendid trib-

technical difficulties that it down to business and learn these meetings and in shape to handle appointed to the positions, and seemed for a while as though it things. They wanted to spend the campaign.

work, how long it will be until the with the obstacles that had to be tion, they went to work to learn anyhow. There is the utmost

statement that on its present con- as a party member. Yet such But to those of us who see his- insistently advertising that the the last election the Chicago tracts the government pays the was the legal designation, and tory as a long line of economic city buy the street railways, and railroads each year \$40,000,000 the required number of judges causes there is nothing surprising they have a candidate for mayor "Every taxpayer in Chicago will for carrying the mails, while the and clerks in the various wards in the abject and irresponsible at- up on that proposition. It seems same lines carry the same amount could not be filled without hunt- titude of the working class, or its surprising that intelligent persons which is a better piece of campaign fund. The Socialists of express on the same trains for ing up people who had voted our seeming reluctance to tackle matless than \$4,000,000. Do you ticket and yet law-maker hedges ters of public import. The world, twaddle-no ways and means, no wonder then that the postoffice about the thorny path of political its institutions, its glories, its opplan, nothing but the Hearst

The eyes of the hopeful are dents relative to the matter. Re-duced to One Cent per copy in bundles. The compensation there-for will come out of the public graft under the present bundles. But if you like it, keep treasury, and every Socialist right on voting for the capitalist suppose this is in line with Roose- Every organ grows by action. Is and Dreadful Day-Capitalism in judge and clerk will turn over his class to rule, and the railroad com- velt's anti-race-suicide policy, to it any wonder that the working- its quintessence-65,000 miserput a premium on family life, and man's brain is sluggish? It is able, starving, straining, sickenthe same brain that has been car- ing, dying, imploring-eved slaves.

The law also states that our ried up by his class from the first grinding out the greasy profits of Unions Endorse Socialist Ticket party must have a "permanent days of the oppression of the the meat trust. This is where the death rate is greater than the I even heard intelligent Social- birth rate-whose infection and

the Helena Federal Labor Union, tionist suspicions of any tenure of ists say on the floor of these con- millions of deadly germs pollute tellectual arena where your first Socialist primraies, to be No. 199, in regard to endorsing office that had never been affiliat- ferences: "Let us turn these mat- the air. This is the district that dogmas based upon superstition held on March 4, has been issued the Socialist city ticket, and re- ed with our party. If sufficient ters over to some lawyer in the sent Comrade Ambrose to the legand ignorance must melt before by the election commissioners, questing the Trades and Labor persons could not be found to party who understands such islature, and that we hope will Assembly to proceed to secure a act we could not run a ticket in things." As though we had not send boodle Alderman Carey to city and ward conventions and referendum vote upon this matter, that ward and lose all possibility had enough of lawyers doing kingdom come this spring. This things for us, till we are thorough- is the place for the revolution to

we hope to be able in our next According to the city law our ly done up. We have got to learn explode, and we hope it may do "The city is divided into 212 issue to give somewhat of an ab- convention has got to be open to the whole thing ourselves; we so before all the Pole and Hunand following the same we will primary districts, 259 delegates stract of the result of the refer- the public the same as any other have got to know what we want; garian serfs are made into give our readers many different to the city convention and 460 to endum. A few unions have already party's convention. The only way we have got to use intelligent bologna and weiner-wurst. people's views on the matter, the different ward conventions, voted a majority for the endorse- is for the Socialists to pack the means to get it. Class emancipa- IDA CROUCH-HAZLETT.

