

## Strike Is Spreading

### Head of State Federation of Labor in Pennsylvania Condemns Brutality of Rapid Transit Company

Philadelphia.—The general strike is spreading daily. The horse shoers have just come out and effected a complete tie up. The department store clerks are coming out. They have already closed the stores in several suburbs.

E. E. Greenwalt, President of the State Federation of Labor, is the center of interest in Philadelphia today, for he has issued a call for a general strike through out the state of Pennsylvania.

In reply to a request that he give the reasons for calling the state strike Mr. Greenwalt said:

#### Suffered Long Enough.

"Labor has suffered long enough. I never was so shocked in my life as when Hugh Barron of the Carman's union wired me of the terrible outrage of last Thursday, when the capitalists sent a street car loaded with armed scabs through the streets to murder innocent citizens.

"The people bear and forbear. I cannot understand how the people of Philadelphia could tolerate that blood carnage. I never was so angry in my life. Mass meetings have been dispersed, parades broken up, men, women and children beaten by the police, strikers arrested and railroaded to jail from thirty to sixty days for no cause.

#### Money Front Is Solid.

"The capitalists stand together. Like them labor should say, 'The concern of one is the concern of all.' In fact, we must stand together or be completely annihilated. This fight is the fight of the whole state. This is a strike for self preservation.

"For that reason the State Federation of Labor notified me to call a general strike."

#### Appreciate Labor Politics.

The President of the Vancouver Trades and Labor Council, S. W. Thompson, is an active member of the Street Railway Men's union, an organization of some 500 members nearly all of whom appreciate the value of everlasting persistence and political activity on election day.

E. E. Greenwalt, President of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, has called a state-wide strike of the toilers of the state, to go into effect last Monday. This is the announcement of the committee of ten having the strike in charge.

The labor leaders announce that they have already received assur-

ances that Pittsburg, Erie, Scranton and Wilkesbarre, as well as a number of other points in the state, will join in the movement, while others are being heard from hourly.

The politicians and financial gentlemen have been stamped by the call daily more liberal in their concessions to the men.

#### Demands Refused.

Vice-President Clarence Wolfe of the P. R. T., who represents a majority of the board of directors, refused, however, to grant the terms demanded by Clarence O. Pratt, leader of the strikers. Mr. Wolfe maintains firmly that the company shall not be challenged in its right to hire and discharge workmen. Mr. Pratt contends that the right to hire and discharge is not attacked, but that the company's abuse of the right is the point at issue.

At times the settlement seemed certain. Mr. Wolfe remained unmoved by appeals, and insisted that the company could not stultify itself by re-employing the 173 men. Pratt, having been informed by E. E. Greenwalt that a state-wide strike would be ordered by Monday, March 21, in case the company remained obdurate, pressed his demands with confidence. No other issue remained between the company and the men, but the one mentioned could not be got over. As soon as Greenwalt was told that the agreement seemed unlikely, he telegraphed orders to all unions affiliated with the State Federation of Labor to go on strike Monday. The order advances the state sympathetic strike four days. The call originally named March 25.

#### Want Special Session.

It is the state-wide strike factor that is moving the politicians to activity. There is a story that a special session of the Pennsylvania legislature is to be called by Gov. Stuart in case the P. R. T. and the men do not come together in the next day or two for the purpose of enacting a compulsory arbitration law. There will be continued conferences between representatives of the car men and those who are now acting for the Rapid Transit company.

City councils at their meeting refused to receive resolutions calling for arbitration of the street-car troubles which two of the members tried to introduce. The public was admitted to the galleries but no demonstration occurred.

#### BLOODY REIGN OF CZAR SHOWN.

Last Five Years Have Been Like the Middle Ages.

St. Petersburg.—The Russian weekly, "Pravo", a legal publication, contains statistics in the last number of the transactions of the courts of justice in Russia for the last five years.

#### The Death Sentences.

The total number of death sentences for the last five years amounts to 6,268 and the executions to 2,855. The average number for each month in this period is 194 sentences and 48 executions, and each week 24 sentences and two executions. In the year 1906, when martial law was in force, the number of death sentences amount in a single month to two hundred and twenty. In 1907 the maximum number of death sentences per

week was 29, and in 1908, 36. During last year not a single week passed without some death sentences. In January, 1908, sentences of the extreme penalty were passed, amounting to an average of ten a day. In February of the same year the maximum number was 14.

#### Like the Middle Ages.

"These figures remind us," says the Pravo, "of the bloodiest period of the middle ages. Russian history contains no account that can compare with the present period in the number of death decrees."

The only difference between the middle ages and the present is that the Muscovite Czar, Ivan IV., bore the name Ivan the Terrible, while Nicholas II., who puts the reign of terror instituted by Ivan in the shade, is given the name in history of 'The Peaceful Czar'.

## SOCIALIST NATIONAL CONVENTION

Once more we have a national referendum before us which calls for serious consideration. Many of the comrades have got so wearied and disgusted with the incessant flood of referendums which have poured over us during the past two years that they neglect to vote, and thus it has several times happened that extraordinarily foolish propositions have been carried by the vote of a very small minority of the party membership. I would urge that no comrade fail to record himself upon the proposal now made, to do away with the national convention which, according to the present constitution, is to be held in Chicago this coming May. In my opinion, the referendum ought to be defeated and the convention held. But in any case, let the matter be decided by the vote of a respectable proportion of the party membership, not by a majority of a few hundred in a total vote of five or six thousand out of forty thousand party members.

The initiators of this proposal seem to think that there is no occasion for holding a national convention except once in four years, and then for the purpose of adopting a national campaign platform and nominating candidates for president and vice-president. If this were the fact then there would be no sense in our European comrades ever holding national elections. At all, since no European country has anything corresponding to our national campaigns and national elections. But, though they have no national ticket to nominate, though all their campaigns are local in the same sense as are our congressional campaigns in the intermediate years, yet we find that in every European country the socialist party holds a national convention regularly every year, and sometimes a special convention besides. And everywhere it is recognized that these frequent conventions, which bring together comrades from all parts of the country and enable them to take a general view of the situation and exchange opinions and collaborate in working out plans, are one of the chief reasons for the splendid discipline and solidarity which distinguishes our party from others and for the admirable combination of revolutionary fervor with practical good sense, of scientific understanding with capacity for getting things done, in which the socialist parties of Europe are so far ahead of us in the United States.

