

The Farmer And Socialism

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(Continued from last week.)

Now we have seen that the trouble with the wage-laborer is that the instruments with which he makes these changes are not his property, but belong to another class, who through that ownership compel the laborers to sell themselves day by day for a bare existence. Note this one fact as the key to the whole situation. It is not necessary for the capitalist class to own all the instruments of production concerned in the making of any article in order to have possession of the product. It is only necessary to own the essential dominant one. Because the machinist in a great shop happens to own the monkey wrench with which he works it does not mean that he is an independent workman who can live without his boss.

Just so with the farmer. He may own the land and grow his wheat and raise his stock, but while these are still on the farm they are not at any place or time where they can be used, hence are not yet "produced." When he tries to finish his process of production and add these two essential qualities of place and time he finds that the instruments for this—the railroads, telegraphs, elevators, stock-yards, etc., belong to someone else, who appropriates all that the farmer has produced, save the same share that the laborer has always received—a bare living. So well has this fact become recognized that it is a common thing to say that "there is no money in farming" and that "all the farmer gets is wages."

It seems strange that this analysis of agricultural production should ever have been overlooked, for it is exactly the same process that has taken place in all lines of industry. Everywhere the land has been forced to a subordinate position in relation to the tools of production, and these have constantly grown more complex and been concentrated into fewer hands.

No farmer who has paused from his toil long enough to think at all can fail to have seen that a multitude of changes have taken place in his work in the last half century.

The most noticeable of these is, of course, the change from the cheap and simple tool of earlier days to the expensive and intricate machinery of today. Almost every tool that our fathers used has had its work divided and specialized until today it requires a dozen complex machines to perform the same task.

The old "A" drag that in earlier days bounded from stump to stone, and occasionally made a short scratch in the ground, has given way to a whole list of "spring-tooths, disks, pulverizers, sod-cutters, steel smoothing-harrows," etc., each of which is adapted to some special work and all of which must be used by the farmer who would profitably produce crops at present prices. The scythe, pitchfork and hand-rake that made up the outfit of the haymakers of but a few decades ago, have now given place to the six-foot-cut mower, sulky tedder and hay-rake, with the mechanical loader and horse-fork. The same change is seen everywhere. The wind-mill has replaced the "old oaken bucket" and the great steam thrasher, with automatic feeder and "blow stacker," does in an hour the work that once kept the flail sounding upon the barn floor through almost the whole winter. Entirely

new and expensive machinery appears, and the farmer who would feed his cornstalks and root crops or pumpkins with economy must own an ensilage cutter and steam cooker.

Still other changes bring the farm into closer connection with the factory system. Many things that were once a part of farming are now great capitalist industries. The creamery and the cheese factory

ings were always knitted there. Nearly every farmer was his own blacksmith, carpenter and butcher, and in fact was compelled to be a "jack at all trades." The change from this state of affairs to that of the present day is so evident that it needs only to be called to mind to be at once recognized.

The effect upon the farmer has been the same as that of the analogous development upon the laborer. It has increased the productive power of the individual, but has rendered him less independent of his fellow workers. It has been frequently pointed out that with every day that passes the factory worker is becoming more dependent upon the actions of his fellow workers. It made little difference to the old-fashioned cobbler whether anyone