The results here in Chicago,

changes its "permanent chair- ute to the perseverence of the Socialist workingmen and women. The greatest difficulty was get- Everyone of the thirty-five wards primary law has so bristled with ting the party members to get is organized, holding regular

It is estimated that the Soof workingmen, unaccustomed to usual hot-air programs. Finally cialist ticket being in the field the legal schemes to defeat the when it penetrated the convolu- will cost the city \$50,000 extra. will of the people, to get down to tions of their gray matter, that it So the working class are able to arises out of this kind of coarse work and familiarize themselves was business or no political ac- make a little ripple politically

what they had previously left to anxiety to keep up the 50,000 The Socialist freedom of spec- their capitalistic masters and Debs vote. I don't see any use in positions to attend to the appoint- ulating on how things ought to mastered the conditions for run- lying awake nights over that. We'll get all the Socialist votes At every conference called a that they'll count-just as we did laws that had to be complied with few kept pegging away on the in Colorado. We got all the Soman to receive an appointment if the Socialists were going to at- necessities of what must be done, cialist vote there was. The to-day must be a lackey of the tain the end of placing a class After they were discouraged and weak-knees are not satisfied as ticket before the workingmen of said: "You can't get the fool to capitalist experiments yet.

They could not get workingmen to do anything for The traction question will un-Former Senator Pettigrew, of used to looking upon every one themselves. Let's give it up. doubtedly cut the vote here this spring. The Hearst papers are

G&K **CLOTHING** 3

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

Gans & Klein HELENA, MONT.

CORRESPONDENCE

Livingston, Mont., March 2, 1905.

That's right comrade, make him sit down or stop howling about what he and the balance of such Reverends are howling about and then vote for a system that he knows will perpetuate. So long as the people follow the lead of such fakers as Rev. Ellis is you can expect fraud in high places of trust, for they uphold the present system by their votes. Why shouldn't they? They get their money from where they get their talk. Yes; the Reverend will howl about gambling and the poor fallen women, and then at the very next election vote to keep it going for another two years. Such Reverends kindle the fires of a bloody revolution. The Rev. will prate about Socialism; how of this state. "if people should vote a majority for it;" how Socialism would destory the home. If it destroyed two of its members visited the the home any more than the pres- state headquarters and after inent system is doing the Socialists had better stop their agitation. It would please such Reverends if the agitation of Socialism would Local Fairbault was investigated cease, for if it keeps up for a few more years the Reverends will have to go to work and earn an purpose. He says this action was hausted when the above letter in Massachusetts wasn't much of a thing of loveliness. honest living instead of fighting a just and honest system. Such people have kept back progresyears. So I think it is time some erends to sit down, and go away back and sit down.

M. L. BAKER.

Oklahoma Resolutions.

The following resolutions were adopted at the regular meeting of man is a LIAR. For I was at your paper I wish you would send me "Ves, they do Local Perry, Feb. 23, 1905: Whereas, A letter sent out by in Minneapolis last July. the Territorial Secretary, J. E. "Dear Comrade Carpenter: Debs had 23 members and at our next send will be distributed among the Of course. I got the labor note too is coming to Oklahoma about the meeting added five more. 15th of March. His terms will be Nash says he conversed with 50 per cent of receipts and ex- many active Socialists. He may

penses in case tickets are sold, have seen some outside the Local, Socialist News From We are to guarantee him \$20 and for I am sure no one in the Local expenses in case the receipts do told him such lies as he says he not amount to that much; and heard here.

Whereas, We cannot believe As to Ford's body guard, it does that wages tending to the level of not seem he needs one. He is subsistence under capitalism, that able to take care of himself. I the wages of "firemen" have am anxious to see a good healthy reached the minimum of \$20 a Local started here, as Nash says. letcure and expenses, "or a maxi-As to the Wisconsin deal, that mum of 50 per cent of the receipts speaks for itself. And as to Ford and expenses;" and Whereas, The Socialist Party other of Holman's lies, as I mydictating to the Local, that is ancannot afford to conduct its nec- self told him last July. I stand

essay propaganda on such a large ready to prove every statement bourgeois circus style; it being made by Nash and state commit-necessary at this time above all tee to be untrue, except two first else to arouse by revolutionary that Nash was here Dec. 3 and 4, class-conscious propaganda the 1904, and second, that there was seeming indifference of the de-spolied workers; we realize that J. N. SWANGER, the high-priced Socialist lectures, for revenue only, are a detriment to the Socialist movement; be it

Resolved, That, as the "serenity of our tempers and dignity of our posture is beautiful" we cannot at hand and contents noted. Would approve of such un-Socialistic methods of propaganda, and emhave answered sooner but have been phatically condemn the said Debs and our Territorial Secretary for booking such high-priced lectures.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be spread on the minutes, sent out to the locals in the in a place like Billings, where we territory and published in the have so much prosperity that there Socialist Press.

