

CITY GOVERNMENT UNDER CAPITALISM

Councilmen Opposing Insurgent Republican Mayor Edwards of Helena—Call of Grand Jury Investigation—Mayor Joins in Demand for Examination

Free Speech War Rages at Spokane

Industrial Workers of the World Stand by Guns—Arrested Women Insulted by Police

The Industrial Workers of the World are making a little stir in this western section of the country in its valiant maintenance of the right of free speech.

Now this attitude is not particularly soothing to officials of a class government, even though the insurgents are backed by a constitutional guarantee.

Dirty Chicanery.

The Spokane authorities have played a dirty trick with the I. W. W. A year ago the Industrial entered upon a desperate fight for free speech.

The "Industrial Workers", the Spokane organ of the I. W. W., issued the call for this gathering of the clans.

City Violates Constitution.

The city officials prepared to handle these American citizens contesting for their guaranteed rights.

work, and to prepare means to incarcerate at least 500. Orders were also issued to give them two baths a day.

The mayor has requisitioned the United States government for eight companies of colored troops from Fort Wright if the rulers of the people shall deem it necessary.

A city ordinance was passed prohibiting all but religious organizations from speaking on the streets.

150 Speakers were arrested the first day. The charge was for speaking on the street without permission of the authorities.

Justice Orders Ordinance Made to Order.

Justice Mann who is holding up the judicial end of the government persecution detected the flaw in the first ordinance, as class legislation, and dismissed the prisoners under it.

The second day 133 were arrested,

and 23 sentenced to 30-day terms in jail.

Attorney Moore for the I. W. W. gave notice of appeal to the superior court.

Footo, the editor of the Industrial paper published at Portland, was arrested as soon as he reached town.

A bulletin posted at headquarters of the Industrial Workers of the World was as follows:

"Fellow workers, tomorrow this fight will be carried on with greater determination than ever.

Immediately below was posted another, which read:

"Every man who is appointed captain to select five or more men and proceed to hold meetings.

"Every captain and squad go to the places designated and speak until all are arrested.

"Remember, the authorities claim to have broken the backbone of the organization. Show them that they are just as ignorant as bulls' usually are.

The socialist of Spokane have actively taken up the I. W. W. fight.

Holding Out Well.

The Free Speech fight being waged at Spokane has assumed proportions that are startling the authorities.

Over 200 human beings jailed for in-

offensive talking on the street which every street fakir, religious freak and politicians of all shades and degrees have done for years.

Free Speech was to be the heritage of the American commonwealth.

The I. W. W. people are holding out well. They refuse to work like criminals, which they are not.

The socialists all over the country have taken up the fight. This is well. It may not solve the problem of oppression, but it shows by demonstration how little real liberty the people have, and no part or parcel in the laws of our boasted democracy.

Bestial Last of Officials.

The greatest sensation in connection with the fight has been the brutal insults offered to the women arrested by the police.

The entire edition was confiscated by the police. America is no better than Russia when officialdom is attacked.

Funds for support should be sent to Fred Heslewood, National Organizer I. W. W., Ceour d'Alene City, Ida.

CHERRY CREEK DISASTER

Terrible Holocaust of Human Life. Brutal Indifference on Part of Company

The Cherry Creek mine disaster has filled the world with horror. That is, that part of the world whose heart is not seared to callousness by the great crime of capitalism and all the subsidiary crimes in its train against humanity.

"Capitalism is profit mad; it is rushing to its doom like a heavy train on a steep grade that has broken loose and is running wild".

Men were left to perish with the mine on fire, while coal was hoisted and profits were saved.

Little children, working animals, were killed in the mine. There were no safety shafts. All against the law. But the henchmen of the mine owners both make and administer the law.

The brutality of the mine owners in the face of the terrible tragedy was almost unbelievable. They cared nothing about recovering the bodies of

the men; they cared nothing for widows and children crazed with grief whose sole support was taken from them and murdered for the company's profits.

The unions have taken up the proposition of providing a fund for the widows and orphans.

Is it any wonder that the socialists look for some other way of carrying on the industries that will not enslave, ruin, brutalize, and crush out the lives of human beings?

Insurgent Mayor Fights Graft

Clears the Red Light District from Main Street—Threatens Exposure of Methods of Capital

The city fight now progressing in Helena between the forces of the Amalgamated Copper Company and the Insurgent Republicans, "Reformers", is assuming interesting proportions;

The most potent, grave and reverend seigniors, most potently and gravely, if not reverently demanded a grand jury investigation of the wild and wierd ways of municipal manipulation under the effective and startling tactics of his Insurgent Honor.

The mayor not only coincided with their suggestions with alacrity, but bettered the teaching, emphasized that grand juries were, of all modern institutions, what he most adored and doted, and so devoted was he to the slightest odor of investigation, that he wished not only a grand jury investigation, but an investigation into city affairs by a committee of citizens.

He went still further on the publicity line, and suggested that the meetings of the council be held in the auditorium, a building owned by the city, and be open to the public.

Consternation in the ranks of the corporation flunkies. What! come out into the light, and let all the people in on the secret of how corporations run government—or want to? Ye gods and little fishes! Why these Insurgents must really believe in democracy.