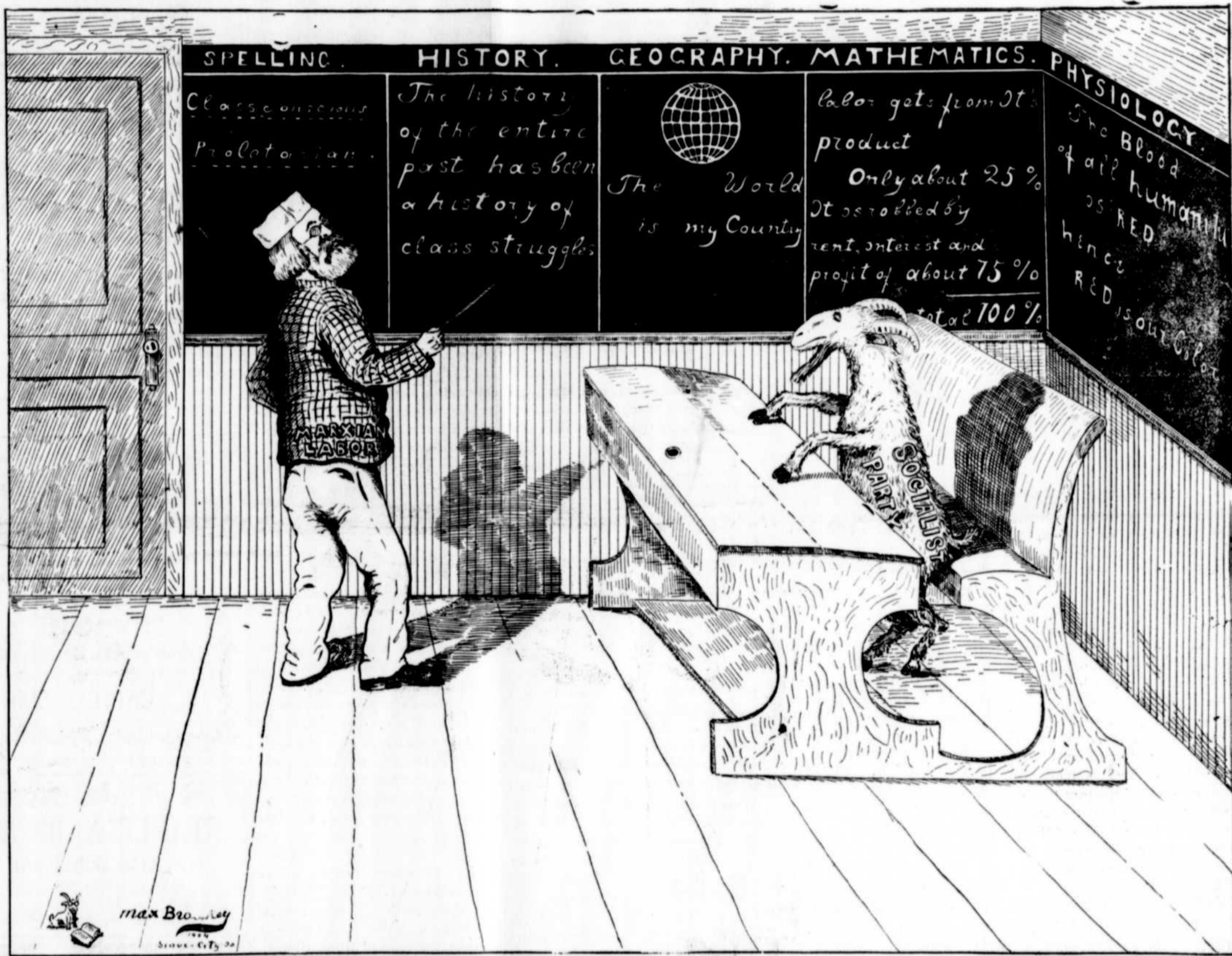
examined carefully it will be seen that the productive power of society in regard to farming has been immensely increased. I think that any one who will compare the work of the sickle and the flail with that of the self-binder and steam thrasher, or the railroad and elevator with the ox-cart and scoop-shovel, will admit that the same amount of work in these departments will produce more than ten times as much as it would one hundred years ago. But will anyone dare to claim that the farmer of today lives ten times as well as did the New England or "York State" farmer of the beginning of this century? I "pause for a reply" from the deserted farms of Massachusetts which then supported happy homes. If Robinson Crusoe had invented a disk harrow and at-

Speaking Tour That Will Pay

Hardly had the campaign of last fall closed, and my tour of the state been completed (on which I spoke to many full houses and some packed to the doors), until I began to receive letters from the comrades of the state inviting me to come to their town or locality and help them in the work by delivering an address, or several addresses, as the case might be.

positive that I have solved the problem, and with the hearty co-operative assistance of the comrades of the different locals, I am about ready to begin this work of speech-making; and under the systematic plan now decided upon I will make wages, the local will make some money and the state organization will also be reimbursed.

My idea is this, comrades. I



are the first of these that occur to the mind, and beet sugar is an example of an almost new industry that has been grafted upon farming, and that is but a portion of the great factory system. The farm products connected with these industries are absorbed by the owners of the plants, and the farmer who grows the beets or furnishes the milk and cream receives simply wages for his share of the labor performed upon the finished product, and not infrequently these are even lower than those paid the employes within the walls of the plant itself. Here at least there can be no doubt but that the interests of the wage-worker and the farmer are the same.

There is the same tendency toward specialization of industry upon the farm that in a more developed form has worked such wonders in the factory. To be sure it is not yet possible to find examples of such wondrous division as that in the shoe trade, where each man makes but the hundredth part of a shoe. The process has taken a somewhat different turn upon the farm. It has shown itself in the gradual transference of many industries from the farm to the factory. Fifty years ago nearly all the cloth used upon the farm was woven at home; stock-

else worked at the same time he did. His work was wholly independent of theirs. But the employe in a great shoe factory making but the hundredth part of a shoe is helpless without the other ninety nine. Just so the farmer who a generation ago made everything he needed upon his own farm cared little or nothing for what the rest of the world might do. If he could not sell his products he could eat or wear them, and had little need for intercourse with the remainder of the world. Not so the farmer of today, whose butter is made at the creamery and cheese at the factory and who never saw a suit of homemade clothes. He sells his grain and fruit in the markets of the world, and the rains of India or the floods of Russia may prove as destructive or as helpful to him as similar occurrences in his own fields. In other words, he, like the wage-worker, has become a part, and only a part, of the world's great productive system, and is subject to all its vicissitudes, be they helpful or harmful.