J. D. CARPENTER. Organizer.

Fairbault, Minn., Feb. 25, 1905. The Montana News, Helena Montana :

Dear Comrade: Having read the article in the Montana News of the local next Sunday the 5th; the work all the time. written by S. M. Holman, of Minneapolis, in regard to Local Fairbault, I wish to state a few facts in regard to same.

In the first place he says the reasons were given the 80 Locals when our convention will be until coming to headquarters for our

Holman says but one Local asked for a referendum vote and edition of Robert Randall's speech. vestigation conceded that the Hoping I can do something for the state committee were justified in News in the near future, I am, their action. Says the matter of thoroughly, the state secretary having been sent there for that urged by a majority of the Social- reached this office. However, the victory for labor at all. W. L. ists of Faribault, all of which is a order will be filled next issue with Douglas, the shoe manufacturer, who triple rows of dainty lace. They have lie of the rankest kind. Now, I sion for the last nineteen hundred do not say someone might have written to Nash complaining one would ask the Right Rev- about Ford on Local Faribault, the speech if not better for propa- element had anything to do with his match in color, but deepen in shade. for we have fired some who have ganda.-Editor.] been members. Some have left on

one pretext or another. He says Ford reported 23 members voted against the adoption of National platform, whereas, no meeting was held. In this statement Hol-Daily People articles taken from Daily People Articles taken from Dai

State Headquarters. organizing fund have been received since last report:

Local Helena, \$1.00; Local Butte, \$17.50; previously reported, \$16.55; total, \$35.05.

During the past week circulars appealing for assistance for our Russian comrades have been sent out to all parts of the state. Father Hagerty will give 15 lec-March 18th: dating has not yet been completed. Comrade Ida Crouch-Hazlett has been engaged by the National office for a lecture tour of West Virginia, Pennsylvania and Indiana, and will not be in Montana before July, but when Comrade Hazlett comes to Montana we hope to keep her in this state for a few months. Negotiations are under way to-

wards starting an organizer in the Northern part of the state and trying to get a few subs., but have we hope that by next week to be failed so far but have not given up able to state when this work will the fight yet, but it is a pretty hard start.

> Active work in organizing and lecturing will be carried on all through the spring and summer months.

In the meantime, we ask all job, and a smallpox epidemic at the Locals to push the sale of the spesame time, but the town has com- cial organizing stamps. The menced to take on its normal con- work that will be done from now dition and I think in a short time I on will be limited only by our finance. This state is big enough will be able to do some business for and there is work enough to keep the News. We will have a meeting two lecturers and an organizer at

first one we have been able to hold Go to work and get all the Sothis year on account of the smallpox. cialists in your district into the embroidered. We intend to put a ticket in the party. One of the best signs of the healthy growth of the movefield this spring, but I can not tell ment in Montana is the request after we meet Sunday. Inclosed find constitution and state platform in robes of the same material. money order for \$1.50 for which foreign languages. At the next question of having the constitu- fore again. tion and platform translated and printed in the Finnish language will be acted on.

J. D. GRAHAM.

The remarkable "labor victory" our special edition containing "Ran- it is claimed was elected Governer the advantage of washing well. dall's Defense" which is as good as by the labor vote, denies that this Bisbee Ariz., Feb., 23 '05. representative the rich shoe manu-

OUR FASHION LETTER.

Changed Somewhat.

SOLID COLORED SILK MULLS.

Circular Short Skirt Will Be Popular For Outdoor Wear-Suede Monsquetaire Gloves Reach the Elbow-Elastic Supersedes Buttons.