The most important part of the work of a national convention is not the adoption of a campaign platform and the choice of two candidates. These things might be attended to by a referendum, if they were all that had to be done. Yet, in conventions held in presidential years, these minor matters unavoidably overshadow everything else. Of far greater importance are other matters—the general survey of social and political conditions in their aspects and in all parts of the country and in their mutual re-

lations; the consideration of the lessons taught by local experience in various parts of the country; the calm criticism of our form of organization and our methods of action; the proposal of all sorts of improvements, and the full and direct discussion of these proposals, and the working out from them of plans embodying the best that all have offered; the consideration, away from the hurry and excitement of a nominating convention and an impending national campaign, of the many special problems raised for us by the peculiar conditions of our country and by the most recent phenomena in its economic, political, and social development, and the settlement of these problems, not by ready-made formulas and popular phrases, but by serious examination of facts and testing of opinions.

Never was a national convention—and a convention free from the dominating influences of an approaching electoral struggle—more urgently needed than here and now. The last two years have been eventful ones. It is universally recognized that the stream of events is moving faster than is our party organization—that we are not keeping up with growth of socialistic thought and feeling and with the intensification of the class struggle, and that we are very much at a loss to know just what we ought to do in any of the numerous particular situations which from time to time present themselves to us on a local or a national scale. Comrades are discussing with a good deal of acrimony what the socialist party ought to do in the event of a labor party arising; a national convention is needed, if for nothing else but to consider how to make the socialist party so completely fill the field and so efficiently do the needed work that there shall be no occasion for a separate labor party. Comrades are "pointing with pride" or "viewing with alarm" the conduct of the party in Wisconsin, in New York, in Oklahoma, in Washington. A national convention is needed to prevent these and other states from going to wild extremes in any direction by enabling each to teach and learn from the others.

Each of our national conventions in the past—that at Rochester in 1901, those at Indianapolis in 1906 and 1901, those in Chicago in 1904 and 1908—has been productive of much good to the party, has healed incipient schisms, bound the national organization of our party in closer harmony, increased the efficiency of its work, and roused new enthusiasm within our ranks and commanded increased attention from the outside.

For these reasons I am of the opinion that the holding of a national convention this year is much to be desired. At any rate, I would emphatically urge that every comrade vote upon the question, so that the decision of the convention of 1904 to adopt here what is an established institution of the socialist party in every other country may not be overturned by the opposition of one-tenth of our membership.

ALGERNON LEE.

New York, February 1910.

## Attack on Beef Trust

### Federation of Labor Takes the Present Time as a Great Chance to Organize the "Stock Yards"

War on the industrial tyranny that is making abject slaves out of the toilers in the stock yards is to be started immediately by the Chicago Federation of Labor and backed by the entire power of that organization, which has behind it the support of the American Federation of Labor. This was the sense of a set of resolutions passed by the Federation at its last meeting.

This means that two labor organizations, the American Federation and the Industrial Workers of the World, will strive to free the stock yards toiler from the domination of the beef "trust" and set at naught its imperial policy of labor degradation that has been in vogue since organized labor was driven from the 'yards' as a result of the crushing defeat of the workers in 1904.

#### Used As a Nucleus.

There are a few labor union locals affiliated with the A. F. of L., left in the "yards" that will be used as a nucleus about which to inaugurate labor's battle for better conditions in defiance of the present "trust" supremacy. The Industrial Workers of the World have held several mass meetings "back of the yards" recently that were well attended and proved a factor in the education of the workers. The resolutions adopted by the Chicago Federation of Labor are as follows:

"To the Chicago Federation of Labor: Whereas, public statements give Armour & Co. dividends last year amounting to 35 per cent; and

"Whereas Wages of workingmen in the stock yards during the past five and one-half years have gradually declined since the disruption of the butchers' organization in 1904; and

"Resolved, We believe this to be the opportune time to reorganize the 'yards' once more; therefore be it

"Resolved, That we, the only representatives of the late butcher workers' strike in the stock yards, appeal to the Chicago Federation of Labor to do something in helping to reorganize the stock yards; and be it further

"Resolved, That all trades which are interested in organizing the stock yards be asked to take part in the plan as outlined by the Chicago Federation of Labor some time ago, by contributing their share of the money needed; and be it further

"Resolved, That we appeal to all

affiliated unions to demand the market card of the butcher workmen when purchasing meats."

#### Resolutions Unanimously Adopted.

The resolutions were submitted by C. F. Smith, International Vice-President of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butchers Workmen of America, on behalf of the Cattle Butchers' Local No. 87, and the Casing Workers' Local No. 158. The resolutions were unanimously passed by the federation.

Nearly a year ago the first plans for organizing the toilers in the "yards" in a war on the "beef trust" were first thought out. The matter came up when Edwin R. Wright, President of the Illinois Federation of Labor, suggested to the officials of the Chicago Federation of Labor that an organizing campaign be started in this city. It was up to the Chicago federation to decide upon the place and the time to hold the meetings.

Jerry Kane, a member of the executive board of the federation from the Cigarmakers' Union, suggested that the work of organization be started in the "yards". This idea was heartily adopted. For various reasons, however, the real work of organizing the men was postponed, partly because of the action of the American Federation of Labor convention, which was followed shortly by the Illinois State Federation of Labor convention. The time, however, is now ripe for action, and it is planned to conduct an active campaign immediately.

Secretary Edward N. Nockels of the federation, will issue a call immediately for a meeting of all the unions interested, to be held soon. The struggle will then be on.

The 'beef trust' is recognized as the most formidable antagonist of organized labor in this country, not excepting the steel trust. The conditions at the present time in 'the yards' have been brought about by a preconceived plan of labor degradation that must have started nearly a score of years ago.

#### The Trust's Power.

The power that organized labor must combat is only recognized when the extent of the power of the "beef trust" is fully comprehended. This power is set forth to some extent by Charles Edward Russel in the opening of his book "The Greatest Trust in the World".

## BUSSE STOPS HAND ORGAN PERMIT

Fred. A. Busse, mayor of Chicago, and the property of the traction interests, has lined up with Mayor Reyburn of Philadelphia in the war on the striking street car men. Busse's act in aid of Reyburn and the traction crooks of Philadelphia is characteristic of Busse, as a plump and fairly intelligent office boy for J. P. Morgan. Mayor Busse has refused a permit to John Burns, member of Division No. 477, Amalgamated Association of Street and Railway Employees, of Philadelphia, to play a hand organ on the streets of Chicago to aid the strikers in the city where Mayor Reyburn and P. A. B. Widener, traction crook, live in Brotherly Love.