Now note this one thing, that all of the steps noted have been of a nature to increase the productive power of the workers, be they farmers or wage-laborers. If they are

tached his goats to it he would certainly expect to have more things to eat and to wear with the same amount of labor than he had when he used a hoe. Now the reason why the farmer and the wage-worker do not receive this increased reward in our present society is not because of the greater number of people concerned. On the contrary the work of the different members of our present society is so arranged that they co-operate in production and hence produce much more than they could with each one working independent of the others. Every farmer knows that two men with a cross-cut saw can cut more than twice as much wood as one man with an ax.

Where, then, does this increased product go? What is the "nigger in the wood-pile" that gets all these additional good things? Well, that is the whole question that we are trying to solve, but instead of trying to answer it at this time, when we do not yet have all the facts before us, we will just take a turn in another direction and perhaps we shall find the desired answer in quite an unexpected portion of the field.

(Continued next week.)

Send in a share on the Press—\$10.

This request was especially noticeable after sending out the "red" letter; the comrades showed in their answers to the "red" letter that they were willing to do all in their power to help the News, but a great many evinced the same thought, that if I could come to their locality and deliver another address they could by this means arouse a certain interest that is always lax after a campaign, and by so doing and getting the non-Socialists interested they could materially assist the News.

These letters and suggestions from the comrades put me to thinking on this matter of going out now and then for a few days at a time and delivering speeches. But the question bobbed up at once as to how to meet the great expense account incidental to these speaking tours of Montana. From \$10 to \$12.50 must be raised for every speech delivered, beside the hall-rent, etc. I noted in comment to a letter from Comrade Wheeler of Hamilton some time ago that I had under consideration a scheme whereby I believed I would be able, in the near future, to make these places, deliver an address and not be a financial loss to the local or comrades of the locals who generally shoulder these burdens. I am

will arrange through the state secretary to go into a certain county, say Ravalli; the comrades will arrange as many consecutive dates as possible for me in close proximity, thereby saving transportation expenses; the advertising matter will be sent from this office to you for posting at the different places.

I have about completed arrangements for a fine Edison stereopticon and moving picture machine; my lecture will be an illustrated one; also illustrated songs will be a feature of the program; the songs will be mailed to the locals in advance of my arrival, that some of the young girls or ladies of the vicinity will have time to learn them before the night of the entertainment.

Whether Socialists or not, you will always find some of the young people ready and willing to help you in this matter. A piano player and piano will be necessary, and a rehearsal of the songs can be had after I arrive in your town and set up the machine preparatory to the evening's entertainment.

This plan will not give the people a lecture of the old dry kind, but will furnish them an hour of fun and amusement; the fun and amuse-

(Continued on last page)

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.



On January 6th Bryan spoke to the Jackson club of Memphis, Tennessee. Wonderful how he likes to talk on dead issues.

The member in the house who introduced a bill authorizing cities and towns to establish public bathing places is not from Missouri.

A little trouble is arising in Oregon over the reading or not reading of the bible in the public schools; someone suggested that if it were to be read, that the book of Leviticus be given prominence, followed by a few choice selections from "Diamond Dick."

The consolidation of the Boulder newspapers shows that co-operation is forcing itself even among the loud-mouthed supporters of "individual effort" conditions. Oh, yes, Socialism is coming whether you nincompoops like it or not; the present capitalist system is forcing the decay of itself and the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth.

A Socialist comrade at Mt. Tabor, Oregon, has bought a Baptist church. The same was sold at auction, including the benches, platform, stoves, wood, lights, etc., etc., and a large bell in the tower. It has been turned into a Socialist hall and meeting place, and it is said that the old bell rings out its peals to the comrades to gather and take a part in the work of establishing the co-operative commonwealth. Good for the Mt. Tabor comrades, and may the good work go on.

News comes from Lewistown, this state, that the stores over there have been bothered with juvenile "shoplifters." Well, what could you expect in a town where drug stores sell booze without a license, Main street is a variety house "hurdy-gurdy," republicans buy their seats in the state legislature, union men (scabs) legislate, alliance candidates in election, and court and jury both under the thumb of the local money power. If the juveniles keep on in their new way possibly they will be in good trim to make average citizens of the town when they grow up.

The senate met in the morning and was only in session twenty minutes. Both houses have adjourned until Monday afternoon.—From Friday's Independent.

There is not a Socialist in either the house or senate. How do you voters like this? What do you think of an 8-hour day compared with a 20-minute day, at \$6 per day? The variety theatre appears to have them hypnotized, and the News would suggest that they hold their night sessions (of law making) at the Capital theatre. This is what a majority of the voters cast their ballots for and they are getting what is coming to them.

Congressman Dixon's efforts at Washington to open 60,000 acres of land along the Big Horn river is receiving the hearty support of the railroads; certainly it should. Why

do you suppose that the railroads furnished Congressman Dixon free transportation last fall? Certainly they did not do it with the understanding that he would introduce bills derogatory to their interests. Opening of 60,000 acres means the planting of a great number of families along the railroad to raise food products; the farmer will get 17 per cent of what he raises and the capitalist system 83 per cent; but still the poor farmer seems to think that this is a great piece of statesmanship, that he be allowed the crumbs that fall from the rich man's table.

SUBSCRIPTION CARDS OUT.