GENERAL STRIKE TO BE CALLED

The note of the general strike has been sounded in America. The indignities shown by the courts to the American Federation officials while they were in convention in Toronto have aroused the militant spirit of American unionism.

galleries, watching their moves of profit-grabbing legislation, and are impressed with the fact that it behooves them to be cautious.

But for all the grand jury bluff made by the councilmen that serve the "Interests", Judge Clements did not think the situation called for \$20,000 of good taxpayer's money, and he did think that public criticism was good for law makers as well as law breakers.

Edwards has appointed his committee of citizens to make an investigation of the acts of the council in the interest of good citizenship. He openly questioned the legal right of a number of the aldermen to sit in the council.

In the meanwhile the city government has proceeded with its plan of running the traffic in vice that has placed its repulsive stench on one of the main city thoroughfares, from the days of the roystering, gold-seeking revels, off South Park Avenue, and opening up the district for trade, commerce and ordinary public activities.

Since the mayor was enjoined through the Helena Light & Railway Company from proceeding with the acquisition of a city lighting plant, it is said that he will probe most minutely into the real methods under which the business of the state of Montana is being conducted at the capital, and may retaliate with measures that will be both a revelation and a surprise to the trusting taxpayers of Montana, that have been so contented to let the Standard Oil run their business during all these years since the historic Heinze fight.

courts are the despots of the American republic. Through them all law, constitution and will of the people are set aside. The working class must make them demortale.

The strike must be used systematically and effectively. Teach the oppressors that those who make their bread for them are determined to be the true masters.

Every labor organization should begin to agitate for the general strike in case the A. F. of L. leaders go to jail.

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A WOMAN LABOR AGITATOR.

The tour of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn through the west, and the strenuous work she has been performing in general, the Free Speech fights has introduced to this section of country a earnest and energetic young woman.

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn is a married woman of New York, whose agitation in the labor movement has excited much attention in the capitalist press, and a certain amount in the labor and socialist press; although the attention given her by the latter has been by no means commensurate with the ability of her work, and the impression it has made upon those who have heard and seen her. But Elizabeth Gurley Flynn has broken into the labor movement under peculiar conditions. Reared in a socialist home, she grew up with her mind intelligent and keen as to the homogeneity of the socialist and labor movements, an idea that is as yet scarcely grasped at all in America, either by the great mass of laborers or the majority of the socialists themselves. To be a socialist, a social reformer, meant to Miss Flynn to work in the labor movement.

When the Industrial Workers of the World was organized she thought she saw in its methods the ideal line of activity for the workers to adopt, who were bent upon industrial emancipation through a revolutionary program. She became devoted to the interest of the Industrial Workers. She refused to ally herself with either the Socialist Party or the Socialist Labor Party because of their failure to co-operate decidedly with the I. W. W.

Unusual as this may appear, and questionably, as it certainly is, in the minds of most socialists, there is a reason for it in the very structure of the American labor and socialist movement. In other words we may say that the Industrial Workers of the World is the only place offered for a woman to work in the labor movement who wishes to work along radical lines. The American Federation of Labor has never been particularly favorable to women workers and organizers. The aloofness of the American labor movement from the socialist movement has caused the socialist movement to develop on a more or less hybrid line. It concerns itself little with true labor organization and activity.

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn has observed this pseudo character in both movements, and, being an able and progressive mind, she has cast her lot with the I. W. W. She has good sense and is enthusiastic, and is a type of the coming woman in the American union movement. European labor has availed itself of the activities of its women always, since labor stirred. America is learning its class lesson rapidly and bitterly; and soon its women will be down off the imagined pedestal, and walking in the mire of its struggle.

Miss Flynn is radical, inclined to be impossible, but gives every indication of having the stuff in her that time and experience will bring to a right balance. She believes in educating women up to the necessity of aggressive union work in order that they may assist their husbands. The west would be fortunate should she develop into a socialist worker and settle in the country where everything is new, and where the freemasons that have developed need able and clear-headed men and women to help us

solve our problems and make industrial freedom a reality instead of the idle chatter with which some people amuse themselves.

THE MILLS OF MAMMON.

Comrade J. H. Prower, a national organizer of the socialist party, has written a book, a work of fiction, with the above title. The publishing company of P. H. Murray & Co., Joliet, Ill., put out the book.

Comrade Brower has written a good book. It is infinitely ahead of most of the claptrap that has been put out by aspiring socialists in the way of fiction, and which has all too plainly the hands of the unskilled literary workman.

The "Mills of Mammon" bears no such evidence of an attempt without a result. The workmanship is good. The story is interesting; and Comrade Brower has accomplished what few have yet been able to achieve—he has taught socialism and brought out his socialist points without turning a story into a lecture, or spoiling the art in presenting his fiction.

We might say that the work presents a series of most vivid tableaux, each representing a phase of the horrors of capitalism, and yet skillfully woven together in a tale that never loses its interest.

We have the work and the cruelty and the murder of the shop presented, the stealing of invention from the inventors, the stealing of girls for the white slave traffic, the hightoned "respectable" club, the way elections are carried, the way formal charities are conducted, the shallowness of the revival, the disposition of the woman that lives "illegitimate", the real brutality of extreme "professing" Christians, the organization of the shop.