It was John Burns, who with three or four fellow members of his local union, played a hand organ before the

offices of J. P. Morgan and company and played on Wall street and Broadway under a permit from Mayor Gaynor of New York. John Burns took out of his pocket the engraved permit signed by Mayor Gaynor and then told the story of Mayor Busse's refusal to grant a permit in Chicago.

Suppose Burns had been a gambler. Suppose Burns had been a silk-hatted crook like P. A. B. Widener of Philadelphia.

But Busse runs with his own crowd in the city hall and at Murphy's on the north side, and so he knows to whom to be good.

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## WAGE INCREASE FOR SWITCHMEN

Chicago.—An increase of three cents an hour to switchmen and of five dollars a month to switchtenders and towermen of several railroads is granted in a decision of the federal arbitration board announced late Tuesday evening of this week.

The increase is retroactive, going into effect February 10, 1910, on the following railroads which became involved in a wage controversy with the Switchmen's Union of North America:

Chicago and Eastern Illinois, Chicago switching district; Chicago Great Western, entire system except Twin Cities district; Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific, entire system except Inver Grove, Minn.; Terminal Transfer railroad, entire system; Lake Shore and Michigan Southern, Michigan Central, west of Detroit river; Pere

Marquette, entire system; Wisconsin Central, Chicago switching district.

The advance is justified by the arbitration board on the ground of increased cost of living, approximating twenty-five per cent in the last four years. An increase in the pay of assistant yardmaster was denied.

The decision will affect more than 4,000 switchmen.

During the hearing before the arbitration board, Frank Nay, controller of the Rock Island railroad, testified that an increase of 6 cents an hour in the wages of the switchmen on that road would cost the company \$155,000 annually. He added that if other employees were to receive a similar increase it would cost the road \$1,700,000 annually above the present pay roll.

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## TECHNICAL TRAINING IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

Several of the socialist papers have recently given place to articles proclaiming against trade instruction in the public schools, employing the argument that education in an industrial direction would be perverting the schools to the use of the master class. We should like to ask what other class the schools serve now. The training given at present is to make clerical experts that can be used as assistants to lawyers, officers and the commercial class.

The technical training is provided alone in private schools so high priced that only the children of the well-to-do can have the advantage of them. The result is that all the higher class technical training in regard to modern complex machinery, high-class motive power, and new mechanical industries has passed into the possession of the upper classes. Foremen, superintendents, managers are all being drawn from the children of the upper class because the children of the working class have no opportunity of obtaining the requisite instruction. Managers of industries have the greatest difficulties in obtaining suitable material for their higher class technical work.

There is another phase to the existing situation. With the higher, skilled mechanics all drawn from the upper class, all those who have charge of labor coming from the comfortable classes alone, there is made an ever widening breach between the masses of labor and those who are over them; and in cases of grievances and strikes the more highly skilled and better educated employees have no sympathy with the mass of lower paid and more ignorant workers.

It is highly important that the nation provide skilled technical and industrial training to all the children born in it, so as to give the child of the working man the same opportunity which to-day belongs to the middle class alone, to take his place in an advanced position in the industries.

The public schools should pre-eminently minister to the needs of the working class in giving them the best equipment possible for the battle of life. And such rearrangement of the school system as is necessary to give this, is the business of the socialists as fast as they can gain possession of the public schools.

Moreover, such high class training given to the working class is going to give a superior order of mental skill that will enable the workers to become active in their class movements, and lead and conduct them intelligently to some intelligent purpose. The will do better work in the organizing and disciplining of their own class. Intelligent labor and socialist movements, with power to combat ruling classes successfully do not come from workers who are ignorant, helpless, and incompetent. More education, more light and more strength gives more power to advance to higher and more successful social planes.

It is urged that public technical instruction will throw such quantities of skilled workers on the market, unable to get work along the lines of their training, that a condition of most hopeless misery will ensue. Even if this were so, the skilled brain is able to grapple with its condition much better than the unskilled one. The better education the working class force

from the taxes of the property holders the better it is for them. No argument for keeping the working class in ignorance is a legitimate one.

Moreover, when skilled and trained workers face the problem that there is no work or chance of life for them they begin to build up their unions and the socialist movement.

It is frequently said that public technical education will come in conflict with the apprentice system as maintained by organized labor to-day. The unions have no alternative but to face this change with the best equanimity they can muster. The apprentice system is bound to disappear as at present constituted. Three-fourths of the time of apprentices now is put in doing work for the capitalists for nothing. Their training lacks accuracy, decision and expedition. The learning of trades is bound to be brought up to a standard required by the demands of modern industry.

And when the working class confronts a hopeless outnumbering of jobs by skilled workers, it will demand shorter hours—shorten the work day, six, four hours. It is nonsense to claim that a man does as much work in eight hours as in ten. Every skilled mechanic laughs at such a statement. He knows better. He knows that the machine paces the man, and even a tired man does the work that the machine calls for. An engineer on a locomotive, no matter how tired he is, does just as much work as a fresh man. He has to. Working men want shorter hours, not only for bodily welfare, but in order to supply work to greater numbers. They are not worrying about how much the capitalist gets out of them.

The public trade training school is in the interest of the worker.

## WHAT KIND OF FREEDOM?

The federal authorities are taking steps to suppress a book on "Chinese Immigration" by Prof. Mary Roberts Coolidge of Stanford University. The book has created a sensation by its exposure of the shameless duplicity of government officials in dealing with the Chinese question.

It is the same old thing—the United States' government methods in the Philippines Mexico, Hawaii, with the Chinese, are so villainous, unscrupulous and criminal that there is the most adamant determination that they shall never be exposed.

All of our claims to being a free republic are torn down. It is a wonder that intelligent people can be deceived much longer. We in no wise differ from any other tyrannical, oppressive government that wants to rule the country in the interest of a few oppressors.

Books are suppressed that expose the government scoundrelism, editors are jailed for doing the same thing; Free Speech is denied if it opposes the government and its methods, police surround, dominate and break up hall meetings where the talking is not to their liking. When the Chief Executive makes his progress, persons are arrested who dare to speak in disapproval of him.