In about two months, a year will have elapsed since Comrade Lynch took the solicitor's field for the News, and in that time there have been left with the comrades over the state 583 subscription cards, out of which some 300 have been sold and returns made for the same; but there still remain in the hands of the comrades about 150 cards not sold, or at least which have not arrived at this office; this last number added to the 300 which have arrived makes a total of 450 cards, and the difference between the 450 and 583 shows 133 cards have been sold and not remitted for. You can assist us at this time by remitting at once for all cards sold and for which you have the money, and save us the enormous expense of making out individual bills.

Beginning with this year, and after the hustle of the comrades over the state in response to our "red" letter, which brought sufficient to pay the interest on the mortgage, the business starts off with renewed vigor, and it looks at this time as if we would not only be able to keep the News going but that we will soon be able to improve it. There is no time, however, to stop now, comrades; but continue this work. We must have these new subscribers; the News must reach the non-Socialist; it is more important that the non-Socialist read the paper than it is that the Socialist read it; to increase the circulation we must work to a great extent upon the old capitalistic ideas with the public; you cannot make the non-Socialist understand class conscious ideas and duties; it takes time; first get him to read and pay for his literature; to be effective, this can only be accomplished by the many comrades scattered over the state. With things in running shape, comrades, let us put our shoulders to the wheel, and up and at 'em.

CO-OPERATIVE STORES.

At the present time there appears to be a great stride among the unions to get into the co-operative store business; many of these stores and other co-operative undertakings are receiving consideration at present, and in many places are an apparent success.

At Great Falls a co-operative store is being conducted on a large scale, while several smaller ones are running in different places. Clancy is soon to have one, likewise Missoula, and the same co-operative store talk is heard from other quarters. Possibly the largest co-operative concern to be launched in the state of late is the broom factory, which we understand is not only to be made a co-operative concern but a paying business.

From a Socialist point of view, and under the present competitive system, where the production of the raw material, as well as its manufacture, is controlled by the capitalists and trusts, it is not advisable to encourage these co-operative concerns, for sooner or later they must fail with other business firms; and a business failure of this kind with the workers interested in a financial way retards their natural educational and economic advancement. Under the present system these co-operative stores must sooner or later go the route of all small business firms, and especially so because they are at the mercy of the capitalists to purchase their stocks of goods.

Were it possible for these co-operative concerns to co-operate from the producer regardless of the capitalists the sailing would be much smoother, but still they would be up against the high freight rates, while

the other fellow would be receiving quiet rebates. It hardly looks to be the proper business for a Socialist to be spending his time at; it is a question if it is not lost energy. Take for instance the co-operative broom factory: The ones interested in that matter must thoroughly understand that they are to be forced to make brooms at a price to compete in the market with other brooms, and to do that means to come in competition with penitentiary brooms. To think that they will be able to use the union strength against the competitive system is mere foolishness. In the first place the union buyers are not plentiful enough to warrant the establishment of a broom factory, and in the second place about 80 per cent of them would sneak around and get the penitentiary brooms because they are cheaper. Therefore it is impossible to pay the union scale of wages and compete in the open market against scab made goods, and especially when union men take advantage of the sweatshop prices.

This is the history of all co-operative concerns, to a great extent, that have been launched, and while this has been their route, there remains a business that the laborer has never tackled, and it is the business that gets all of his money—the saloon business. If the workers are going to go into the co-operative business to make money they should give the saloon business consideration. As a class there is where they spend their money, and if spent in their own saloon a neat return would revert to their families that does not under the present system.

The News would suggest to the workers, and especially those who have no time to read and can't afford two cents per week for literature, but can afford several dollars for booze, to give the saloon business consideration in the next discussion of co-operative business. You would always be able to have a quorum. Think this matter over.

REAPING THE WHIRLWIND.

George H. Williams, ex-chief justice of Oregon territory; ex-United States senator from the state of Oregon; attorney-general in President Grant's second cabinet, and the first choice of President Hayes for chief justiceship of the United States; mayor of Portland, and a man with the snow of 83 winters upon his head, was indicted by the county grand jury of Multnomah county, Oregon, on the charge of malfeasance in office. The indictment states that on July 13, 1904, Judge Williams was mayor of Portland, and while acting in that capacity refused to enforce the statutes regulating gambling. This law was passed by the legislature and signed by the governor January 23, 1903. It gives the mayor power to close disorderly houses within four miles of the city and it is alleged he failed to avail himself of the power. An indictment against chief of police Hunt is almost identical with that returned against Mayor Williams. Only another instance of the workings of the damnable system under which we are living and which many voted to perpetuate at the last election. Mr. Williams, a man of 83 years, is pretty old to be taken into the net of capitalism and made to suffer the tortures of hell the rest of the few years of his life, but he has kindled the fires of this burning system during his younger years by supporting at the ballot box a system that destroys all before it. In fact, every mayor in the state of Montana should go the same route. Why, here in Helena the city officials stand in with the criminals of three different streets and permit them to conduct their business of crime for a specified sum each month. Go to the police judge station and see the court with crimson hands made red from the stain of blood money wrung from the outcasts and prostitutes; yea, a partner in crime with the criminals, that they may get more money.