A socialist can give this book to a friend and expect it to do its work in exposing the world as it is and not as it seems. Union men might learn from studying it how to handle the spy system successfully. Close reading will leave one with no illusions as to how the slime of capitalism perverts everything with its serpent trail. How a wholesome and natural life is almost impossible for any one under it.

The socialist in the story is a natural, wholesome practical character, a type of the best as we find them among the working men. He does not rant, does not make long and tiresome economic speeches. The socialism of the book is taught in an unobtrusive way.

The book deserves a tremendous circulation. It is as good as Jack London's stories and more photographic.

THE PEOPLE'S HOUR.

P. H. Murray & Co., of Joliet, Ill., have published a volume of verse entitled "The People's Hour", by George Howard Gibson. Comrade Gibson is a true poet. The rhyme and the meter run smoothly, the workmanship is excellent. The verses deal with the subjects of the disinherited, the sorrows and atrocities of the capitalist system. The word of revolt and encouragement for those that march in the ranks of protest is strong.

The notes of the poems at the foot of the pages form a most valuable source of information in regard to modern social problems, and form a unique feature of the book of poems.

The volume has also many quotations from the great minds that have battled for better things.

Unlike many collections of poems, "The People's Hour" is not tiresome. It would make an excellent Christmas gift, and everywhere it goes it will teach the struggle for new and nobler things.

Socialist School.

The Rand School of Social Science at 112 East 19th St., New York, began the fourth year of its work on October 1st. A most inviting feast of study is presented. Among the lecturers and teachers are John Spargo, Prof. Frank Giddings, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Algernon Lee, and other scholars well-known to the socialist movement. There is a course in Public Speaking and in Composition and Rhetoric. George Kirkpatrick pre-

sents a course on Elementary Socialism. There is a Library and Reading Room and a Club Room in connection with the school. A book stand is maintained where any socialist publication may be purchased. Those who wish to train for useful work in the socialist revolution will find first-class opportunities at the Rand School.

THE NEW COMMONWEALTH.

Another effort to give the working class hope an expression has blossomed forth under the above title at Minneapolis. The publishers are our old friends Frank and Anna Finsterbach, formerly of Chicago. "The New Commonwealth" is bright, breezy and sensible, published once a week, and is \$1.00 a year. Send for sample copy to 2816 3d St., N. Minneapolis, Minn.

GERMAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY THE HUB.

The German Socialist Party has sent 10,000 marks to sustain the American socialist daily, the New York Evening Call. The German party has become the hub of internationalism so far as socialism is concerned. With an enormous press of its own, publishing 63 dailies, besides weeklies and magazines, it has realized fully that the progress of advanced thought and great political movement depend almost wholly on the power of the press. The pen is mightier than the tongue, or volumes of bottled up enthusiasm. When Jaures' paper L'Humanite of France was in danger of collapse the German comrades came to the front with substantial assistance that placed it on its feet.

The German socialists have poured vast sums into the Russian revolutionary movement, and have sent heavy contribution to sustain the Swedish strike.

Thus they are not only talking about and recognizing the international solidarity of socialism, but they are leading the working class of the world in making a reality of this solidarity. They know that socialism moves to successful issue only as a world movement.

The State convention of the South Dakota Federation of Women's Clubs has officially endorsed the Woman Suffrage amendment, which is to be voted on next year in that state. The co-operation of that body is considered of much importance by the Suffrage Association.

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Montana News, Helena, Montana.

From one of the most important industrial points in Utah a correspondent writes: "I read your article in the News regarding Pinkertons in the socialist locals. This point sure has them; and if the mine owners had not had them in our local we would have won the election. The Citizens Ticket' composed of republican, democratic and American parties, and handled by as dirty a bunch of mine owner's lack apittles as ever disgraced a community, put up a dirty campaign, and the socialists were persuaded not to fight back or show up the dirty bunch. In spite of all this, however, the socialists increased their vote."

Boss Stramp had the registration padded with 250 illegal votes. He had a special train come out from Salt Lake loaded down with saloon bums, prostitutes and gamblers, and voted them straight. There were red light bosses that voted in Salt Lake in the morning and here in the afternoon.

The socialists feel discouraged, but I feel encouraged, for I think we will rid the party of such vermin."

Are you in earnest? Do you want socialism? The enemy must be fought with a local paper at every point.

Mrs. Oliver P. Belmont and Mrs. Ida Husted Harper were two of the three women among a long list of distinguished men writers to contribute special articles to one of the Hudson-Fulton souvenir editions of the New York American. Mrs. Belmont wrote on "Progress of Women Suffrage in the United States".

Enough boxes and seats have already been sold to ensure a tremendous audience in Carnegie Hall for the opening lecture of Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst, president of the Woman's Social and Political Union in Great Britain, commonly known as the "Suffragettes".

In one day recently articles favorable to woman suffrage appeared in the Christian Science Monitor, of Boston, Christian Herald, of New York, and the National Pure Food Magazine, showing the wide scope of this movement and its freedom from all political and sectarian bias.