What sort of "freedom" is this that the American citizen votes for?

The socialist knows it is all a farce and says so. And the socialist movement is avowedly organized to overthrow such a government. We want freedom to denounce a dishonest and hateful thing, and we mean to work for the possession of this full, personal freedom until it is the heritage of all mankind.

## HIGHER WAGES "INJURIOUS".

The "Square Deal", rgan of the Citizens' Alliance, devotes considerable space to showing what an injury to society it is to have wages increase fifty cents a day. The following shows the peculiar style of economics the "Square Deal" dishes up:

"It is a common-sense proposition, that this increase of fifty cents in the daily wage is added to the selling price of the commodity for the manufacture of which it is paid, and that every person buying or using it pays the advance wage in this indirect manner. To the extent to which this increased wage prevails, to the extent to which this increased cost is added to provis-

ions, clothing, rents, professional services—everything entering into the comfort and living of the people—this fifty cents additional wage is paid by the people. It is a bill of expense to every man, woman or child—they pay it—not the employer.

"If there is any exception to the rule it is the wage-earners, be they many or few, who had their wages advanced fifty cents more or less; but, is it not true, that the increase they receive is offset by the increased cost of what they must buy—the increase resulting from the fact that their fellow workers in all crafts, trades and business have received an increase in their wages?"

This ought to convince the union man of how it is useless to expect to improve his condition by getting more wages. Luckily the working man is getting over being bulldozed by that kind of dope. He not only wants more wages, a greater share of the product, but he is reading socialism, and wants it all. Socialism is the final program of unionism. No wonder the employers bitterly hate it all.

## "UNFAIR" REFORM.

It may be interesting to some of the admirers of Elbert Hubbard, who think he is far advanced on the lines of radical reform to know that the "Philistine", the "Fra" and other of his publications have been placed on the unfair list by the American Federation of Labor; the reason being that they advertise the goods made by the Postum company, the business of the notorious C. W. Post, the editor of the "Square Deal", the organ of the Citizens' Alliance, published openly for the crushing out of unionism.

## SOCIALISM AND WOMEN.

By Ida Crouch-Hazlett.

During any sort of an electoral campaign, when the air is subcharged with political mysteries, endless talk and large promises; from all the stir and planning and manifold activities one half of the adult population of the nation is shut out.

These are persons who are in no wise disabled mentally, who perform oftentimes the same work, who are educated in the same way, and who are as much in need of the hoped-for benefits of the political outcome as those who participate in the stir attendant upon the organization of government.

## Women Are Aliens.

These aliens are women. The custom of times immemorial bar them from equal personal participation in the conditions of society and government that surround them. They have never been taught that there is any practical side to politics so far as they are concerned, or that the subject has anything to do with their own personal welfare. Neither of the great parties, the republican or the democratic, pay any attention to them; they are not factors in the national campaign.

## Factors in One Party.

But there is one party whose ticket occupies a place upon the official ballot that has something to say to women.

The Socialist Party considers its appeal to women as vital as to men.

The Socialist Party considers that women are as much affected by surrounding conditions as men.

The Socialist Party considers that women are as much interested in social conditions as men that they are as capable as men, and not only that, it is their privilege to assist in the adjustment of public affairs, but that their aid is absolutely indispensable

to the proper adjustment of such affairs.

## Factor in Formation.

Moreover, women are already a working factor in the Socialist Party. They have always been such since the party was formed, both here and all over the world. The Socialist Party is an International Party. It is the largest political organization that the world has ever seen. It has come into being from the evils in the industrial system, which are everywhere the same, and which bear equally upon both men and women—perhaps worse on women.

The Socialist movement recognizes that all institutions, customs and social conditions are the result of the methods of industry. It conceives that to change people and their lot we must change conditions; and to change conditions we must use every weapon that the human power can wield.

Politics is one of these weapons, and the help of women contributes to the same end as that of men—the emancipation of the human race from the slavery of laboring for the profit of others, with no assurance of protection for themselves.

## Side by Side in Human Struggle.

So women come into this great movement of struggle with the same ends to attain as their brothers. The economic, the material problem was to be settled, the political weapon was one powerful weapon that was to be grasped, and in the socialist cause there was never any question as to the fitness of woman's work provided she could render any service.

So women have belonged to the political organization of Socialism, they do the routine and propaganda work, they finance the party, and as far as the laws of government allow them they vote and hold office under the party. They are delegates to all conventions.

Thus in the Socialist Party women have assisted in making its platforms, choosing its candidates, issuing its manifestoes. There is no driving sentiment as to sex—it is simply a matter of the efficiency and need of the work.

## Machinists.

In Cleveland, Ohio, the machinists' union has placed the city government on the unfair list. Before the election, those candidates who were finally elected loudly proclaimed their friendliness for organized labor, but on taking the office, immediately began their administration by giving a few jobs to union men, who they thought might handle the union, and then giving out all the rest to poorly-paid non-union workmen. The machinists resented this with a strike against the city government.

Organized labor in Denver demands the public ownership of the water system and it being fought by the water octopus.

Raising wages will never solve the Labor Question.

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Remember, the "Mills of Mammon" for 10 subs. Try this deal and see if you don't say you are well paid for your work. Send the champion of the working class leaping skyward, and get a book free that you can give to benighted workers and teach them the horrors produced by the system they are voting for, and the remedy.

Order your Job Work NOW.

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FRED C. KUHN, Prop.

Poet's Corner

Advice to the Greedy Grasper

Stop this mad rush, ye thoughtless man!

Pause awhile and think! Will you not heed—do you not scan,

The near approaching brink Of time allowed you on earth,

Which you, in your haste, so misuse,

That you have almost since your birth, Done little else except abuse!

Ye mortal man through cycles of time That God developed from plane to plane,

The nearest approach to the Sublime, Should hearken to his rightful claim,

To you alone are gifts supplied— The greatest work by nature wrought,

And to all else on earth denied, The power to enfold the Soul of Thought

Heed you then his just appeal, Can you not see the world's great need?

It is ample time you should reveal Other traits than those of Greed,

You have gifts of great resource, And talents whereby you can plan,

It is wrong to concentrate this force To hurl against your brother man.

Look ye everywhere the world around, At misery, anguish, distress and pain,

For which no reason can be found, Except your sordid greed for gain.