"I do not like to appear as an obstructionist," said Kennedy, in the house last Friday, "but I must protest against the employment of a

clerk for this committee. The committee will not have to exceed three-quarters of an hour of work during the 60 days we are in session. When it makes its report, which it will in a few days, that ends its business for the session. The first day of the session we employed an enrolling clerk. She will not have any work for 20 days. The day after we elected her, we allowed her an assistant so that now we have two ladies on the payroll who will not do any work for twenty days. With all the help we may put on, we will still have to pay outsiders if we want a bill drafted."

A few days ago the dispatches told of the southern cotton growers destroying an enormous amount of cotton by burning, that the market price may be raised, and the Butte Miner comes out with a terrible wail about such a thing being permitted. Why, in a slightly different form this is permitted every day. In fact that barbarous act is in strict harmony with the present capitalist system. The wage slave that edits the Miner for Mr. Clark, after telling of instances on record "where surpluses have been destroyed in order to bring about a scarcity that would improve the selling price," depicts the awful thought of destroying "raw materials" that could be converted into necessities of life. Well, what jackasses there are in editorial chairs. The southerners are destroying the cotton so as to get a better price for what they will have left over, and it is only one of the instances that the Miner cites. It is simply one of the cogs in the great wheel of industry under the present capitalist system. It exemplifies the oft made assertion that in the midst of plenty we are in want. While in the north many children are thinly clad because they cannot get clothes, the southerner is burning the clothing, that he may receive a better price for the same; all is the trouble of the system and can only be eradicated through the co-operative commonwealth, which will wipe out the system of profit, interest and rent.

Can a body of policemen engaged in blackmail, persecution and in shielding lawbreakers make a community law-abiding? Can a body of policemen engaged in criminal practices prevent others from committing crimes? Can a board of aldermen who for private gain combine to loot a city govern a city well? The criminal oligarchy consists of these three classes: First. Saloon-keepers, gamblers and others who engage in businesses that degrade. Second. Contractors, capitalists, bankers and others who can make money by getting franchises and other property of the community cheaper by bribery than by paying the community. Third. Politicians who are willing to seek and accept office with the aid and endorsement of the classes already mentioned.—McClure's Magazine.

Comment is unnecessary so far as any city in Montana is concerned.

They say in Kansas: 44 counties are without a pauper. 25 have no poor houses. 37 counties have not a single occupant in the jails. 37 counties not a criminal case on the court docket. They say: A bushel of corn makes 4.46 gallons of whiskey which brings \$18.75, which is distributed as follows: The distiller gets \$4.50. The retailer gets \$6.80. The United States government gets \$5.40. The transportation company gets \$1.25. The laborer gets 40 cents. The farmer gets 40 cents. We looked at these statistics and walked away, asking "What does the drinker get?"

"Let's carry some Kansas towns in the spring and the state in 1906," is a motto run at the head of the columns of the Social Ethics of Kansas. How would it be to make more Socialists in place of carrying towns? Watch for another Massachusetts slump in Kansas if they elect before they educate.

The Helena Independent says that a thorough investigation should be made in the election frauds in Colorado and the punishment of those found guilty. Well, well, that would vote the Socialists although their vote was very small.

The HUB
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All Sizes and Styles **\$1.95**

For Saturday, January 14th Only

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MONSTER CLEARANCE SALE!
Values Swept Away Profits swept Away
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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.

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More Positive Bargains
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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 m.	
Leave 12:40 p. m.	Lenep	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

Palatial Dog Homes
Hovels for Children

The two million and more child workers in the United States will be very glad, indeed, to learn that a part of the wealth which they create is to be used to build a string of palatial "dog hotels" from New York to San Francisco, where the rich can house their dogs while they revel in luxury only equaled by that lavished on the canines says the Appeal. We are told by the San Francisco Bulletin that the hotel "bow-wow," as these rendezvous of aristocratic beatitudes are termed, are located in the center of the most select residence section of the Quaker City and on Broadway in New York. Here some of the most pampered pets of the American aristocracy, hobnob in guarded seclusion. Private baths, a sumptuous dining room, a beautiful run, well appointed resting rooms, a shampoo parlor, a notion store, a modeste's salon—in short, everything which tends to make a dog's life luxurious is at the disposal of the patrons of hotel bow-wow. An infirmary is connected with the hotel, and several skilled physicians, as well as three competent nurses, are in constant attendance. Maids and valets in uniform attend the wants of the dogs; some of the animals bring with them their own attendants, and for these there are arranged special rooms.

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Gans & Klein
HELENA, MONT.

CORRESPONDENCE

Livingston, Mont., Jan. 1, '05.
Mr. J. H. Walsh, Helena, Mont.

Dear Comrade: I notice by your most welcome paper that it is in financially bad condition. I am very sorry of it, but if the comrades are sorry enough to get a stir on them, and sell to sub cards in the next few weeks, we certainly can keep it going; it will never do comrades to let the Montana News go under, for it is dealing misery to the capitalist parties just now and it pokes up the churches some too, and I hope it will still go after them for they are as corrupt as the two old political parties.