Mrs. Dewey C. Bailey, president of the Denver Woman's Club, has been endorsed by the State Women's Republican Club for the nomination for Congress in the First District.

SOCIALISTS WANT A FARM.

A couple of socialists who wish to better their condition would like to locate a homestead or get hold of some cheap land in Idaho, Montana or Washington. They would be pleased to hear from any socialist who knows of any good land open for settlement, and are willing to pay for the trouble in securing the information. Address:

Homesteader,
care Montana News,
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Don't Be a SOCIALIST

unless you know WHY you are one. The cause of Socialism has been tremendously injured and retarded by the ignorance of those who talk and write about it without a proper understanding of its principles. The foolish notion of "dividing up" and the story of the "Irishman's two pigs" come from that source. The capitalist writer and speakers deliberately misrepresent our principles, but if every comrade thoroughly understands Socialism, it will hasten the coming of liberty for all.

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ERNEST UNTERMANN: (Lecturer Scientific Socialism;) "Your kindness is most appreciated and I enclose check. The documents will be my most valued companions this winter."

TOM CLIFFORD: (Socialist Lecturer:) "That which I have longingly desired for years, and which I must confess I despaired of ever enjoying—"The Library of Original Sources,—a service to civilization."

A. R. LIVINGSTON: (Sec. Local, Hackberry, Kan. :) "I owe you my thanks—greatest addition I ever made to my library."

WALTER LOHRENTZ: (Sec. Longshoreman's Union Seattle, Wash.) "A Boon to the working class who have neither time nor money to secure a university education."

ARTHUR MORROW LEWIS: (Lecturer Scientific Socialism;) "I regard it as the most valuable part of my library."

SEYMOUR STEDMAN: "It stands like a pyramid in a desert."

Not For "Scholars" but for Thinkers

The toilers, the "producers" who are beginning to be disenthralled and think for themselves.

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Poet's Corner

Marching Song of the Workers.
Tune: "Dixie."

Oh, we're marching forward in a glorious cause,
To own our country and to make its laws.
Come along! Come along!
'Tis the march of the toiling slave.

Chorus.
We will break his chains as we march; Hurray!
Come along! Come along!
'Tis the rich who shirk while the poor men work
But we'll wrest the rule from the hands that shirk.
Come along! Come along!
On the workers' march for glory.

O, we've toiled through the weary, weary night time
Now we are going to see the bright time.
Come along! Come along!
On the march of the slaves who toil.
Chorus.

Our work we'll own, and every master
Speedily shall meet disaster.
Come along! Come along!
On the march of the workman's cause.
Chorus.

IDA CROUCH-HAZLETT.

Woman Suffrage Headquarters in New York.

The headquarters of the National American Woman Suffrage Association have been moved from Warren, Ohio, to New York. The offices are located on the 17th floor of the handsome office building at 505 Fifth Avenue. Rev. Anna H. Shaw and Prof. Francis Squire Potter, President and Corresponding Secretary, are the officers in charge. The Press department is under the personal direction of Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, biographer of Susan B. Anthony, assisted by Elizabeth J. Hauser, of Ohio.

The New York State Woman Suffrage Association has its headquarters on the same floor, and the two remaining rooms are occupied by Mrs. Oliver H. P. Belmont as offices. Thus the entire floor is given over to the propagation of the woman's cause.

Among the distinguished visitors who have called to express their interest are Mayor Tom L. Johnson, of Cleveland, Kate Barnard, State Commissioner of Charities of Oklahoma, John Temple Graves, Editor of the New York American, Hon. I. N. Stevens, Editor of the Colorado Chieftain and author of The Liberators, Chas. E. Dures, an automobile manufacturer of Reading, Pa., who volunteered to enclose woman suffrage leaflets in all of his advertising, Mrs. Clarence Mackay and other women of prominence.

Gov. Johnson on Woman Suffrage.

In the death of Minnesota's Chief-Executive the women suffragists lose one of the most valuable allies they have ever had in public life. Governor Johnson has been a staunch advocate of the enfranchisement of women for years and has repeatedly expressed his convictions in public and private.

Three women have been nominated for parliament in Norway.

The Unitarians in their Pacific Coast conference at Seattle, declared in favor of woman suffrage.

In Denmark, the National Woman Suffrage Association has grown during the past year from 4,000 members to 10,000.

The State convention of the Universalist Church recently held in New Haven, Conn., unanimously adopted resolutions favoring woman suffrage.

Baltimore women are making a determined effort to secure municipal suffrage. The Baltimore Equal Suffrage League, numbering nearly 500 members, with Mrs. Ellicot, wife of Professor Ellicot of Johns Hopkins, as president, is taking an active part in the campaign. The first plea of a woman for a vote in this country was made by Mistress Margaret Brent, of Maryland, to the Colonial Assembly in 1647.

National

Swedish General Strike.