Now mark ye well what yet ye do, And change your misery strewn course,

Improve the time that is left to you, And save your soul untold remorse.

J. HENSLEY STARR.

Mr. Dooley on Capital and Labor.

"It was different when I was a young man, Hinnissy. In them days capital an' labor was frindly, or labor was,

Capital was like a father to labor, givin' in' his board an' lodgin's. Nayther interferred with th' other. Capital went on capitalizin' an' labor went on laborin'.

In them golden days a wurrukin' man was an honest artisan. That's what he was proud to be called.

Th' week before illiction he had his pitcher in th' funny papers. He wore a square paper cap an' a leather apron, an' he had his ar-rm ar-round capital—a rosy binivolent ol' guy with a plug hat and eyeglasses.

They were goin' to the polls together to vote for simple ol' capital. Capital an' labor walked ar-rm in ar-rm instead of havin' both hands free as at present.

Capital was contint to be capital, an' labor was used to being labor. Capital comes ar-round an' felt the ar-rm iv labor onct in awhile an' ivry year Mrs. Capital called on Mrs. Labor an' congratulated her on her score.

Th' pride iv ivry artisan was to wurruk as long at his task as th' boss cud afford to pay the gas bill. In return fr his fidelity he got a turkey ivry year.

At Chris'mas time, capital gathered his happy family 'round him, an' in the prinsence of the ladies in th' neighborhood give thim a short oration. 'Me brave lads', says he, 'we've had a good year.' (Cheers). I have made a millyon dollars. (Sensation.)

I attribute this to me supercyour skill, aided by ye'er arnest efforts at th' bench an' at th' forge. (Sobs.) Ye have done so well that we don't need so many iv us as we did. (Loud and continyous cheerin'.

Those iv us who can do two men's wurruk will remain, an' if possible, do four. Our other faithful sarvints, 'can come back in th' spring', he says, 'if alive', he says.

And the bold artysans tossed their pa-aper caps in th' air an' give three cheers for capital. They wurrukked th' l' age crept on thim an' thim retired to live on the wish bones and kind wurruks they had accumulated."

If you are a true socialist you will know that it is your duty to help strengthen a working class press. You can get two subs to-day if you try.

Send your Job Work to the News.

WEEKLY LESSON FOR SOCIALIST LOCALS AND MEMBERS.

Authorized by the National Executive Committee—Prepared by Rand School.

STUDY COURSE OF SOCIALISM

Classes and the Class Struggle.

Origin of Modern Classes. Modern class division date from the later eighteenth century. This period was marked by a series of great mechanical inventions—the steam engine, invented in 1769; spinning machinery, 1769 to 1779; the power loom, 1785; the cotton gin, 1793; the blast furnace, 1788, and many others. These substituted vast and complex power driven machinery for simple and inexpensive hand tools; substituted the factory for the small shop or home work; substituted social production for individual production in the field of manufacture. Transportation and commerce were similarly revolutionized a little later by the railway and steamship. The transformation of agriculture has gone on more slowly and is even now far from complete.

The economic and social effects of these changes have already been generally indicated, especially in Lesson I, IV, V, and VI.

This economic revolution took place first in England. Before the middle of the nineteenth century the capitalist class had become completely dominant there, the manufacturing interests taking the leading part, with the commercial and financial elements in close alliance and the land holders generally in opposition. The proletariat or wage working class correspondingly increased in numbers, the industrial portion of it becoming more important than the agricultural. The new methods spread more slowly to the Continent. Through the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars of 1789 and 1815 and the revolutionary movements of 1830, 1848, 1859 and 1870 the capitalist class became dominant in all countries west of Russia and Turkey, and an industrial proletariat developed along with it.

Rise of Capitalism in the United States.—When the United States became independent in 1776, the great mass of the people were independent farmers. There was no class of permanent wage workers; it was easy to save money enough out of a few years' wages to buy land. More numerous were the shop keepers and self-employed artisans. The chief property classes were the owners of land and slaves in the South and the merchants and ship owners in the North.

The development of capitalism here was long retarded by two classes: (1) The prevalence of slavery in the South involving general conservatism and checking the rise of manufacture, which requires skilled, energetic, and mobile labor; (2) the existence of abundant free land in the west, which drained off the surplus population, kept wages at a high level, and gave the predominant interest to agriculture. After 1865 the abolition of slavery, the increase of immigration, the settling of the West, together with a high tariff, land grants, and large government loans and appropriations, stimulated the growth of machine industry, so that within forty years the United States caught up with England in this line of evolution.

Present Classes in the United States.—It is inaccurate to say that society is divided into just two classes. In the United States to-day we must distinguish at least five main classes, as follows:

1. Great Capitalists.—As such we distinguish those whose capital is of such a character and magnitude that it grows by the accretion of unconsumed surplus-value at a rate at least equal to the increase of the whole capital of the country. This class does not number one per cent of the whole population, but its economic power is very great and is increasing.

2. Small Capitalists.—Under this head we include owners of small shops and factories small merchants, dealers, investors, and speculators, who have to struggle for their economic existence against the general tendency

to concentration. This class numbers several millions. Its economic and political power is comparatively small, as the class is heterogeneous and disunited. It occasionally shows much vigor in opposing great capitalism, but only in a negative and spasmodic way. It has no definite constructive tendencies and in general follows the lead of the great capitalists rather than join hands with the wage workers against them.

3. Working Farmers.—Like capitalists, these own productive property, but they are not capitalists; like wage workers, they do productive labor, but they are not wage workers. They constitute about one-third of the whole population, but their proportionate number is decreasing. Their economic and political power is small, because of the individualistic nature of their property and pursuits and their personal personal isolation. Like the small capitalists, they generally follow the political lead of the great capitalists, only occasionally showing much vigor in negative and spasmodic opposition. Its hostility to the wage workers, however, is less than that of the small capitalists.

4. Wage Workers.—This is the most numerous class, and the most rapidly increasing. It already constitutes at least half of the total population. Possessing no productive property, it can exercise economic power only by the organized negative action of its members as producers and as purchasers—the strike and the boycott. Its political power is potentially very great, as it is not only the most numerous class, but also more mobile and organized than any other except the great capitalists. Only in recent years is it beginning to realize this power. Its interests conflict fundamentally with those of the capitalists and at some points with those of the farmers.