Now Comrade Walsh, forward me to sub cards and I will try and sell them; I will sell them; I must sell them for to try and keep the paper

Get the Best

Wyoming Lump
COAL

\$6.00 Per Ton

UNION COAL CO

JAMES DERHAM, Manager

Office No. 10 Edwards
Telephone 149

going. Fraternally,
M. L. BAKER.

[The above letter sounds the right sentiment. The 10 cards have gone forward. But read my article on the front page and I think you will all agree that I have struck the right idea to not only make the News go, but assist the many locals and state organization.—Editor.]

New York, Jan. 2, 1905.
Dear Comrade: You will observe that I have changed my address. Have been in New York about two weeks and am located at the above address working for my brother.

Well, comrade, this is a great town—like a great big bee hive with all the bees working double shift and all the time excited as if they were going to swarm. I guess there is a difference, too, for I believe the drones get the best of the honey here. Puts one more in mind of an ant hill when you kick it and see the ants rush out and scurry around hither and thither, not one of them apparently knowing where it is going.

To a person from the quiet country they seem like a lot of crazy people, but it will not do to tell them so or you are likely to land in the asylum, for they are in the majority and the average New Yorker is very touchy on the point of his sanity. He thinks that he is the sanest person on the face of the earth, and it is the fellow who can content himself a hundred miles away from New York who has gone plumb mad.

Of course we all know it, and yet we don't seem to fully realize what a tremendous power the press is in molding the minds of the people until we get in a big city. The city man or woman cannot live without the daily paper. You get into an elevated train and every passenger has a paper in front of him, most of them reading of the trial of Nan Patterson. You look through the windows of a rapidly passing train and all you see is a streak of white. It is very evident that we Socialists will never be able to hold our own in the big cities until we have our daily papers.

I stopped over six hours in Chicago. Called at the publishing house of Chas. H. Kerr & Co., and at the office of the national secretary and was warmly welcomed at both places. At the secretary's office I met Mrs. Maily with her husband, and Stephen Marion Reynolds and wife, of Terre Haute, and had a most delightful visit of over an hour with them. Also met Comrades Clark and Martin. This man Reyn-

olds is one of those great big hearted, noble souled men who just smother all the pessimism you have in you and make you feel that this is a good world to live in, and perfectly content to take chances on the next.

After spending two or three days seeing my relatives whom I had not seen in 26 years, and some of whom I had never seen, I went to work, and have not had time yet to get in touch with the movement here. I called on state secretary Chase and at the "Comrade" office, and will get around and see more of them here when I get a little settled.

I enclose 25 cents for which please send me the News three months to the above address. Will be back in Montana again about the first of April.

With best wishes, I remain
Fraternally yours,
J. F. MABIE.

Livingston, Mont., Jan. 4, '05.
Dear Comrade: Having only been in the state since last August and not much acquainted with the people, I can't write probably of much interest to you or many of the comrades of the different locals scattered through Montana. Some time ago I handed Comrade Jas. Graham here (the efficient state secretary) my subscription for the News and it has visited me regularly every week since. I take several Socialist papers and like them all, but I take particular interest in the News because it has good clear cut Socialist editorials and plenty of them, a good lot of interesting correspondence and write ups on the different phases of the wage slave, and another thing in its columns the Montana Socialist can always find the "News from State Headquarters" for Comrade James D. Graham, the state secretary, always keeps the comrades throughout the state posted through his reports in the News so all who take the paper can tell how the different locals are doing.

The local here has made good gains in membership since I came here last August. I have attended their meetings every Monday night with the exception of two nights, and they have added I think in the neighborhood of 40 members or over to their local since I came here. The members here seem to be both progressive and aggressive, and they are great sticklers for pure and unadulterated Socialism, and their meetings every week are interesting from start to finish. The lady members are doing lots of work in building up the local and as the membership increases they will do more. Every local ought to encourage the women

to become members, for Socialism does n't only improve and elevate the character of man, but women also. Let every Socialist try to agitate and educate his fellow worker and wage earner along the lines of Socialism and not waste much time with the little capitalist because he will soon be squeezed out of business by the big capitalist; then they will have plenty of time to study Socialism. There are lots of wage slaves that will readily become Socialists if they can be induced to read and find out what its principles are. The most effective way is to get organized wherever eight or ten or a dozen can get together and then go gunning with some Socialist literature, and along with it scatter copies of the Montana News which will show what the Socialists are doing all over the state. I think each local in the state ought to make a special effort to increase the circulation of the News for in future campaigns the Socialists will need the help of it more than they have in the past. Get busy! Get your fellow wage slave to read and investigate, and he will make himself a Socialist. There is going to be something doing in the political arena during the next twelve months, not only in the United States but in every nation that is called civilized. The capitalists select the candidates for offices and the wage slaves elect them. Why not elect our own candidates? Workingmen you have got to emancipate yourselves from wage slavery, and you can do it by a thorough organization of your class.