The general strike is still on in Sweden. Contributions to the strike fund are still needed. The National Office has remitted to date \$5,654.63 to the strike fund. Contributions should be sent to Landskretariatet, Stockholm, Sweden, or to J. Mahlon Barnes, National Secretary of the Socialist Party, 180 Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

Arrangements have been made by the Swedish Strike Relief Committee of Chicago to send C. E. Tholin, the representative of the Swedish Labor Union in this country, to the larger cities in the western states to address meetings and raise funds for the Swedish strikers. Dates, so far arranged, are as follows: Nov. 16, Des Moines, Iowa; 17, Omaha, Neb.; 19, Denver, Col.; 21, Salt Lake, Utah; 25, Sacramento, Cal.; 27, San Francisco; 28, Oakland. All requests for dates following December 5th should be sent to H. Juel Christensen, 2517 Ems Street, Chicago, Ill.

National Referendum "C", 1909, adopted, the election of National Executive Committee and National Secretariat will proceed under the provisions of that amendment, thus doing away with the necessity of designating candidates by alphabetical letters in making nominations. One of the provisions of the National Referendum "C" is that each candidate must be nominated by at least five locals before his name can appear upon the ballot.

The Intercollegiate Socialist Society George B. Kirkpatrick, Organizer, 112 East 19th Street, New York City, requests comrades to send in names and addresses of socialists and extra liberal students and teachers wherever they can be found, and urges the secretaries of the locals in towns where there is a college to write the Society for literature for free distribution.

The National Committee is now voting on the following motion: "That the National Secretary shall issue a call to the National Committee December 15, 1909, for nominations for cities and dates for holding the Party Congress for 1910. Nominations shall close three weeks from date of submission and immediately upon close of nominations shall be submitted in ballot form to the National Committee." Vote will close November 29th.

Local New Bedford, Mass., makes the suggestion that all branches of the Socialist Party forward petitions to the United States government, asking for the expulsion of the Spanish Ambassador in America as a means of voicing a protest against the execution of Professor Ferrer. The suggestion was endorsed by the State Executive Committee of Massachusetts.

The Jewish Labor World, 739 12th Street, Chicago, Ill., has been added to the list of papers that will publish the lessons in the Study Course in Socialism. The first lesson appears in the issue of November 12th.

The State Federations of Labor of Maryland and New York held their respective annual meetings late in September, and both bodies officially endorsed woman suffrage. The American Federation of Labor declares for woman suffrage every year, and federations in the following states have taken similar actions: California, Connecticut, Colorado, Iowa, Indiana, Illinois, Kansas, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Maine, Michigan, New Hampshire, Ohio, Oregon, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Washington, Texas, and West Virginia.

References.

Each student is urged to read with in the next week at least one of the following:

1. Hillquit, "Socialism in Theory and Practice", preface and introduction.
2. Spargo, "Socialism," introduction.
3. Kirkup, "History of Socialism," introduction.
5. Deville, "The People's Marx," preface.

And also at least one of the following:

1. Vandervelde, "Collectivism and Industrial Evolution," Part I, Chapter I, pp. 15 to 50.
2. Hillquit, "Socialism in Theory and Practice," Chapter II, especially pp. 24 to 29; "History of Socialism in the United States," general introduction, pp. 15 to 18, and introduction to Part II, pp. 149 to 154; and Spargo, "Socialism," Chapter II, pp. 16 to 29.

Weekly Lessons for Socialist Party Locals and Members.

Authorized by the National Executive Committee; Prepared by the Hand School.

Lesson I.—The Capitalist System.

"Socialism is a criticism of modern social conditions, a theory of progress, an ideal of social organization, and a practical movement of the masses. To be fully understood, it must be studied in all of these phases."—Morris Hillquit, "Socialism in Theory and Practice," preface.

In this course we shall follow the foregoing order. By "criticism of modern social conditions" we do not mean simply a denunciation of evils, but such an analysis of the conditions as will enable us to understand their causes and effects.

Capitalism is the name given to the economic and social system which has grown up since the Middle Ages and become mature within the last century; which now prevails in a fully developed form all over western Europe and North America, and which is rapidly growing and spreading to other parts of the world.

The socialist movement is a product of capitalism and is also its destined destroyer. It cannot arise in any country till capitalism has developed to a certain point; and wherever capitalism becomes established the socialist movement makes its appearance.

We must begin by examining the main characteristics of capitalism. Next we shall consider the manner in which social tendencies and movements are produced by the environment and the conflicting interests of various classes. Then we shall study the position of that wage-working class under capitalism, and its resultant socialist movement. After briefly sketching the growth of this movement, we shall more particularly study its nature, its methods, and its program.

Historic periods and economic systems cannot be sharply divided. We cannot specify the exact year in which medieval society gave place to modern society, though we may say it was about the beginning of the sixteenth century. Economic systems overlap to some extent. Thus, for three centuries in most parts of Europe the feudal system was gradually declining and the capitalist system gradually developing side by side with it; even now there remain some relics of feudalism in the midst of an essentially capitalistic system. In this country, down to 1865, the system of chattel slavery existed side by side with a pretty highly developed capitalism.

Yet, if we examine each system in its full development, we find that each has its peculiar characteristics, that they are distinct systems, and that in the long run they cannot co-exist without a conflict in which one must conquer and destroy the other.

The capitalist system grew up gradually in Western Europe during the sixteenth and following centuries, having its earliest, and for a long time its fullest, development in England. In the later eighteenth century it underwent sudden change and expansion, due to the introduction of power-driven-machinery. In this course we shall study it only in its mature form.