5. Professional Person.—We use this term to include all who live by selling their services, but are not regularly in the employ of particular persons. They number several millions. Their class interests are indefinite and they have little economic or political power as a class, though many of them exercise great influence in public affairs, and show all grades of sympathy with one or the other of the preceding classes. This class is probably increasing in proportionate numbers, but not in solidarity.

We might distinguish still other classes, such as personal and domestic servants, who work for wages, but yet play a social role very different from that of other wage workers; high-salaried employees, who share many characteristics of the wage workers, yet are practically distinct from them; self-employed artisans, a scattered and declining class; professional politicians, a class peculiar to American life, generally tools and parasites of the capitalists; and the heterogeneous mass of derelicts—tramps, beggars, loafers, strike breakers, adventurers, gamblers, prostitutes, criminals, etc.—who have no definite economic or social interest, but are often used to serve the interests of other classes.

Secondary Distinctions.—The capitalists may be subdivided as industrial, commercial, landholding, and financial. Landholders pure and simple are not now of much importance in this country. The industrial group long played the leading role; but, as indicated in Lesson VI, the various groups are now reintegrating and in this process the character of great financiers is becoming dominant. On this point see Kautsky's "The Social Revolution," pp. 56 to 60.

We may distinguish farmers owning their land free, those under mortgage and tenant farmers. The proportion of tenants and of farmers owing mortgages is steadily increasing and the proportion of those owning their land free declining.

It is not worth while to subdivide wage workers as skilled and unskilled well paid and ill paid, or organized and unorganized, as this would not mark distinct economic interests or social tendencies. But it is necessary to distinguish agricultural laborers from other wage workers, since their isolated employment and personal contract with their employers gives them

a distinct social character. It is the wage workers in manufacture, mining, and transportation, numbering (with their families) over thirty millions, or one-third of the population, who constitute the important portion of the active proletariat.

References.

Continue with "The Communist Manifesto" or "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific," or both.

Students who wish later to cover the ground more thoroughly than is possible in this course should make a note of the following books to be read in the order named. H de B Gibbins, "Industrial History of England," John A Hobson's "Evolution of Modern Capitalism," Katharine Coman's "Industrial History of the United States," and A. M. Simons' "Class Struggle in American History" and "The American Farmer."

Move to Solidify All Organized Labor.

Washington, D. C.—That the big railroad brotherhoods with their large memberships will soon abandon their policy of isolation and in one grand body join the millions marching under the banner of the American Federation of Labor is the opinion of practically all of the representatives of the brotherhoods of railroads now in Washington.

These men have rubbed shoulders with the representatives of the A. F. of L. during the present session of congress, and their common experience in battling for labor legislation has taught them that a united front is their only weapon against the powerful lobby of railroad corporations.

Attitude Changes.

Arguments that the railroad brotherhoods have nothing to gain by affiliating with the A. F. of L. are not advanced any more. The conservative policy that won concessions for the engineers, conductors and firemen in the past does not bring the same results to-day when the railroads have come to an agreement with the federal government and are preparing to fight the demands of labor to a finish.

Arrogantly conscious of the promise given by Aldrich, Cannon and Taft that "hands off" will be the order given to all congressmen proposing railroad legislation, superintendents of the big systems are now preparing to meet with a flat refusal the requests for bettering of conditions.

Clash Will Recur.

The clash of fifteen years ago is about to repeat itself. None know this better than the trainmen, who are consequently drawing closer together, as is shown by the co-operation of their legislative committees in Washington. In one congressional committee after another, as bills affecting their different interests are threshed out with increasing bitterness, the tireless railroad lobby and the trainmen's representatives struggle for advantage before arbiters numerically on the side of the railroads.

What the brotherhoods fear above all is a ruling from the interstate commerce commission to the effect that all strikes are in restraint of trade in their very nature criminal conspiracies. When this decision comes the day of amalgamation between the American Federation of Labor and the railroad brotherhoods will have also arrived.

And that day is not far distant.

For One Great Carpenters' Union.

In a short time there will be but one great carpenters' union in the United States. There has been, until the past year, three—the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters, an English organization; the Amalgamated Woodworkers, and the U. B. At the convention plans were formulated by which the woodworkers are now a part of the brotherhood, and now the Amalgamated Society will soon become a part of that great organization.

If you believe in unionism you should join the union and help to advance the interests of the workers on the economic field.

The Mills of Mammon

Red Light District of Chicago Exposed

Greatest American Novel from a Socialist Pen

THRILLING AND REALISTIC By James H. Brower, Popular Chicago Orator.

Takes the Lid off Politic! Graft, White Slave Traffic, Crimes of Rich Men's Sons, Stealing Inventions, and the Horrors that Capitalistic Production inflicts upon the Workers.

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Published at Girard, Kansas. ONE DOLLAR A YEAR

**LOCAL DEPARTMENT**

**To Our Supporters!**

When the Socialist Party ceased publishing the Montana News, there were a considerable number of bills left unpaid which have never been met by the State Committee of the Socialist Party of Montana.

In order to continue publishing the News and maintain its business standing, the present publishers, Graham and Hazlett, had to guarantee the payments of some of the debts of the Socialist Party. As we were financially unable to pay them all off, notes were given to guarantee payment of certain debts, and these notes backed by our personal securities.

Two of the notes, amounting to \$250.00 each and one of \$100.00 fall due on April 17th with interest at ten per cent per annum.

To meet these notes and make the necessary improvements on the paper as well as continuing the publication of the News will be a strain greater than we can bear at this time. We need support. We need help and ask all supporters and sympathizers of the News, who can afford and are willing to do it, to loan us small sums of \$5.00 and upwards. Even if we cannot meet these notes in full and have to renew them, we desire to reduce the principal as much as possible, thereby lowering the amount we are paying in interest. At the present time we are paying \$150.00 a year interest on money borrowed to start the News up again, exclusive of the interest on the unpaid amount due on the linotype. \$150.00 is equivalent to three hundred subs.

Will you help us to maintain and establish a working class paper in Montana? Read over the Debt of Honor on this page and see if you can add your name and your mite to the list.

**Debt of Honor**

There still remains a debt of \$700 contracted by the Socialist Party of Montana while it owned and was publishing the Montana News. The State Committee has done nothing to liquidate this debt, and the creditors are looking to those who are at present running the News for their money.