Fraternally Yours for Socialism,
A. D. PEUGH.
107 East Chinook St.

Storrs, Mont., January 7, 1905.
Dear Sir and Comrade: Enclosed please find money order for \$1 to pay for one year's sub to the News to Barney Warner, Chestnut, Mont. As Ever, Yours,
C. T. MONROE.

Havre, Montana, Jan. 9, '04.
Dear Sir and Comrade: Enclosed please find check for \$3 in payment of two subscription cards that I have sold and renewal of my own subscription; when Comrade Lynch was here I gave him five cards which place to my credit.

Nick Munson claims he has not received the News since he left Great Falls and notified you to send it to Havre. Please attend to this as he is very anxious to read the News.

I have been entirely too busy to do any thing for the cause since election, but as soon as I can find any spare time, I will take the matter up again with renewed vigor. My

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.

Legislators Work
20-Minute Days

Our report of legislative doings last week was up to and including the 3rd inst. On the 4th the capitalist body met for about 20 minutes and arranged for a cafe at the capitol, which proves conclusively the Socialist theory that material interests rule the world.

Speaker Hedges of Fergus, who has not had one of those partisan honest crying fits as yet, appointed Lanstrum, Canoll and Sanden to arrange the pie counter.

Representative Lanstrum introduced house bill No. 1. It is an initiative and referendum measure.

Dempster followed with house bill No. 2, also an initiative and referendum measure.

It appears that the labor (?) representatives fell short here after all their bawl on the above mentioned Socialist law, and let the old partyites as usual beat them to the bat.

Speaker Hedges appointed his first standing committee by naming as a committee on per diem and mileage, Potter, Stevens, English, Wood and Sanden.

The speaker was authorized to engage an assistant janitor.

The house then adjourned unril 2 p. m. Thursday.

On Thursday afternoon Speaker Hedges appointed the following committees:

Rules—Everett of Choteau, Mulroney of Missoula, Blake of Deer Lodge and Johnston of Yellowstone.
Privileges and elections—Lieper of Dawson, Murray of Cascade, Mulroney of Missoula, Everett of Chouteau, Blake of Deer Lodge, Teskey of Jefferson, Lanina of Silver Bow, Starz of Lewis and Clarke and Reel of Madison.

Then came the introduction of many notices announcing that certain bills would be introduced at the proper time. That is, as soon as they can lengthen their day to something over 20 minutes.

The senate decided to change the rule for the appointment of committees, so that the committee of fish and game protection shall consist of five instead of three members. The senate adjourned after all this work, done in one day by 26 frail men, to meet the next day at 11 a. m. You will notice it is not a case of an 8 hour day but a 20 minute or shorter day at \$6 per.

This resolution was offered by Senator Waite of Fergus, who bought his seat in the senate for \$5 per through the "tin horn" element; it appears that his idea to change the commission from three to five is

boy is making Socialists of all the school boys in his room.

Fraternally Yours,
A. J. SWANSON.

The Montana News, Helena, Mont.
Comrades, Greeting: You may send me five more cards, also send Mr. Otto Kempke at Aldridge ten cards. It looks as if Aldridge were about to start up, and my friend thinks he can dispose of that many.

Yours for Socialism,
M. J. F.
Gardiner, Mont.

P. S. You may hold me responsible for all cards.

[The cards have gone forward per order. If the comrades keep this "lick" up the News can be given at least a five thousand circulation. Get busy! You comrades who have done nothing so far, take the hunch offered by the above letter.—Editor.]

only in harmony with his idea of the value of "five."

Nothing was doing Friday and Saturday, as most all of the capitalist hirelings with both pockets stuffed with free railroad transportation, which represents their treason to the people of the state and their fidelity to the corporations, took a spin home and a rest after their hard week's work.

On Monday the 9th the senate got the bulge on the house in the matter of having all of its committees appointed, and for the first time bills were introduced. Up to this time 25 bills have been introduced in the house.

Speaker Hedges named three standing committees immediately on the opening of the house session. That on labor is composed of Ross of Missoula, Williams of Park, Metcalf of Granite, Wilson of Cascade, Carriher of Deer Lodge, Hays of Cascade, Wyman of Silver Bow, Meunier of Silver Bow and Harrington of Deer Lodge.

The only bill introduced last week that might be criticised, was one introduced by Sanden, a labor fusion representative, to wipe out the license proposition on business men, excepting the saloon, "tin horn," peddler and prostitute element. Why a labor representative is interested in introducing a bill of interest to the little business men, and how this will help the worker any, is rather hard to understand. But the working jackass is the easiest thing on earth any way. Elects men who always go to the law making body of the country to pass bills in the interest of a class that exploits him.

On Tuesday noon the 10th, the first ballot on United States senator was taken, Tom Carter receiving 30, Lee Mantle 10. The democrat vote stood 17 for W. G. Conrad, while the fusion vote stood 13 for MacGinnis.

Tired out with their hard day's labor, they adjourn to meet the next day when they will take another vote for United States Senator.