In Europe the capitalism had to struggle to displace the feudal system which had prevailed for a thousand years. In America we never had a feudal system, as the country began to be settled in the seventeenth century. The American war of Independence was about contemporaneous with the rise of machine industry in England. The history of the United States is, therefore, the history of a capitalist society developing freely and without confusion with other systems, except in so far as it was affected by the existence of slavery in the South before the Civil War.

In order to understand the workings of this system and the movement which has grown out of it and seeks to overthrow it, we must bear in mind some of its characteristics.

1. Capitalism is essentially a system of production of commodities for sale in a general market. Superficial writers assume that men have always been engaged in producing things to be sold. In fact, throughout most of the world's history, production for sale has been exceptional, production for use the rule. In the Middle Ages most of the people were engaged in agriculture, and far the greater part of the produce was consumed on the

estate where it was raised; even the minority who were engaged in handicraft made goods largely "to order" for specific customers. Production for sale grew with the widening of commerce in the sixteenth century; since the great inventions of the eighteenth century it has become the dominant form. Today, in the most advanced countries, less than half the people are engaged in agriculture; even these sell most of their produce and buy all their clothes, furniture, tools, etc., while in other branches of production goods are turned out almost exclusively for sale, neither the workmen nor their employer knowing who is going to use the things they make.

2. Capitalism is essentially a competitive system. In earlier systems most people were confined to specific occupations in specific places; land was hereditary in families and not easily transferred; prices and wages were regulated by law or custom. Now every man is legally free to change his occupation and his residence at will and to buy or sell land, goods, or services at whatever price he can; buyers may bid against each other to get the goods, sellers to dispose of them, employers to get workmen, workmen to get employment. (As we shall see, competition tends eventually to destroy itself and produce a new species of monopoly when capitalism becomes very highly developed.)

3. Capitalism is essentially a system of production on a large scale by the use of complex, power-driven machinery. The invention of the steam engine, (1769), spinning machinery (1769-92), power loom (1785), blast furnace (1788), cotton gin (1793), etc. revolutionized industry. They enabled a given number of workers to produce many times more goods than could the same number working separately with hand tools. By cheapening production, they drove hand industry out of the field.

4. Capitalism is essentially a changing and expanding system. This results from its being a system of large machine production for competitive sale in a general market. Every invention facilitates new inventions and the improvement of methods goes on continually. With few exceptions, the effect of every successful invention is to reduce the total amount of labor necessary to produce a given amount of goods. Since goods are produced for competitive sale, and cheapness gives a decisive advantage in competition—soon as a labor-saving improvement is brought into use, it becomes necessary for all to adopt it. Methods are continually revolutionized, old trades destroyed and new ones created. The most advanced countries and the most advanced establishments in each country continually expand their market at the expense of those less advanced.

5. Capitalism is essentially a system of social production. In the modern factory no individual worker produces a single complete article. The factory is a unit, employing a large number of workers, specialized for many correlated processes, acting together under one plan and control. The product is created by their joint or social labor.

6. Capitalism is, nevertheless, essentially individualistic as a system of distribution and appropriation. The form of private property was suitable to the older methods of production with simple and inexpensive tools. In the United States a hundred years ago (except where slavery prevailed) the worker usually owned the things with which he worked and consequently owned the product and was "his own master". This same form of property, applied to complex and costly means of social production, has just opposite results.

7. Capitalism, therefore, involves the existence of two distinct and hostile classes—owners who do not work and workers who do not own. The reality of this class division is not destroyed by the fact that it is not legally recognized, that occasionally a person passes from one class to the other, and that the classes overlap to some extent. The essential point is that there is a powerful class of capitalists, whose income is derived from the ownership of the means of production, and a numerous class of wage workers, who are practically propertyless and have not the means of employing themselves. These classes are not all-inclusive; of the other classes, and of the antagonism between capitalists and wage workers, we shall speak later.

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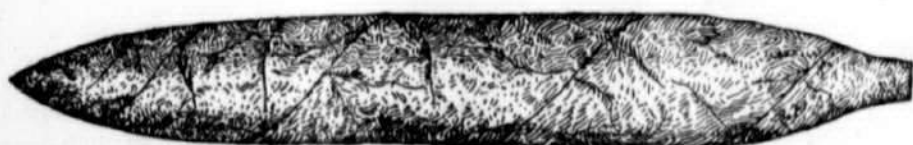
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LOCAL DEPARTMENT

The following article was written by Ben Hanford for the New York Call. Just put MONTANA NEWS in place of the CALL, and you will have the story as we have it here:

"MISMANAGEMENT (OF THE CALL) CAN WASTE MORE MONEY THAN YOU CAN BEG."

That is the answer I received from a man I asked to contribute to the Call Wage Fund. He kept his money. I suppose he has it yet.

The Call has suffered from mismanagement in its business department. There can be no doubt or question about that. From the first issue to the present writing there has been mismanagement, bad management, and no management. The mismanagement has been of all kinds, and present at all times and under all boards and all business Managers.

MISMANAGEMENT (OF THE CALL) CAN WASTE MORE MONEY THAN YOU CAN BEG.