To pay the debt is an exceedingly heavy task and is handicapping and worrying us considerably. \$500 must be paid as soon as possible, and we are asking individual socialists and locals to loan the Montana News any sum that they may feel disposed and able to advance.

The response has been as follows:  
Local Lima .....\$20.00  
J. E. Bush ..... 5.00  
Edwin Dew ..... 5.00  
Wm. Dew ..... 5.00  
C. Anderson ..... 1.00  
C. Felck ..... 1.00

Total .....\$ 37.00  
Friend, Deer Lodge, loan...\$ 25.00  
Socialist, Minot, N. D. donation\$ 1.00

Total .....\$ 63.00

Balance to be raised ....\$437.00

Local San Francisco orders 100 copies weekly for one year.

A bunch of subs in from Three Forks, Montana, the result of one day's visit from Jim Graham.

Our circulation in Utah is increasing rapidly, we have a few boosters down in that state.

The circulation of the News increased during the past week 200 in Montana alone; this is over and above expiring subs.

While in the coal camp of Round-up James D. Graham helped to organize a Local of the Socialist Party. Graham writes that he expects to organize two more locals in the coal camps of Eastern Montana.

During the past week orders for bundles of the Montana News weekly for one year have been received from the following unions:

- Anaconda Brewery Workers 30 copies
- Butte Workmen's Union 50 copies
- United Mine Workers, Roundup, Mont. .... 50 copies
- Federal Labor Union, Roundup, Mont. .... 25 copies
- Trades & Labor Assembly, Roundup, Mont. .... 10 copies
- United Mine Workers, West Roundup, Mont. .... 50 copies

We want our circulation increased by 2,000 new subscribers before June 15th. Will you help us? There are a few bad debts hanging over the News that we want to pay off and avoid paying interest. We need the assistance and co-operation of all our friends. Let us have it.

Send to the Montana News for a copy of the "History of Great American Fortunes," price \$1.50.

**A Few Toots.**

Antill of Deer Lodge writes "The last issue of the News was a dandy."

Alex Fairgrievs says, "That the articles on Convict Labor are great and will undoubtedly have a great effect on the fall campaign and the next legislature."

A Ravalli County socialist: "The News is getting better all the time under the editorship of Comrade Hazlett. The socialists here would like to have Mrs. Hazlett for a few lectures; believe she would do much good."

Here is what a Phillipsburg reader sends in. "The News is a benefactor to the people of Montana in showing up the graft in high places among the state officials. Keep on with the Convict articles until the people know all about it."

Anderson of Williston, N. D., is sending in a couple of subs and writes "Comrade Hazlett's pen is improving. Long may she live to be editor of the News."

A Socialist of Northern Montana writes: "Enclosed find \$1.00 for two subs that I secured. The News is improving all the time. Mrs. Hazlett's editorials are as clear as crystal."

A machinist who does not want his name mentioned sends in \$10.00 to help distribute sample copies of the News containing the write-up on Convict Labor and writes: "Hazlett's writings and Graham's stubbornness will keep the News alive. In the fifteen years that I have known him, he has never quit a fight until it was finished and I have told the boys that he will stay by the News as long as there is work to be done for his class."

A Utah comrade writes: "Dear Comrades: Enclosed find money order for 65c, please send socialist envelopes for the same. You are keeping up a good fight. God speed you on. The people down this way would like to have Mrs. Ida Crouch-Hazlett down here again. Is there any hope of her coming?"

Join the union! Organize, agitate, educate, work for industrial solidarity. Have your union affiliate with the local and state central bodies.

Read the "Mills of Mammon", James Brower's great expose of the white slave traffic. A book given with every ten subscribers to the Montana News.

Send in your job work NOW.

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**Change in Public Opinion.**

The "Milwaukee Journal" a few years ago was one of the bitterest enemies of the Socialists. The change in public opinion in Milwaukee during the last few years is well shown by an editorial which appeared in this paper recently. The "Journal", commenting on the Social-Democratic platform, said: "The average man can conceive of no conditions in which we would be worse off than we are under the tyranny of the Special Interests which has reached out into not only our political life, but our business and social affairs as well. This last year Milwaukee has seen a public utility corporation defy its legislature, while our administrative officers looked on with complacency, or took an active part against the public welfare. It is such evidence that makes the coming of the recall and the rest of the socialist methods of cure as certain as that the years roll on. At the same time, common fairness demands the admission that Milwaukee has taken liking to much that its public officials, who call themselves socialists, have done, when they compare their conduct with their fellows who are elected under the old party names."

The women of South Dakota are busy preparing for the spring and summer campaign for the franchise. Their legislatures have submitted the question of woman suffrage to be voted upon in the fall, and the women have before them the task of educating the masses to their standpoint.

**Keir Hardy on the Labor Party.**

Keir Hardy has written a remarkable pronouncement on the march of working-class power in the British government. He calls this his "Confession of Faith".

Keir Hardy is the leading statesman of the world today for the socialist cause. A poor coal miner who could not read or write till after he was twenty-one; he turned his attention to better the condition of his class. He found the socialist movement in a theoretical, idealistic stage as expressed in the Social Democratic Federation, led by H. M. Hyndman, that excellent English scholar and philosopher, the Fabian Society, composed of an exclusive body of intellectual theorists, and the Socialist League with William Morris as its guide and inspiration, that developed such an impossibilist attitude that even he finally resigned.

Speaking of the Social Democratic Federation, Hardie says, "Those of us who are trades unionists as well as socialists found that its methods of propaganda were more likely to enlist working class support. Its propaganda was an ill-assorted blend of political action and physical force revolution, and its leading speakers appeared to be at special pains to pour ridicule and contempt on such working class movements as co-operation and trade unionism, whilst temperance societies were their special horror."

Hardie says that he and others felt that that sort of a thing was not going to win the support of the working class movement upon which socialism must rely for its success.

It was to meet this set of circumstances that the Independent Labor Party was formed by active socialists who believed in conducting their propaganda in such a way as to win over the trades unionists rather than alienate them.

Hardie says, "The declared objects of the party (Independent Labor Party), were first to detach the working class from their allegiance to the Liberal and Conservative parties and organize them into a party of their own on a basis of rigid political independence; second, to propagate the principles of socialism, and secure the return of socialists to parliament and the various local administrative bodies. These objects still remain as the guiding principles of the party."