Nightgowns in lingerie sets are to tures in Montana commencing bave the sleeves set in with the tinlest of baby beading.

> Some of the new nightgowns are embroidered like the linen shirt waists of



Matelasse silk dressing sacks are stunning and may be bought just now at greatly reduced prices. They are more within the limit of the average woman's pocketbook than the lounging

Petticoats of changeable taffeta runplease send me a bundle of special meeting of the Local Quorum the ning through many colors are to the

Very charming are the new silk mulls in solid colors.

Taffeta with a soft finish and in pin stripes holds first place among spring silks.

Filmy fichus, little ripples and swirls of lace and elbow sleeves and lace ruffles will make the summer frock a

Quite as pretty as the chiffon ruches are the neck trimmings of double and

Pink and blue chip hats are trimmed with blue velvet ribbon bows that election. In an interview between Pink camellias are placed on the blue Mr. Douglas and a New York Herald hats, while a hat of pink will boast impossible blue camellias.

An exceedingly smart and becoming pale blue pearls play an important "Yes, they do. That is the in- part. Inside the daintily curved brim that meeting and so told Holman a sample copy so I can get your cor-in Minute set International a sample copy so I can get your cor-in Minute set International folds of tulle are arranged, and a lovely feather droops over the side.

velvet embroidered in daisy petals Tiny pieces of petal embroidered vel vet trim the vest from the emplece ment down to the chiffon velvet girdle The sleeves are box plaited into the The following donations to the Even Nightgown Modes Have armholes and have a braid trimmed

THE MODE IN GLOVES.

The short white glove is considered provincial among well dressed women. Even for long sleeves that have tranparent deep cuffs the suede mousquetaire glove is pulled over them to the elbow.

In suede mousquetaire the colors most approved are tans and grays. Black and white gloves are only worn with costumes they match. The grays and tans are allied with gowns of all colors when worn with a hat.

The best makes of mousquetaire gloves are without buttons. They pull on easily over the hand and are worn well wrinkled.

Glace gloves are kept for shopping and traveling wear

There is a new glove which has elas tic at the top instead of buttons. They are convenient to flon, but have not the neat and smart appearance of a buttoned glove.

With the low hairdressing in vogue there is a great demand for attractive



BLUE CHINE SILK FROCK.

hair ornaments. Back and side comba will be, of course, in vogue, and there are any number of lovely tortoise shell and amber pins for the hair.

The newest idea in hatpins is the safety pin to keep the hat in position. This pin is very long and has besides the regulation fastening arrangement that fits down firmly into the hair, the snap being adjusted through the folds of the millinery.

The frock illustrated is of blue chine silk. A very decorative ribbon trimming ornaments the skirt. The waist simulates a bolero and is slightly surpliced in front. The girdle and band about the neck of the bodice are of tan suede trimmed with a ribbon design.

Yours for Socialism,

Faribault, Minn.

Billings Mont., Feb., 27'05.

Dear Comrade: Yours of the 13th

job to get subs for a Socialist paper

is about five men looking for every

J. H. Walsh, Helena Mont.

Montana News, Helena Montana, facturer was asked: "Doesn't every toque is herewith illustrated. It is Dear Sir: Having read in the one think it was the labor vote did made of the palest blue tulle overlaid

P. H. FARRELL. [The special edition had been ex-

In the statement, too, the 80

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rect address as well as subscription a wrong idea; entirely wrong. The price: any more copies that you may fact is that it was the solid business S. L. P., and S. P. members.

Yours fraternally, F. F. DUGAN.

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but without the moneyed interests I couldn't have carried the state."-Union Sentinel.

FOR WARM WEATHER WEAR. The circular short skirt for walking and outing generally is one of the summer models. It is made with a seam up the front, which insures a perfect fit about the hips and a pretty swing at the feet that no amount of darts and seams can accomplish.

Soft surah in a checked design, the colorings in black and white, blue or



LINEN COSTUMES.