There are many causes for the Call mismanagement. But the fundamental and primary cause is one which could be easily removed by the Call's readers. Want of Money has been and is now the cause of 99 per cent of the Call mismanagement.

A printer who does not know whether he will get his weeks wages in money or in promises will not do good work. A stereotyper who does not know whether he will get money or get a stand-off when pay day comes around will not do good work. An office boy who has not been paid last week's wages will not do good work this week. (Send such a boy on an errand and tell him to hurry back and see what you get.) Conceivably an editor might do good work though uncertain as to his own wage on pay day. But no editor can do good work this week when in doubt if there will be money enough to get out the paper next week. Stenographers and typewriters will not do their best work for the poorest pay—especially if they don't get their wages on pay day, and then part of it is borrowed back from them to pay the wages of some one else who cannot possibly wait another hour.

A business manager cannot do good work if he has to spend all his time begging money to meet checks dated ahead to pay debts today that were due a month ago to creditors who were then met with promises based on expectations that might have materialized if the man who wrote me that "MISMANAGEMENT (OF THE CALL) CAN WASTE MORE MONEY THAN I CAN BEG" had sent money instead of a grouch and had got others to help (as he had promised to do) the Call with money instead of a hammer.

"MISMANAGEMENT (OF THE CALL) CAN WASTE MORE MONEY THAN YOU CAN BEG."

That is true. I see Call mismanagement with both eyes shut. I see more kinds of Call mismanagement than there are words and letters on a page. They ALL begin with lack of money. They can ALL be remedied by money.

You can furnish the money. Not a lot of money. But enough. You can furnish it easily. You need not go hungry to furnish it. You need not furnish it at the expense of other necessary socialist activities. You need not starve yourself, your wife, or have your family evicted to furnish the Call with ALL the money needed to do away with ALL mismanagement and start on the road to become the most widely circulated and most influential paper in America.

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.....\$10.00 J. E. Bush.....5.00 Edwin Dew.....5.00 Wm. Dew.....5.00 C. Anderson.....1.00 C. Felck.....1.00

Total.....\$37.00 To be raised \$500.00 Balance to get.....\$462.00

Bee Hive

By Tryem Helper.

Last week we made a call for workers. Some have responded and others have not. What have you done? Are you going to let a few bear the burden of the work of establishing a Socialist Press in the Northwest, and Socialism in the Northwest? Where will be your place in the future when we have a flourishing press and a dominant Socialist Party here in the Northwest? Will it be among those that can recount the struggles and trials they went through to do it? Perhaps you are not awake yet to the possibilities. First I'll give you an easy job. Sit down, and think. Think what our press is doing. Think of the comrades snatched from the hands of the kidnapers who wished to destroy them. Think of the men rescued from the clutches of the Bloody Czar. And think of the many other services rendered to humanity, to your class and to you. When you have realized the power of such a press, go after neighbors to subscribe to this, your paper, send in the subs and make up your mind to be a continual worker and enrol yourself among one of the following classes, then live up to it:

Those who bring in 1 sub a day. Those who bring in 1 sub a week. Those who bring in 1 sub each two weeks. Those who bring in 1 sub a month.

Comrade Stumbo says in sending \$5.00, "No use to give up. Keep pounding away."

Montana News-Headquarters for the union job work of the northwest. Don't pay your profits to a capitalist printing outfit when you can strengthen when a labor press that will fight your battles.

W. J. Knapp of Big Timber was a caller at the News office recently. This comrade, an old engineer who faced the enemy bravely in the strike of '94, and took to farming as a result, has had his hand on the socialist throttle for many years in that section of the country. He reports a lot of socialist sentiment around Big Timber, but as usual it needs mobilizing.

This note has come to us from Great Falls: "Comrade Gill, whose sub I have forwarded, was heard to remark when some grumbled about having missed some copies, 'I do not care if I never received a paper in the whole year. I want to pay the price of a sub anyhow to help a socialist paper on its feet again.'"

Would it be goodness that many thousand comrades and friends came to the front in such a manly and level-headed manner."

Bills, letterheads, constitutions and by-laws, envelopes; if you have any printing and have any leaning towards socialism send your work to the Montana News.

There will never be any socialist party, in the general political sense, unless there is a powerful working class press. The press is the mightiest weapon of modern thought. Spread it, enlarge it, strengthen it, develop it in every way possible.

Send ten subs or purchase ten sub cards and get a copy of the "Mills of Mammon".

Locals should pay up their membership, and send all dues to M. M. Lourens, 110 Granite Street, Butte, Mont.

The ballot on State Secretary for the year 1910 is returnable Dec. 20. M. M. Lourens and J. A. Roades of Lewistown are the candidates.

The report of the State Secretary for October shows a balance of \$150 on hand.

The party should now pay the debts it incurred while running the News, also the back pay it owes its officials, and show the people who have done business with it that it is an honorable body.

What is certainly a very unjust and misleading statement in this report is a part referring to dues paid by Locals Lima and Java to the retiring secretary. This sum amounts to \$8. It is so handled in the report as to make it appear that there was something wrong in the attitude of Comrade Graham financially to the party.