Hardie entered the House of Commons in 1892 elected as a socialist. The Independent Labor Party was charged with creating a "third" party for which there was no room or need, by so-called "labor" members of par-

liament elected on the Liberal ticket, the same as members of our misguided working class allow themselves to be elected on the Republican or Democratic tickets.

Hardie replied that they were really trying to create a second party not a third, since the Liberals and the Tories were in essence and fact but two divisions of one party. The persistent policy of the Independent Labor Party changed these ideas among British working men; and the existence of a Labor party is now accepted as a part of the political system as much as the Liberal and Tory parties.

Hardie says, "That of itself is a gain of no mean order. To have taken working class organizations representing 1,500,000 of the pick of the workers, and weaned them away from the parties of their masters, and organized them in a party financed and controlled by themselves is a fact which in itself is in the nature of a revolution."

Hardie never loses allegiance for a movement or forgets that it is the great body of British workers that have done all this. He says:

"Not a single member of the House of Commons ever had any educational advantage beyond what the parish school could give, and some of them not even that. They have been drawn from the mine the mill, the furnace, the gas works, the workshop bench, the railway siding, and from behind the counter; yet despite their educational disadvantages and their lack of social standing, friend and foe alike admit that they have shown more than average capacity in the parliamentary arena. This fact alone has destroyed forever the theory of a ruling class. The Labor Party has shown conclusively that the common people can rule themselves."

Hardie's analysis of the working of the Independent Labor Party, which is the British Socialist Party, is very interesting. He says, that from the very first day of its inception it rigorously barred out all merely political questions from its program. He means by this, all abstract questions of political freedom, such as our free speech fights, church and state controversies, tariff squabbles, and abstract governmental policies. Prior to this the mind of the working class was entirely occupied with barren topics like our tariff, and one of the biggest tasks that Hardie and his colleagues set themselves to was to inculcate the fact that no mere political reform could in any way affect the industrial and economic position of the worker. As a result of these efforts, in spite of the despairing attempts of the politicians, political twaddle falls into the background, and the condition of the people comes more and more to the front.

The single exception to this policy men. "Our work will be handicapped and our movement lop-sided until women take their places with men as comrades and political equals".

A slight review of the relative positions of the British Labor Party and the Independent Labor Party may be necessary to make the situation clear to American readers. The Independent Labor Party is a pure socialist party, nominating and supporting on its own socialist candidates. The Labor Party is a political alliance of various labor organizations for the sake of independent political action on the part of the working class. The Independent Labor Party is one part of this great alliance which comprises practically the entire organized labor movement of Great Britain. Keir Hardie and his colleagues formed the Independent Labor Party; then, since they could not make all the workers socialists at once, they formed the Labor Party, into which alliance the Independent Labor Party came. Mr. Hardie thinks the Social Democratic Federation, and all socialist bodies should also come into this alliance, for the sake of counsel as to where to run candidates, and for being able to finance their campaigns out of a large united treasury, thereby strengthening the chance of success against the capitalist representatives.

It is alleged by certain disgruntled persons that the Independent Labor Party has lost its distinctive socialist features through having joined with the trades unions. Hardie emphatically denies this. He speaks of the tremendous increase in membership in the party, and there is not an individual a whit less socialist than he was before. Neither has the character of the work or the propaganda been modified. He says that the chief objections to the labor alliance came from those just a degree removed from the artisan, who scorn membership in a trade union, and who want a chance to air their abilities through the socialist party.

So much is the confidence that labor has in the endorsement of its own class that no socialist could win a seat in parliament under other than Labor Party auspices. The work of the Labor Party in the House of Commons has won the confidence of the mass of working class voters, and socialists or non-socialist they are going to support the Labor Party candidate. A socialist standing under Labor Party auspices gets a sympathetic reception for both himself and his doctrines because he comes to the average man as the representative of the party for which he is paying and over which he exercises control.

**Books for Study Course**

(Recommended by the National Executive Committee.)

**THEORY—**

Socialism in Theory and Practice.—Hilquit ..... \$1.50  
Social Revolution.—Kautsky ..... .50  
Economic Foundations of Society.—Loria ..... 1.25

**THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALISM—**

Socialism, Utopian and Scientific.—Engels ..... .50

**ECONOMICS—**

The People's Marx.—Deville ..... 1.00  
Socialism.—Spargo ..... 1.50

**SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF SOCIALISM—**

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ally denies this. He speaks of the tremendous increase in membership in the party, and there is not an individual a whit less socialist than he was before. Neither has the character of the work or the propaganda been modified. He says that the chief objections to the labor alliance came from those just a degree removed from the artisan, who scorn membership in a trade union, and who want a chance to air their abilities through the socialist party.

So much is the confidence that labor has in the endorsement of its own class that no socialist could win a seat in parliament under other than Labor Party auspices. The work of the Labor Party in the House of Commons has won the confidence of the mass of working class voters, and socialists or non-socialist they are going to support the Labor Party candidate. A socialist standing under Labor Party auspices gets a sympathetic reception for both himself and his doctrines because he comes to the average man as the representative of the party for which he is paying and over which he exercises control.

To quote Hardie again: "From every point of view therefore, from that of expediency in getting members elected, from that of hastening the advent of socialism by spreading its doctrines far and wide, from that of giving the working class a sense of confidence in itself and a degree of self-respect making it ashamed to lean upon others, the alliance more than justifies itself.

Hardie moves on from these assertions to a still more daring claim for the British Labor Party. He says flat-footed that it is the only expression of orthodox Marxian socialism in Great Britain and that those who

dispute this have had neither the time nor opportunity for reading and understanding the evolution of socialist policy as laid down by Marx, Engels, Liebknecht, and the other classical founders of modern scientific socialism. They have been led away by the veriest clap-net of phrases. The Labor Party practices the Marxian policy of the class struggle. The old International Workingmen's Association was not a socialist organization; it was an association for uniting the working classes; and Hardie quotes from one of Marx's letters, "The International was founded to establish a real organization of the working class in place of socialist and half-socialist sects."

Hardie, the foremost socialist statesman in the world to-day, called the "grand old man" of the British socialist party, whose politics are making the ruling statesmen of Europe change their plans, says in conclusion to this statement of the purpose of his life: "There is too much of my life builded into the party for me to treat it lightly, or its continued progress as a thing of no consequence. I shall end my political career as I began it, by raising the old slogan—Workers of the world unite."

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