Three piece costumes of the finest kind of white linen are the last fashion cry. The costume consists of a long skirt and two bodices, one low and the other high, both made with elbow sleeves. They are beautifully inserted with valenciennes lace and embroidered by hand in floral designs over lace and linen. The low waist depends for adornment upon an exquisitely wrought bertha. The high waist is of the usual dainty lingerie style.

Among the jewelry novelties is a dog collar of let.

Corset covers fashioned entirely of insertion are worn with slips of fine linen or lawn.

Floral effects promise to outrival all other spring designs and are to be seen on all sorts of materials.

There is a new linen scattered with small blossoms that will be very smart



this summer made up into the useful shirt waist suit. These linens, which resemble old fashioned calico, are very garish in coloring.

The old chine silk of long ago is again fashionable, the smartest colors in this silk being chrysoprase green and Du Barry rose.

The dainty hat pictured is of black ruffied malines, which forms the entire chapeau. Under the brim and peeping over it on one side are exquisite La France roses, with their foliage.

JUDIC CHOLLET.

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

Socialist National Platform

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 the same thing about the inven- of this report and unit (20) the class of each nation is seeking to revive, is the power which these ting of steam power in Robert time reported for breaking one Appeal to Reason on this proposigive to capitalism to keep the workers of the world from uniting, and Fulton's time. They said he acre 6.40 hours, and under tion which is of vital importance. If to throw them against each other in the struggles of contending would never make his boat run modern methods the same time capitalist interests for the control of the yet unexploited markets of the world, or the remaining sources of profit.

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 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 did not want an auto and wanted the producers; that the making of goods for profit shall come to an to ride on a automobile the govend; that we shall all be workers together, and that opportunities ernment would have them. One 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-operativcommonwealth, 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 no one who wants to own the postand 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, times the amount that the public and the recall of officers by their constituents; and for every gain or would charge you. Now, when advantage for the workers that may be wrested from the capitalist the people can see and know these system, and that may relieve the suffering and strengthen the hands things I don't see why they don't of labor. We lay upon every man elected to as y executive or legis- demand it. They certainly would lative office the first duty of striving to procure whatever is for the not want to pay six times as they do now. For carrying a letter or workers' most immediate interest, and for whatever will lessen the even one cent more, they would economic and political powers of the capitalist and increase the like kick like the Devil. They will powers of the worker. kick for a little thing, but for a

But, in so doing, we are using these remedial measures as means big thing there is no kick. They to the one great end of the co-operative commonwealth. Such meas- have been ground down so small ures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a there is just a small kick from preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government, them. in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of indus S. L. P., CORRECTS try, 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 intrusted 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.

FACTS FOR THE FARMER

Livingston, March, 5, 1905. [1898, of hand and machine labor. How are you Socialists going to You will find a great difference equalize when you get in power? between the old primitive and You cannot do it. People said modern farming. Take units (26)

Well, says one, "That is for the public good of the people." Just so. Why isn't what people live on for the public good? If there were no producers there would be no public. Now, Friend, I'll tell you a better way is for the government to own everything that is used publicly. That would not bar a person from owning private property. If a person wanted to own an automobile they could own one, provided they produced it or its equivalent. So if a person says, "We-e-ll, why can everybody have a railroad." It seems that question is just a little foolish, for a railroad there is no one now would want a pri railroad if the were vate public roads to do the public business of the people. There is office as it is owned, for there would be no profit in a privately owned postoffice if there was a publicly owned one, and by the publicly owned postoffice you can send four pounds through the mails, when, if you wanted to send the same article and same weight by a privately owned transit it would cost you no less than six



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

AN ERROR OR TWO. (Continued from page one.)

M. L. BAKER.

itors go, pay no bills nor collect no accounts, and say amen to all that DeLeon writes in the People. But yet, under the present competitive system where would my family get a living from?