Many of the peanut politicians from over the state are here doing all they can for the fellow that they desire to have (mis) represent them at Washington. Among them is the "unclassified bird" of Fergus—S. S. Hobson—who won the \$50,000 reputation in the state, the time he voted for, and the time that W. A. Clark bought his seat in the United States senate. Suggestions from men (?) of this sort are not amiss in old party politics and especially so at this critical time. It is said that Tom Carter has skinned a million during his first trip to Washington, and if re-elected can probably double that amount.

The farce comedy of demo-republican, labor faking reform advocates will resume again today for about 20 minutes.

Our Fresh Meats.

Are the Best and Our Prices Are the Lowest.

Boiling 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

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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.

**Speaking Tour
That Will Pay**

(Continued from first page)

ment, which will be well advertised, will draw the non-Socialists to our meetings, and from whom we will get the greater part of our financial assistance.

The comrades will secure the hall, one lit with electric lights, if possible, and arrange with the local electrician to fix the wiring for the moving picture machine; this will be but little expense. In towns where there are no electric lights, I will use the gas, carried with me for this purpose.

My terms will be as follows:
(1) \$12.50 per lecture and hotel bill; this includes advertising matter.

Or, (2) The local to take 25 subscription cards to the Montana News at \$1 each, and hotel bill; this also includes advertising matter. Settlement to be made after the lecture.

In places where the comrades desire to sell tickets in advance, say at 10 cents each,—and in practically every mining camp in the state you can get 25 cents—(and let me say that the entertainment will be worth twice that amount) we will furnish you tickets free of charge. Here again you can profitably secure the assistance of the young girls and boys in selling the tickets; and especially is this so in regard to the women, whom we need to assist in carrying on this line of work in the movement. If you desire to make no charge, but take up a collection, that will be your privilege.

I will also have in stock some fine colored slides for advertising purposes for your local merchants, to be thrown on the screen during the evening's entertainment; you can secure an advertisement from nearly every one of your merchants at 50 cents for the evening, thereby making several dollars for your local.

I will be pleased to hear from the comrades in regard to the matter

and any points they do not thoroughly understand I will gladly enlighten them upon.

This is the scheme that I have studied on for some time and I believe that it is the only practical one whereby we can get the non-Socialist out to our meetings and begin to preach Socialism into his head and at the same time catch many of them for literature that will start them on the road to Socialism.

Many may think that this show part of the program is not revolutionary Socialism, and possibly it is not, but I find that the Socialists enjoy a little fun and show business as does the other fellow.

With your co-operation, comrades, we can not only make this proposition go, but can turn to the treasury of the locals and state some money, and thereby greatly assist the movement. We must handle this in a manner that we may get financial assistance from the non-Socialist.

J. H. WALSH.

**Socialist News
From Headquarters.**

Livingston, Mont., Jan. 9, 1905. Local Rochester sends \$1.90 to the organizing fund. Local Anaconda contributes \$25 to help clear off the old debt. Previously reported, \$23.80. This makes a total of \$31.50 contributed by Local Anaconda. It is rather singular that Local Anaconda, which has passed through more fire than all the other locals in the state, should donate more and oftener than any other local to help carry on the work of organization.

A local of 8 charter members was organized at Dean, Carbon county, on New Year's day. Local Monarch re-organized on the same day.

The Socialists of Carbon county have purchased a printing press and are erecting a building in Red Lodge to be used as a printery. They expect to have the first edition of a county local Socialist paper published within 30 days.

Local Boulder proposes the following amendments to the state constitution:

Art. 1. Sec. 5. Change to read: A local is in good standing when it has three members in good standing and has made the required reports to the state secretary.

Art. 5. Sec. 4. Add the present Sec. 4 to Sec. 5 and substitute the following for Sec. 4:

Members excused from the payment of dues, and members not over three months in arrears of dues, are in good standing.

Art. 6. Secs. 5 and 6. Transfer to Art. 5 as Secs. 16 and 17, and re-number following sections accordingly.

Art. 6. Sec. 8. Add the following:

All members elected to office by the Socialist party, and all members appointed to office by Socialist office-holders, shall contribute to the general fund of the state organization one half of the salary, fees and emoluments of said office which shall be in excess of one hundred dollars per month.

A few weeks will elapse before these amendments are submitted to the membership for referendum. All members should give them some consideration. It would be advisable for members to discuss these amendments at the meetings of their locals.

JAS. D. GRAHAM,
State Secretary.

**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

NEWS WANT ADS

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

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.

INSOMNIA

"I have been using Cascarets for Insomnia, with which I have been afflicted for over twenty years, and I can say that Cascarets have given me more relief than any other remedy I have ever tried. I shall certainly recommend them to my friends as being all they are represented to be."
—Thos. Gillard, Elgin, Ill.



Pleasant, Palatable, Pepsin, Taste Good, De Gout, Never Sickens, Weakens or Grips, etc., etc. Never sold in bulk. The genuine tubs stamped C.C.C. Guaranteed to cure or your money back.

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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

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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.

V.

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.