When it is remembered that there are several hundred dollars on salary owing to Graham already allowed by the committee, it is a very simple matter to make the deduction that the party should forward the stamps to the locals when it had them, and simply debit Graham with a certain amount on his account with it. It is much better to state all the facts than to throw all the burden on one person.

There is also a gross mistatement in the report concerning the type-writer taken by Charles Typton from the News office. The type-writer over which the controversy exists is not the type-writer donated to the state office by Local Butte. It is a type-writer that belonged to J. H. Walsh when he owned the News, and was given by him to the News, belonging with the entire equipment on which Comrade Cragg of Lewistown held a mortgage. Typton took the type writer from the office and holds it to this day unless he has otherwise disposed of it.

In regard to the Kruse circular concerning Comrade Graham, it is easy to try and condemn a man when he is not present to defend himself. This matter has been thrashed out before, but will go again to the State Committee where it belongs.

There still seems to exist considerable confusion in the minds of a number of people concerning the ownership of the News. The News has not belonged to the party since it dropped its mailing right months ago. It was re-started under private ownership, the party having failed to meet its obligations. All that is now required of the party is to adjust its back accounts.

We will give a copy of Brower's great socialist novel "The Mills of Mammon" to any one who sends in ten subs to the Montana News or to any one who purchases ten sub cards. "The Mills of Mammon" is cloth bound and has four hundred and fifty pages and not a dry chapter in it.

A subscriber writes us that he is glad to see no saloon or bank ads in the News and if we will not print any saloon or bank ads he will try to get us a few subscriptions.

Advertising is taken as it gives us a source of revenue to carry on the publication of the paper. The receipts from subscriptions alone would not meet the cost of publishing. We would rather do without any advertising if we could get along without the money derived from that source. The News is published to carry on the work of socialist propaganda not to help sell people's wares. The receipts from bank and saloon advertising have netted us \$250.00 a year. If our readers who are opposed to this kind of advertising will give us five hundred new subscribers during the year we will not print any saloon or bank advertising. We will be glad to hear from our readers on this subject.

A comrade from one of the largest towns in Montana writes: "I suppose that this town is no worse than other places but it fills one with pity and regret that after all the excellent lectures that have been given here year in year out by socialists that most people seem to be still ignorant and indifferent about socialism. Any bauble of amusement or anything which looks like immediate money value will bring out a stampede; but anything of permanent good to our fellow beings and posterity as well as ourselves—"Oh, no; that is not interesting."

Of course, the American people do provide for posterity—all manner of bonds to pay debts on, ridiculous and harmful laws and customs, and a prolific crop of various physical, mental and moral infirmities; and one must sigh and ask, "How, long, oh, Lord, how long?"

The Women's Mutual Improvement Club of Great Falls gave an entertainment on the 7th as its fourth anniversary. Union hall was crowded with a delighted lot of people. Of vocal and instrumental music a duet by the little Misses Kleinhaus was exceptionally sweet as was also a duet by Mr. Scott and Miss McLean. As usual with the club, a superabundance of the choicest of refreshments were served and everybody was happy with a good time.

Is there anything that compares with the sociability of the socialists anyhow? Here that chilling mask of form and forced politeness is absent, and instead a feeling of safety and comradeship, the genuineness of which is especial and peculiar in a socialist crowd only. Oh, may socialism with its feeling of brotherly love and mutual helpfulness for better world conditions before long encircle the globe, and, like a considerate mother, sooth and comfort a heretofore stormtossed and suffering humanity. M. P.

Seattle, Wash., Nov. 15, 09. Montana News, Helena, Mont.:

Dear Old Comrades:

Enclosed please find 50 cents for which send me the News for one year as I want to keep posted on the results of the Spokane, Wash., boycott.

I read in the Seattle Daily Star that the Industrial Workers of the World in Spokane have a fight on their hands and I hope they may win their rights.

But my better judgment tells me they cannot win.

Will the labor organizations never wake up to a realization that they can never win by fighting a losing game? The best they can expect to win is starvation.

Will they never learn to resort to the ballot and elect their own class to legislate their own laws? In this losing fight they are getting what they deserve. They vote and elect the devil to office and expect him to make saintly laws.

In the name of God how do they expect to win when they know if they know anything that the eternal powers of government are against them from the lowest city official to the president of the United States and King Pollock.

And I am grieved to have to admit that a great many times the leaders who advise the strike or boycott are the hirelings of the enemy which past experience should have taught.

Make an honorable stand, boys, vote the same old party ticket once more; receive a few more jolts from the courts; have a few more city laws passed to throttle free speech.

May be then you will awaken from your midnight slumber to find your class in a state of political bondage that nothing short of a bloody revolution can extract you from.

T. R. AUSTIN.

Montana News 50c the Year

Swedish Strike Delegate.

(Continued from Page 1.)

tion that the industrial form of organization is rapidly superseding the craft form in every country. He says it must grow here, and he sees the greatest hospitality to it in all organizations of the socialist party. He says pure and simple craft unionism will disappear; that the industrial

form supporting class politics is the sign by which we conquer. He says it is the young men who are making the progressive labor movements of the world; that we must follow the young. They are the ones that will consummate the revolution.

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