Now, let me say that I am not so sure that your official organ is run, by you of the rank and file; if you will try to oust Mr. DeLeon, et. al., I think that you will find you are up against something. Your party owned paper avoids in its publication a full detailed statement of how it gets its resources to run, and just how much it pays its help-it gives just about as vague a report as the





The Mechanic's Lunch

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 eco- boat and in less than five minutes times as long under the old mode nomic 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 dividually owned farm because produce, but you don't here. In of employment, or the tools of production. Wherever and whenever they are too expensive for the Germany there are governmentman owned his own land and tools, and by them produced only the man with small means and there owned railroads-the farmer is things which he used, economic independence was possible. But are 55 per cent of them in the protected against private roads. 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; ting. When you vote for a sys- not get the rates that a big shinand from it has sprung all the miseries, inharmonies and contradic- tem that will give all you produce per does. Now, Mr. Farmer, let tions 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, co-operate there would be some Just so. Why cannot the governsooner or later, inevitable. Capitalism is already struggling to its relief to them, but they don't, ment furnish men to handle the 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 thirteenth annual report of of the and not cost them anything, but that the institutions of capitalist society are passing under the power Commissioner. of Labor, Vol. I., lit costs the people something.

by steam. The people gathered for breaking one acre (units 3 on the banks of the Hudson river. and 27) the time required for

boat. As soon as it was steamed ing required under the later as up and started the same people against 6 hours and 40 minutes eventually own the press, but that held up their hands and said he'll under the earlier methods and time has not arrived as yet, no more never stop it, turned and con- likewise all through everything than Christmas for 1905 has arrived. tradicted their word. They first produced. Take this report and it said he never would start the is taken on an average about 16

said he would never stop it.

about steam cars, and electricity, those improved farm machines, but don't wonder now at it. The yes," but who owns them, is it people have said the same thing the man with a mortgage or the about farm machinery-that we one with no incumberance? Says would never see the time when one, "I'm doing tolerable well reaper, thresher and sacker com- better than those in the old bined together would be invented, world." Not by a jug-full you are but you can see them. They are not. In Germany a farmer gets

United States that don't own the But here there is a discriminaland on which they farm. One tion between the big shipper and says its their own fault. I admit little shipper for the simple reaof that. They have voted for a son the roads are privately owned. system that has made them tenant Says one, "I don't ship anyway." farmers. So, Bro. Farmer, don't No, but to sell to those that do kick because you're being robbed. ship and they can get a rate that You voted for what you're get- pays them to ship when you canminus what it actually takes to me ask you a question. Can the run the government of the people, big shipper of letters get a better by the people and for the people, rate on his letters than you can? then, and not until then, will you If not, why not? Oh! but the

get what you produce. "I get all I government makes a contract to produce," says one. Then how in carry the mail for so much. Well, the Devil is it that the farmer is why cannot the government make running behind every year? It's the same contract for carrying the their own fault, says one. Just little farmer's produce as it does so, they vote the run behind sys- the large shipper's? Says one, "You see, the government furtem. If the farmers under the

present Capitalist system would nishes men to handle the mail." They take their produce to mar- produce that is shipped. Says ket and compete against each one, "That is private property." other. Says one, "competition is Isn't letters and papers private the life of trade." What I think property, too? They don't go to about it is that they have just just those that are employed by about competed themselves out the government do they? Now, of house and home. congressmen and senators can

Now, for illustration, take the send documents through the mails

a majority of the people do not want my privately owned paper they will put me out, not by referendum, but They said he'll never start the plowing 9.7 acre is one hour, beby non-support. The party will These moves must all come in thier natural time and channel, and during this time the intellectual will be the as it takes under the improved advance guard in your party as well The people said the same thing method. Says one, "we have as any other.

upon your party program to possibly be able to point out to you faults or weak points, but certainly you do not claim that it is built like the old man's shay. I grant that our party not to be found on the small in- some show when he transports his is not perfect, but possibly as much so as economic development will per-

mit. I would be pleased to publish a letter from you Mr. Williams of any S. L. P., member telling me or any other Socialist, in detail how to proceed-assuming that we have reached the parting of the way.

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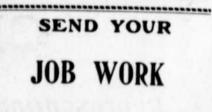
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